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**Seeing Africa – Construction of
Africa and International
Development in Soviet and
Russian Public Discourse

- Freedom as Development?**

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To Whom It May Concern

Declaration on this thesis by candidate s9808579

This is to certify that the work contained within has been composed by me and is entirely my own work. No part of this thesis has been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

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Abstract

Tsarist Russia, the USSR and modern Russia have had unique perspectives on Africa and aid, due to geographical location, changing ideologies, non-colonial history with Africa, the Cold War, alternating aid status of recipient and donor, and a historic view of Africa in a tripartite relationship with the West. Western development discourse evolved to produce a large aid apparatus, accompanied by depoliticised discourse on Africa. The USSR's discourse on Africa was political. Using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) and a postcolonial approach, with a structural analysis of 262 pages of Soviet newspaper *Pravda* and discourse analysis of 54 articles, this thesis relates findings to the Russian, Soviet and Western contexts in which the discourses arose. It shows that *Pravda* used Africa and aid as discursive tools to establish the USSR's position in the international hierarchy, used Africa as a rhetorical proxy, and carried a theme of "freedom as development".

Similarities between Soviet, Russian and Western representations of Africa, development and aid (for example Africa's low status) were built on different motivations and assumptions, and used different tools. The USSR's Cold War rhetoric conveyed a partial and incomplete construction of Africa, aid and development. *Pravda* conveyed assumptions that all countries, including the USSR, are developing, that the USSR and Africa are comparable and in some ways similar, and that freedom is an overriding aspiration. Constructing development as natural, *Pravda* constructed a weak link between development and aid, and in general *Pravda* presented aid as harmful Western aid. Russia's legacy is an ideology in which Africa is still eternally "developing" but shares this activity with all countries, Africa is weak and yet is Russia's friend and ally, competition continues between Russia and the West over Africa's friendship, and aid has mainly humanitarian rather than development value. Socialist ideological discourse of equal nations remains in today's Communist *Pravda*.

This thesis explores the evolution of perceptions in Soviet *Pravda* discourse, and makes a substantive analytical contribution to the literatures on development and aid, Russian foreign policy and international relations, and postcolonialism. It increases knowledge of Cold War Africa, and the USSR's and Russia's self-perceptions and attitudes towards others. Russia's status as a non-Western donor and recent aid recipient make its legacy and attitudes of particular interest.

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If freedom is what development advances, then there is a major argument for concentrating on that overarching objective... Freedoms are not only the primary ends of development, they are also among its principal means. (Sen, 1999: 3, 10)

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PART I – INTRODUCTION, THEORY, METHODOLOGY AND CONTEXT

Chapter 1. Introduction

В желтой жаркой Африке в центральной ее части
Как-то вдруг вне графика случилось несчастье...
Песенка ни про что или «Что случилось в Африке», Высоцкий В.¹
In hot, yellow Africa, in its central part,
Somehow suddenly, unscheduled, there was an accident...
Song about Nothing or What Happened in Africa (Vysotsky)

1.1. Research purpose

This thesis concerns the evolution of the official Soviet portrayal of Africa and international development, including aid, and its legacy for Russia's post-Soviet conception of these topics.

Western discourse generally presents Africa as problematic and needing development, perhaps to be facilitated by the West, or the North. In Western discourse, Africa, development and aid are connected. Discourse determines action, and Western discourse on Africa and development has resulted in a large aid industry with many institutions dedicated to global poverty reduction or “international development”. Scholars debate whether aid has benefited or harmed Africa, as I discuss in Chapter 4.

Western public discourse on these topics has been much researched, including through a postcolonial approach. Soviet and Russian discourse on them is less researched, a serious gap, given how important Russian, then Soviet and now post-Soviet Russian influences have been in Africa. Almost all Russians and some Africans know that they have a joint history, but Western policy-makers often ignore this. I elaborate on Russian and Soviet relationships with Africa and aid in Chapters 1 and 5.

My substantive analytical contribution to the literatures on development discourse, aid, Cold War Africa and modern Russia thus concerns Soviet perceptions of Africa, on which little has yet been written, and the evolution of Soviet and Russian discourse on development and aid, on which even less has been written. Using a postcolonial approach, I examine Soviet and Russian relationships and encounters with Africa, linguistic tools and strategies employed in Soviet and post-Soviet newspaper *Pravda* to construct Africa, development and aid, the trajectory of changes in these strategies, and legitimisation of Soviet relations with Africa, all in the context of the

¹ <http://www.karaoke.ru/song/244.htm> Opening lines of a popular Soviet-era nonsense song by singer-songwriter Vladimir Vysotsky, 1980.

evolution of Western aid and development discourse. A greater understanding of how the concepts of Africa, development and aid have been constructed for the Russian public over the last century contributes to knowledge of Russia's foreign policy, self-perceptions and opinions of others. Russia's status as a non-Western donor and recent aid recipient make its approach to development and aid of particular interest.

1.2. Russia, Africa and aid

In Sections 1.2.1. to 1.2.6., I explore relations between Russia and Africa over six historical periods. In the first period, to the mid-nineteenth century, early aid from Russia to Africa was both developmental and military, included training, and was accompanied by significant commercial and academic interest. Aid did not grow from Russian colonialism in Africa, and was not the major part of the relationship. Russia was particularly engaged in Egypt, shared a religion with Ethiopia, and used South Africa as a port of call. In the second period, the West European "scramble for Africa" in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, Russian involvement in Africa was sporadic, as Russia busied itself with other matters, including its own colonies in Asia and the Caucasus. Russia gave anti-Western aid, as it observed warily relationships between Africa and the West, and perceived Africa in relation to the West. Russian aid to Africa was still developmental and military, and education remained a clear theme in developmental aid. In the third period, the first half of the USSR, its leaders initially appeared to recognize genuine shared aims with black Africans, and collaborated pragmatically with black Africans, black Americans and white South Africans to defeat the West, or with the West to defeat an aggressor. In this turbulent period, the USSR did not always live by principles in keeping with its publicly espoused socialism. It continued to relate to Africa as part of a tripartite relationship, consisting now of the USSR, Africa and the West, and received aid from the West and Africa. In the fourth period, when the USSR was a world power and large donor, African countries took advantage of the Cold War, taking or threatening to take Soviet aid, to gain more from the West. An alternative view is that the Cold War was fought as a proxy war in Africa, through military, technical, political and educational aid. Through this aid, significant numbers of African and Soviet citizens became acquainted. All of the West, Africa and USSR now viewed relations as a tripartite relationship. The fifth period, post-Soviet Russia, humiliated Russia, as it experienced both recipient status and unwanted foreign political intervention through aid. Its aid to Africa virtually stopped. Sixthly and finally,

Russia is a donor again. Post-Soviet Russia moved quickly to initiate trade with Africa, while continuing to promote education in Russia for Africans and Asians, collaborating with Central Asian neighbours and joining multilateral agencies. Russia lends to promote Russian interests, and is learning anew to use donorship to exert influence. Becoming a donor again as a post-socialist country means considering for the first time how to engage in international aid structures. The West has always known of current Soviet or Russian involvement, but is now largely unaware of past Soviet involvement.

1.2.1. Initial interest in Africa

Connections between Russia and North Africa began a thousand years ago, when Kievan Prince Vladimir sent a mission to Jerusalem and Egypt. During the Middle Ages, Russia traded with Egypt, and Russian pilgrims went to Egypt. (Matusevich, 2003: 11) This was the start of long trading and religious relations with North Africa.

Links with Sub-Saharan Africa developed later. Some Russians became aware of Ethiopia when Greek works such as Epiphanius's "Periplus of the Erythrean Sea" were translated into Old Slavonic. From the fourteenth century, Ethiopian monks and Copts were in contact through Jerusalem, and Russian visitors to Jerusalem observed Ethiopian religious practices. In the 1470s, merchant Afanasy Nikitin of Tver spent some days in Somalia when returning to Russia from India. (Patman, 1990: 25-26)

Contact intensified in the Eighteenth Century. During Tsar Peter I's and Empress Catherine II's reigns, three Africans served in senior positions in the Russian army, including Hannibal, the poet Pushkin's great-grandfather. (As I note in Chapter 5, the Russian public has long known and spoken fondly of Pushkin's part-African ancestry.) In 1723, Peter I (Peter the Great) sent two ships on their way to Madagascar, but when one ship developed a leak, cancelled the expedition. In 1763 Catherine II (Catherine the Great) sent experienced naval officers to train with the British, and six of them sailed via Africa to India. However, the first large group of Russians to visit southern Africa was quite different: 70 political exiles who escaped prison in the Far East of Russia and sailed south to Europe, visiting South Africa on the way in 1772. In 1776 Catherine II sent an official expedition to sail round Africa to the Russian Far East to defend Russia's economic interests there and conduct scientific and cultural research in Africa on the way. Thus Africa was both a useful place to stop en route to Russia's more active interests in the Far East, and a place which excited curiosity.

In the mid-nineteenth century, Russian interest in Africa expanded. An early example of aid to Africa occurred in the 1840s, and again began with north Africa, as the Russian government trained Egyptians in establishing and running gold mines. Tsar Alexander II developed trade, and in 1856 the Russian Steam Packet and Trading Company was founded, sailing between Odessa and Egypt three times a month. In the 1870s, Russia gave Egypt military technical assistance, and trade with Egypt remained important until the early twentieth century, when Russia was the second largest importer of Egyptian goods (mostly cotton) and Egypt's sixth largest supplier of imports. (Matusevich, 2003: 16) To this developmental, commercial and military interest was added academic interest, when, in 1854, the Faculty of Asian and African Languages, originally the Eastern Faculty, was founded in St. Petersburg University. In the Nineteenth Century, Russian ships continued to sail round Africa to defend Russia's Far East, and so Russia developed its curiosity in the continent as a whole while remaining respectfully distant from most of it.

1.2.2. Thwarting the European "Scramble for Africa"

In the late 19th Century, while West European powers were colonising Africa, Russia was instead colonising to its East and South, in Asia and the Caucasus. Indeed, in 1889, a group of Cossacks attempted to seize the area around Djibouti as a present for Tsar Alexander III, but he refused the offer, allowing the French to deal with the would-be Russian colonisers. (Matusevich, 2003: 18-19)

Shortly after this, Ethiopia asked Russia for help in resisting Italian colonising forces, selecting Russia as an ally unlikely to attempt to colonise it. Perhaps inspired by solidarity with another Orthodox Christian country, Russia intervened, sending official aid to Ethiopia, in the form of medical help and armaments. This help was possibly decisive in Ethiopia's defeat of the Italians at the iconic Battle of Adwa of 1896. (Pankhurst, 2007: 221-225) Shortly after this, in 1898, Russia and Ethiopia established formal diplomatic relations (Blakely, 1986).

Perhaps the desire to limit empire-building by Western countries was greater than the desire to help African countries, but the effect was the same. During the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902, Russian volunteers fought on the Boers' side, disliking Great Britain's expansionism. Thus in the early twentieth century, Russia continued to give official and unofficial aid to prevent or reverse colonisation in Africa. This can be seen as a noble aim or as jostling with Western powers to ensure they did not become more

important than Russia. Distinctly ignoble, however, was Russian domestic policy, which by 1911 had caused 25,000 Russian émigrés to live in South Africa, largely Jews escaping Russian pogroms (Davidson, 1994b: 98).

Other official aid to Africa involved education, including that of two Ethiopians, Gezaw and Dagne, in medicine, helping them found Menelik II Hospital in Addis Ababa in 1910. A third, Takla-Hawaryat Takla-Maryam, studied artillery in Russia and became an Ethiopian governor, agronomist, drafter of the 1931 Constitution and treasurer (Zewde, 2001: 106).

1.2.3. USSR - alternating and combining solidarity and political expediency

The early USSR expressed solidarity with Africa through continued aid. In the early 1920s, the USSR hosted African students of politics in its universities, and continued the Russian tradition of educational aid, now including socialist teaching. From 1921 to 1923, similarity between the USSR and Africa became apparent, as the USSR received humanitarian food aid from the West, mainly from the Red Cross, the UK's Save the Children and official and voluntary American sources.

However, political expediency soon trumped solidarity. Some elements of UK civil society supported the socialist Soviet government, but the UK government did not. Therefore, in 1925, to undermine Britain, the USSR held secret talks with the racist, anti-communist Afrikaner government about opening trade and political relations, to help that government diversify from dependence on Britain (Davidson, 1994b: 101-102).

The USSR had to work out some principles of socialism. For example, the situation of blacks in both the USA and Africa demanded or allowed that the USSR become increasingly vocal in its anti-colonialism and anti-racism, and Soviet leaders grappled with questions of whether race, nation or class were the more important for black people. The USSR had established Comintern as its main vehicle for supporting African liberation movements and socialism. At the Sixth Comintern Congress in 1928, the proposed solution to the "Negro Question" was to treat blacks, whether living in the USA, Africa or elsewhere, as nations seeking independence rather than a race seeking equality (Comintern, 1928). While this new policy angered some African socialists, the USSR still embodied hope of a future free from colonialism and racism. When in the 1930s, African studies in Leningrad and Moscow were expanded to support the African struggle, whether national or racial, students such as future Kenyan President Jomo

Kenyatta studied in Russia. Thus the USSR continued the Russian tradition of educating Africans to be leaders in their independent countries.

As the rise of Fascism in Germany brought rapprochement between the USSR and Western colonising powers, official Soviet support for oppressed Africans and rhetoric against colonialism reduced again (Matusevich, 2003: 27-37).

During WWII, Russia again experienced humanitarian aid, including now from Africa, as the South African public and government joined Britain in sending medical aid to the USSR. Soviet interest in ending Western colonialism continued, however, with dual purposes of destabilising the West and helping potentially revolutionary Africa. During the last years of WWII, the South African organisation “Friends of the Soviet Union” helped found the African National Congress (ANC) Youth League. (Davidson, 1994b: 102-105) Now destabilising the racist South African government was more important than working with it to undermine Britain.

Solidarity again had its limits, though. When Italy occupied Ethiopia, the USSR did not intervene other than verbally to support Ethiopia, and continued trade with Italy, causing black Communists to leave the Communist Party (Matusevich, 2003). Indeed, the USSR sold fuel to fascist Italy as it invaded Ethiopia, and in talks surrounding the Nazi-Soviet pact discussed German and Italian control of much of Africa in return for support for Soviet activities in the Indian Ocean. The war brought an end to Comintern.

In an apparent return to solidarity after the war, the Russian Red Cross Hospital was established in Addis Ababa in 1947, and continues today, with Russian and Ethiopian medical staff. There was propaganda value to being seen to work with blacks, and the USSR was wary of the only African Communist Party, the largely white South African Communist Party (SACP). Bizarrely, it therefore selected American black communists as its representatives of Africa, for example at the Fourth Comintern Congress, where the only blacks were American (Matusevich, 2003: 25).

1.2.4. Cold War and increased Soviet support for African independence

In 1955, African and Asian leaders held a conference in Bandung, Indonesia, and berated both Soviet and European colonialism. The USSR began to support African nationalist movements more seriously. Again, Soviet leaders grappled with questions of socialist revolutionary priorities, and in the 1950s, Khrushchev abandoned a requirement for class struggle before socialism, making it easier for the USSR to support African national liberation movements (Matusevich, 2003: 36-44).

As African countries gained independence, the Cold War and Soviet activities affected them all differently. Main effects on different parts of Africa were as follows.

The USSR had a particularly profound effect on South Africa. The Soviet Ambassador was expelled from South Africa in 1956, and the USSR continued to support the opposition, educating its leaders in the International Lenin School, and hosting ANC military camps in Odessa, Crimea and Central Asia. Thabo Mbeki, future President of South Africa, received military and strategic training in and near Moscow for 2 years in the 1960s, and the USSR gave moral and financial support to the ANC (Gevisser, 2007: 268-286). The SACP and then the ANC adopted the Soviet theory of national liberation, and “from 1960 to 1991, the Soviet Union was the closest and most important ally of the African National Congress”, supplying it with arms, equipment, transport, food, training, money and logistical and political support, and contributing to the international anti-apartheid movement (Filatova, 2012: 1). According to some scholars, this was highly influential: “There is no doubt that without Soviet assistance, the ANC as we know it would not have existed, and South Africa’s history would have taken a very different course.” (Filatova and Davidson, 2013, back cover)

Africa’s role in the competition between the USSR and the West grew. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, West Africa in particular was a site of political, economic and propaganda competition between the USA and USSR, each superpower hoping to win the allegiance of newly independent states (Mazov, 2010).

Other countries had a less positive experience with Soviet aid. In Ethiopia, a country which had never been colonised (in part due to nineteenth century Russian support, as noted in Section 1.2.2. above), the USSR supported a dictatorial regime of terror. In the 1970s, the military government, the Derg, headed by Mengistu, murdered up to 500,000 people while receiving Soviet support. While an important question is the extent to which the Soviet Government knew about, endorsed and aided this Red Terror, historian Bahru Zewde compares Mengistu’s coming to power in 1974 with the Russian Revolution: “Both countries had a strong Orthodox as well as imperial tradition. And in both instances, revolutions sprouted dictators. With Soviet support, the Derg beat Somali forces in the Ogaden region.” (Zewde, 2001: 254)

Other African countries exploited Soviet industrial might and aid without adopting Soviet political ideology. Nigeria, for example, bought Soviet arms (Agubamah, 2014). At Nigerian independence in 1960, the Nigerian government continued the British fear of communists, but saw the USSR as a model of fast

industrialisation. It therefore agreed to a massive steel mill at Ajaokuta in the 1970s with Soviet technical assistance and loans. However, Soviets and Nigerians approached the project from different negotiating cultures, the Nigerians had not always enough money to pay their part, and the Soviets delayed, sent allegedly poor quality materials and did not complete it. In 1979, the Nigerian steel minister estimated that 15,000 to 20,000 Russians were working in Nigeria on it, and compared the project to the Soviet-sponsored Helwan Steel Plant in Egypt, which he said had to be rescued by US experts. By the end of the USSR the Ajaokuta steel mill was not complete. (Matusevich, 2003)

Alongside large infrastructure construction in Africa, Soviet aid still included a large amount of education in the USSR. While the USSR educated many Africans to spread socialism and liberate their countries from colonialism, it educated others in non-political subjects such as medicine. Between the 1970s and 2006, 400,000 Africans studied in the USSR and Russia (Boltovskaja, 2006: 133). Thus approximately 10,000 Africans a year were educated in the USSR, including in compulsory subjects of Marxism-Leninism and Dialectical Materialism. Whatever African students thought of this political education, the education as a whole was of the high Soviet standard.

1.2.5. USSR's collapse - aid recipient again

With Perestroika in the USSR and acknowledgement of the USSR's weak economy, Gorbachev tried to bring peace instead of now unaffordable aid to Africa. For example, he withdrew support from the Ethiopian Marxist government when Mengistu refused to settle with opponents. Withdrawal of support for one side in several African countries was seen by some Africans as leaving the West free to impose its solutions on conflicts, and the opportunity to play off one superpower against another was now lost to Africa. The collapse of the USSR also meant that Africa now competed with Russia and the rest of the former USSR for donor funds. (Matusevich, 2003)

In the immediate aftermath of the USSR, the Russian Federation reduced relations with Africa, closing 9 diplomatic missions, due to its own poor economy and that of many African countries (Zheltov, 2012). The former USSR's constituent parts became recipients, and Russia was a recipient for the third time. Donations from Western governments and the Western public included direct budget support to the Russian government and support to Russian civil society organisations. Aid was for both relief and development, and development meant joining capitalism, social policy reforms, and increasingly, installing and strengthening democracy to achieve a

government friendly to the West. Overseas aid to Russia peaked in 1999 at over 1% of Russia's Gross National Income (Rakhmangulov, 2010: 51). While this is far lower than many African countries receive from Western donors, donors' conditions required massive economic and social change in Russia.

Results were not immediate: in 2004, Russian per capita income was 17% less than the Soviet high of 1989 (Easterly, 2006: 57). Thereafter, however, the Russian Federation joined in the steady growth in Human Development Index (measuring average achievements of health, education and income) that most countries experienced between 1995 and 2011. By 2011, Russia ranked 66th in the world while the UK ranked 28th (United Nations, 2012). As Russia strengthened, aid from the West became loans.

Now Russia received mainly political aid, to facilitate building a democratic and fair society. In December 2011, Ria Novosti reported an American official saying that:

“Since 2009, the U.S. government has given approximately \$160 million in assistance to support programs on human rights, rule of law, anti-corruption, civil society, independent media, good governance, and democratic political processes... Most recently, U.S. funding was used to support independent Russian monitoring of the [State] Duma elections and education for independent media on professional and unbiased reporting, encourage informed citizen participation in elections, and enhance the capacity to conduct public opinion polling.”

Indeed, since 2000, the Russian government had been restricting freedoms and neutralising democratic civil society. In 2012 the Russian Duma adopted Federal Law 121-FZ, requiring non-commercial organisations to register with a government body as “NCOs carrying functions of a foreign agent” before receiving funding from abroad if they intended to conduct political activities (Russian State Duma, 2012). “Foreign agent” in Russia means “spy”. The West had tried to stop Soviet political aid to Africa; now the Russian government tried to stop USA political aid to Russia.

1.2.6. Donor again, friend or business partner

By 2001-2 Russia had started to give aid again. Its priority was writing off debts lent by the USSR. In 2003, Russia gave more debt relief than any other country. The size of write-offs was in part due to the large Soviet loans, inherited by Russia as repayable to itself. Under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative, from 2006 Russia's debt relief released funds for participating African countries to implement development initiatives agreed with Russia (Rakhmangulov, 2010: 63-64). This may have been

attractive to Russia as a way to gain influence in Africa, participate in aid without spending significant funds, and simplify its finances.

Debt relief may also appeal to Russia due to its own experience of receiving development loans and of externally imposed development. In 2006 a conference in Moscow during Russia's G8 Presidency aimed to allow transitional countries to disseminate their experience of being recipients and of developing. In addition to debt relief, Russia has delivered post-Soviet aid in its unique way, supporting largely education, alliances with its former colonies, its near Central Asian neighbours and other emerging powers, and donations through multilateral bodies. It has also emphasised trade with Africa. The following paragraphs examine each of these in turn.

Russia plans to continue to support education for other countries through various routes, including up to 10,000 scholarships per year to study in Russia, and Russian Education Aid for Development (READ) (Rakhmangulov, 2010: 63-64). In 2011-12, Russia funded 10,000 scholarships for foreign students in Russia. 10% were for students from Africa, far fewer than in Soviet times. This 1,000 also compares with approximately 35,000 African-domiciled students annually in the much smaller UK.²

In 2001, Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan formed the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation for socio-economic matters. With its former colonies and China, Russia thus spearheaded a Eurasian Union with a large stabilisation fund largely funded by Russia and low cost loans from the Eurasian Development Bank (Hoffmann, 2012). In 2009 Russian aid tripled compared to 2008, as it aided CIS countries in the economic crisis (Rakhmangulov, 2010). Russia led an initiative to combat AIDS in Eastern Europe and Central Asia (Government of the Russian Federation, 2011). In 2011 Russia announced a \$500 million grant to revive Pakistan Steel Mills, \$500 million towards an electricity transmission project,³ and aid to nearby Afghanistan.⁴

Russia is one of the 187 members of the IMF, and thus a member of the World Bank Group, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Development Association, the International Finance Corporation and the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (World Bank, 2011b). Russia was a member of the G8 until its membership was suspended due to its military engagement in

² <https://www.hesa.ac.uk/stats>

³ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/289087/russia-announces-500m-grant-for-pakistan-steel-mills/>

⁴ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-15735418>

Ukraine. It was the only member of the G8 which is not one of the 34 members of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). In 2008, Russia became a net donor to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (Rakhmangulov, 2010: 63-64). Delivery by multilateral agencies suits Russia, with its limited aid delivery capacity, and perhaps because of its long-standing tradition of verbal support of international institutions in their relations with Africa, which I shall show in Chapter 6. But donorship through multilateral institutions means that Russia is poorly visible. Even in countries where it gives bilateral assistance, it often does not attend donor coordination meetings. Russia is therefore now trying to be more visible in aid, to exercise better its “soft power”, and to be more deliberate in its use of aid in foreign policy (Maximova et al., 2013). Russia is part of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), whose members invest hugely in Africa (BRICS Research Group, 2012: 12-13). An IMF Working Paper praises Russia’s high proportion of untied aid, higher than the OECD’s as a whole (Mwase and Yang, 2012: 7). Like other BRICS countries, Russia is a model of self-development (Vidal, 2010, cited in Younis et al., 2013). However, BRICS loans are less altruistic than those of Western donors, with more loans to resource-rich countries with weaker institutions, and higher interest rates on loans to risky countries (Mwase, 2011: 4).

Russia also continues its long tradition of academic interest in Africa. St. Petersburg University’s African Studies Department has a healthy number of students (who all learn an African language), a busy programme, agreements with African universities, and students and staff in Paris, Hamburg, Berkeley, Beirut and Frankfurt. Present-day travellers from St. Petersburg University and the Russian Academy of Sciences continue “expeditions” to Africa, and bring back artefacts. (Zheltoy, 2012) Such strong emphasis on learning African culture implies that some of the current relationship concerns friendship and curiosity. The Institute of Africa, part of the Russian Academy of Sciences since 1959, and the Institute of Asian and African Studies in Moscow State University conduct more political academic work.

However, with regard to Africa, trade appears to interest the Russian government most. Emphasising self-interest, in 2008, the Concept for the Long-Term Social and Economic Development of Russia Through 2020 announced assistance to help Russian companies sell their goods and services around the world (including in Africa), continued funding of foreign students studying in Russia and of education and training abroad, and predicted that African countries could grow fast, requiring

investment and capital goods and supplying more resources to Russia. The Concept announced intentions to develop ties with the African Union, Southern African Development Community and Economic Community of West African States. (Rakhmangulov, 2010: 59) In 2009, Russia's President Medvedev and over 100 Russian businessmen visited Egypt, Nigeria, Namibia and Angola. Agreements and negotiations worth billions of US dollars concerned major infrastructure projects⁵, but not all were implemented. In Nigeria, for example, the National Assembly ratified none of them, allegedly due to lack of a clearly articulated political vision in Nigeria (Agubamah, 2014). In 2009 the Russian Government created AfroKom, the Coordination Committee for Economic Cooperation with Sub-Saharan African Countries, whose aim is to promote the interests of Russian business in Africa, uniting over 90 Russian ministries, departments, organisations and companies.

Meantime, while Russia has been developing its aid model, the West has granted aid to Russia to encourage it to be a donor in the Western mould, with a government international development agency and agreed principles. From 2009 to 2011, the UK government's Department for International Development (DFID) funded two complementary projects in Russia: Public Forum for Development In Russia (£280,000), implemented by the Higher School of Economics (HSE) and Oxfam (Department for International Development, 2011a), and Russia As A Donor Initiative (£542,813), implemented by the World Bank, to facilitate the founding of Russia's proposed governmental international development agency (Department for International Development, 2011b). The second project's final report states that while the Russian government wishes to focus on Europe and Central Asia, it will also help address Africa's problems, and concludes that the World Bank, USAID and an IBRD loan will fund future capacity-building of Russian government aid institutions.

However, Russia is ambivalent about establishing a government aid agency. In 1994 Yeltsin issued a decree creating a "Russian Agency for International Cooperation and Development". It did not materialise, but the idea was aired again in 2004 (Gray, 2011b: 4). In 2007 the Russian government's Development Assistance Concept repeated that a new agency would be formed to deliver aid. Instead, in 2008, the Federal Agency for the Commonwealth of Independent States, Compatriots Living Abroad and International Humanitarian Cooperation (Rossotrudnichestvo) was established under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), to continue the Soviet practice of cultural centres

⁵ <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB124639219666775441.html>

abroad, deliver aid to the CIS, and deliver international development. The MFA has a network of offices overseas and experience of bilateral engagement, and speaks of the “soft power” of Russian development assistance and “parity” with the West. Rossotrudnichestvo briefly worked on educational aid projects in Armenia, the Kyrgyz Republic and Tajikistan. In 2011, Russia announced publicly that its proposed government agency for international development would be part of the Ministry of Finance (MinFin). (Research Centre for International Cooperation and Development, 2011) MinFin learned to talk about aid as DAC donors do, for example concerning “sustainable growth”. By 2012, however, this idea was dropped, and aid was to continue to be distributed by different government departments. (Brezhneva and Ukhova, 2013) The 2014 Concept of the Russian Federation's State Policy in the Area of International Development Assistance proposed the establishment of a Commission of the Russian Federation for International Development Assistance. Such uncertainty is common: the USA underwent a similar period when it began official aid (Gray, 2012)⁶, as did DFID in the 1960s to 1990s, as I note in Chapter 5.

1.2.7. The West's view and the legacy in Africa

The West watched Soviet aid to Africa during the Cold War, when African countries were gaining independence. Western powers knew that Soviet aid to Africa and Asia rivalled the West's: “Soviet promises of aid mounted rapidly until they reached a peak of more than \$1 billion in the year 1960. In terms of gross national product, this was as much as the United States was providing at the time.” (Goldman, 1965) The scale of Soviet and Western aid to the South was competitive, and all sides knew this (Kanet, 2010). In the age of the arms race and the space race, the aid race ran parallel, although complicated by third parties - recipient countries.

Sometimes the USSR won the political and humanitarian argument with Western countries. For example, a 1970 conference, which the USSR facilitated in Rome to organise resistance to Portuguese colonialism, allegedly prompted the Swedish government to send aid to Angola (Shubin, 2008: 12-13).

Today, Western-dominated organisations such as the IMF appear to have forgotten the scale of Soviet donorship, calling DAC donors “traditional”, even when stating that the BRICS started giving aid in the 1950s, that Russia cancelled large amounts of debt in the 2000s, and that China and India give the same to infrastructure in

⁶ <http://www.nomadit.co.uk/easa/easa2012/panels.php5?PanelID=1044>

Africa as “traditional donors” (Mwase and Yang, 2012). Any argument that Soviet aid was not largely Russian aid is disingenuous, given the dominance of Russia in the USSR, and the fact that Russia inherited debts to the USSR.

Soviet involvement and aid in Africa were large and visible. Much of their legacy is visible today, including: the Aswan Dam in Egypt, power plants in Nigeria, military training bases in Angola and Ethiopia, Lada taxis and a Russian Red Cross hospital in Ethiopia, embassies in 41 countries⁷ with Russian Centres of Science and Culture to attract Africans to study in Russia, Russian speakers amongst older members of African middle classes, and people of mixed African and Russian parentage.

1.3. Media discourse analysis

1.3.1. *Why discourse analysis?*

It is clear from the foregoing that discourse is important. Discourse includes the verbal reproduction of impressions, story-telling and naming, all present in the above history: written knowledge which various Tsars sought about Africa, tales which returning travellers brought to Russia, the myth of Russia’s close link to Africa through its most famous poet’s African ancestry, debates about race and socialism, waxing and waning of anti-colonial rhetoric during, between and after the world wars, participation in projects to develop aid, with conferences, reports and handbooks, and naming of some countries as traditional donors, with the consequent implication that others are not.

An analysis of discourse involves analysing the ways in which people talk or write about topics, assessing and questioning the knowledge they had and how discourse developed and propagated this knowledge, bringing to light assumptions of speakers and writers, and examining how speech and writing inherit, disseminate and sometimes change power relations. International relations, international development, aid and the postcolonial environment are fraught with power relations, and these are negotiated through discourse. As I explain in Chapter 2, a postcolonial approach involves attention to discourse, unravelling “processes of colonization of minds as well as territories (McEwan, 2009: 15), meaning the minds of the colonisers, the colonised and indeed an observer such as the USSR. Discourse theory holds that discourse creates society, its constructs and subjects. Discourse analysis is important to understanding how the USSR and Russia constructed Africa and aid, how they understood these

⁷ http://www.mid.ru/zu_r.nsf/strawebeng

topics, and how they perceived and moulded hierarchies of power. Discourse analysis can expose harmful discourses and their effects, making it pertinent to this subject matter, where the wellbeing of millions of Africans was and is affected by actions of people living thousands of miles away in the northern hemisphere. Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), a type of discourse analysis, is useful for analysis of media texts over time, and I use it for this research. Adding a postcolonial approach to DHA made me reject and hence notice assumptions of incapable Africa needing Western or Soviet aid, question the silence of some Africans and the vocalism of other Africans in *Pravda*, perceive the USSR as a colonial power itself, and indeed examine an Africa constructed by the discourse of others, not by its own discourse. I explain postcolonialism, Discourse Analysis and DHA in Chapters 2, on theories and approaches, and 3, on methodology.

1.3.2. Why media discourse analysis?

Allan Bell gives four main reasons for scholars' interest in media: it is a rich source of readily accessible data, it influences and illustrates use of language in a speech community, it reveals social meanings and stereotypes, and it reflects and influences culture, politics and social life (Bell, 1998). Within the media, news is "the most prestigious of daily media genres ... at the centre of the exercise of power in modern societies." (Bell and Garrett, 1998: 3-4) To understand power games in the USSR and post-Soviet Russia, affecting aid and Africa, it is important to analyse news discourse.

The media is a repository where we can detect the ideology of the place and time. Ideology is supremely important to DHA and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the "foremost approach to media analysis" (ibid: 6). According to sociocognitive scholar Van Dijk, social ideologies "monitor" the everyday practices of journalists and other social actors, and in turn are created and changed by the day-to-day interaction of people inside the press and other institutions. Ideologies have a social function, to coordinate the social practices of group members such that they realise the goals and protect the interests of that social group. All social groups, whether dominant or dominated, have ideologies. Individuals may belong to several social groups and thus have several ideologies, each influencing their social practices. Ideologies "govern social judgement – what group members think is right or wrong, true or false... many group ideologies involve the representation of Self and Others, Us and Them. Many therefore seem to be polarized – We are Good and They are Bad." (van Dijk, 1998b: 22-

26) I elaborate on ideology in Section 1.4., on Soviet and Russian media, and in Chapter 2, on theories and approaches.

Such social judgement is conveyed through discourse, including of newspapers, in choice of vocabulary, headlines, story structures, arguments, graphics, layout, syntactic structures, semantic structures and topics. The reader also constructs meaning, as we continually “model” events, including news events that we read about in newspapers. These “mental models” are “the interface between social representations, including ideologies, on the one hand, and social practices and discourse on the other hand.” (ibid: 27) Moreover, “A text is merely the tip of the iceberg of what is mentally represented in models. And conversely, due to the construction of a model and the application of knowledge and attitudes in this construction, people usually understand much more of a text than it actually expresses.” (ibid: 28)

Norman Fairclough takes a more Foucauldian approach to the media, and talks of orders of discourse, political discourse and struggles for power and hegemony. In the West, these include struggles between journalists, politicians and grassroots activists. The political system has various orders of discourse, including of ordinary life, socio-political movements, academic and scientific experts and journalists. As political, media and academic discourse have converged in the West in recent decades, one task of media discourse analysis is to establish how real or merely apparent political struggle is, and seek out the real antagonists and protagonists. (Fairclough, 1998: 147-9) Such an approach is equally relevant to Soviet media discourse, part of a society in which all public discourse emanated from and through a centralised system. Fairclough suggests asking the following questions of any political “discursive event” such as a newspaper article: which political agents are involved, what genres, discourses and ethoses they use, how they are articulated in the text, how this changes the direction of the political order of discourse, and “what wider social and cultural processes shape and are shaped by the way this discursive event articulates genres, discourses and ethoses?” (Fairclough, 1998: 161-162) Fairclough thus engages less than van Dijk in how readers comprehend texts, but similarly sees discourse as constructing the elements of which it speaks, and recommends breaking it down and analysing it systematically, concentrating on intertextuality.

According to Bell, journalists take a (conscious or unconscious) systematic approach to their work. To engage readers’ interest, they write stories, not articles, using ‘five Ws and an H’: who, what, when, where, why and how. These stories usually

contain attribution (the source of the story), a summary and the story proper. An analysis of what the story says allows a subsequent analysis of what it does not say. (Bell, 1998: 66-67)

It is apparent from just these three scholarly examples that media discourse is rich and complex. In addition, meaning is conveyed not only through words. All texts, including newspaper articles, are multimodal, and “layout analysis has an important role in the critical study of newspaper language.” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1998: 217) The layout of pages can establish “reading paths”, beginning with the most salient element, and moving to the next most salient. Readers may “read” only pictures and headlines, or part or all of the text, in a “to-and-fro between text and image, and between the various elements of the pages generally.” (ibid: 205) We scan newspaper front pages before reading them, and assess which elements are the most important (ibid: 205). Newspaper editors thus use layout and saliency to convey meaning and guide their readers’ reading paths. Analysis of layout and graphics is part of newspaper discourse analysis.

I cover all this more fully in Chapter 2, theories and approaches.

1.4. Soviet and Post-Soviet Russian media discourse analysis

1.4.1. Soviet media

Purpose of Soviet ideological work – social formation

Media was extremely important to the USSR. It was part of an ideological apparatus, whose proponents prided themselves on the scientific and proletariat-led nature of their ideology, unlike Western capitalist ideology, which they considered to be based on power and the false consciousness of exploiting classes (N.B. Bikkenin, quoted in Remington, 1988: 8-9). The Soviet ideological apparatus had several purposes. Firstly, given that the Soviet government allowed only one ideology, its expression and spreading was essential “to justify the supposed unity of truth and power.” (Remington, 1988: 79) It initially had another, very practical purpose, until about 1927 providing the equivalent of secondary education to many Communist Party workers, while schooling was still limited. Shortly after, Stalin saw propaganda’s purpose as neither to convince nor to persuade, but “simply to produce a uniform pattern of public utterance in which the first trace of unorthodox thought immediately reveals itself as a jarring dissonance.” (Leonard Shapiro, quoted in ibid: 86) By the 1970s, Alexander Zinoviev could still assert that Soviet ideological work taught and compelled people “to think, speak and behave alike and in a way desired by their rulers.” In the 1980s, Michael Voslensky

wrote that Soviet propaganda no longer tried to persuade people of its correctness, but merely repeated its messages endlessly, to engrave them in everyone's minds. Those who dared express doubt over propaganda were punished. Thus the ideological apparatus aimed to achieve not understanding but standard public discourse, backed up by fear. With Glasnost came some relaxation, and from the mid-1980s, the official stance was that political education should serve primarily economic and scientific-technical progress and change attitudes and behaviour. (Remington, 1988)

How Soviet ideological work was organised

Soviet ideological work was extensive and largely intellectual. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) had a Propaganda Department which oversaw ideological work, and an Ideology Department with a Mass Media Sub-Department, responsible for press, broadcasting and books (McNair, 1991). These departments coordinated the ideological work of all CPSU units and affiliates, supervised the mass media and public political education, and directed the agitation-propaganda departments of party branches. By the early 1980s, over a million people worked for a living in ideology and the social sciences, supplemented by 11 million spare-time activist communicators and organisers. 50% of intellectuals, specialists and managers conducted ideological work. From 1974 to 1986, 36% of chief executives in the media had been staff of Party committees; by 1986, this figure was 56%, and close ties between Party and media were institutionalised. Half the employed population was enrolled in political education. In Moscow, 92% were. (Remington, 1988)

Purpose of Soviet media: propagandist & organiser

Soviet authorities were explicit and open about their ideology or bias, and, following Marx and Lenin, used mass media to form public opinion. Both Marx and Lenin had been journalists, Marx contributing to the New York Tribune, the largest circulation newspaper in the world, from 1852 to 1892 (McNair, 1991). While both ostensibly supported press freedom, and both suffered from censorship by authorities, they both wanted the mass media to be in the "right" hands. As Marx and Engels wrote:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, consequently also controls the means of mental production, so that the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are on the whole subject to it. (Marx and Engels, in German Ideology, 1843, quoted in *ibid*: 12)

Lenin developed the ideas of Marx and Engels to shape the Bolshevik media apparatus which helped bring about Soviet power in 1917. From 1899, from exile in Siberia, Lenin wrote papers and developed the media theory which would govern Soviet media throughout its existence. In 1901 he wrote that a national newspaper for Russia was the Bolsheviks' top priority, for propaganda (presentation of many ideas to a few people) and agitation (presentation of a few ideas to many people). This distinction was needed while the Russian population was largely illiterate, but after the revolution, as literacy grew, the distinction faded away. The press's organisational role meant that a national newspaper would facilitate communications between the revolutionary movement's units, give them full and timely information, distribute publications, and develop effective propagandists, organisers and leaders, capable of "releasing the slogans for the decisive struggles and of taking the lead in those struggles." (ibid: 16-18) Therefore, after 1917, the Bolsheviks created the biggest and most complex media apparatus in the world. By the end of 1918, 884 Party and Soviet newspapers were published, in 2.7 million copies annually. (ibid)

Lenin's four journalistic principles were promoted throughout Soviet times: 1) partiality (*partiinnost/ideinnost*); 2) link with the masses (*massovost/narodnost*); 3) truthfulness and objectivity (*pravdivost/obyektivnost*); and 4) openness (*otkrytost/glasnost*). Partiality meant biased towards the interests of the workers' class, justifying social ownership of the media. *Narodnost* meant writing for the people and rejecting populist news in favour of propaganda about production and economic news about building socialism. Truthfulness and objectivity meant factual accuracy and true explanation, including links to party policy. Objectivism, by contrast, equivalent to the Western journalistic concept of impartiality, standing aloof from an issue, was a negative concept. Glasnost meant openness in Party affairs, described by Lenin in his 1902 'What is to be Done?'. Soviet newspapers were also tribunes, reporting official matters and events, and publishing Party leaders' obituaries, congratulatory or condolence telegrams to foreign governments, draft laws, decrees and ministries' announcements. Such "ofitsioz" constituted up to 9% of newspaper items. (ibid)

How Soviet media was organised

Soviet media was rigidly organised. The CPSU's daily supervision of the media was delegated to Glavlit and senior media staff, including chief editors and the chairs of the Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union (TASS) and GOSTELRADIO, appointed by the

Politburo and Central Committee Secretariats. They attended regular briefings by the Central Committee, and were the Party's ideological media watchdogs. Chief editors and senior journalists were co-opted onto Party committees. In 1986, the chief editors of *Pravda*, *Kommunist* and *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, and the chair of GOSTELRADIO were elected to the CPSU's Central Committee. (ibid)

By the end of the USSR, there were approximately 8,000 newspapers and 1,500 journals, and for every 100 people, 40 to 66 copies of newspapers were printed. There were about 10 newspapers in each republic, two at each local government level, and one in each city, city district and rural district. Almost 4,000 enterprises and organisations issued newspapers. In 1987, the Soviet Journalists' union, formed in 1956, had over 85,000 members and there were 100,000 working journalists. However, the system was relatively monolithic. Up to half of newspaper content came from TASS, largely official "protocol" information, from 500 reporters in the USSR, correspondents in 126 foreign countries and volunteer correspondents. The 30 central newspapers printed half of all copies of all newspapers, and just 8 central newspapers accounted for one third of all copies of all newspapers printed. Less than a quarter of Soviet newspapers were daily, and most were just 4 to 6 pages long. The USSR had fewer newspapers but a higher total circulation than the USA, and many fewer periodicals and radio stations broadcasting to fewer radios. By the 1980s, three TV channels covered the whole USSR, 85% of households had a television, and people began to use television as their main source of news. Soviet media was more widespread than US media through its newspapers, and became nearly as widespread in its broadcast media. In 1918, Soviet newspapers published in 20 languages. By the end of the USSR, they published in 55, serving many Soviet nationalities. (Remington, 1988)

Soviet newspapers used "worker correspondents" and public contributions. By 1930, there were 2 million Worker and Peasant Correspondents (*rabselkor*). From 1928, *Pravda* ran a weekly article of *rabselkor* exposing deficiencies in the Soviet system. Major newspapers received thousands of letters each week and maintained departments to process them. (McNair, 1991) Each year, 6% of the adult population wrote letters and other materials. Nearly 10% of adults influenced the media. Most non-staff correspondents were Party members. (Remington, 1988)

Despite this extensive popular input, Soviet media became increasingly monolithic, first in ownership, then in products as described above, and then in ideology. Lenin's Decree on the Press, published in *Pravda* in November 1917, banned

any press organisation advocating opposition to the government, being untruthful or encouraging crime. A state monopoly on advertising was announced, starving private newspapers of income, and from 1917 to 1918, 3,200 publications ceased existence. The first Soviet constitution of 1918 outlawed private media ownership. By March 1919, the Bolsheviks operated or controlled all media in the USSR, but Lenin insisted that Soviet press was freer than any other press, as it freed the masses from the influence of priests and landowners. After the Civil War, during the New Economic Policy, relaxation of the decree allowed non-Bolshevik papers to re-establish. However, by subordinating the media to the CPSU, Lenin made it vulnerable to abuse: by 1929, Stalin had closed all non-Party publications and private publishers. Stalin's decree of 1938 marked a turn to elitism and doctrinal orthodoxy and banned Lenin scholarship. This was later relaxed, as Marxism-Leninism became again the explicit ideology, but only from 1989, with Glasnost, did citizens have the right to subscribe to foreign publications, and shops the right to sell them. (McNair, 1991) The 1990 Press Law was the first Soviet legislation to guarantee citizens rights of access to information and mass dissemination. It was "the most significant single event in the development of the Soviet media system since Lenin's Press Decree of 1917." (McNair, 1991: 105)

Production of Soviet media

CPSU committees made one-month workplans concerning themes, and annual "perspective plans" concerning major national campaigns and national events. Senior staff managed content and proofreading. Editors' main duties were oversight and networking. Newspapers were advised to keep enough material for up to ten issues, and reporters were given quotas of numbers of items on particular subjects for each issue. Maintaining sufficient copy for each issue was more important than chasing a news scoop. Glavlit listed prohibited topics, the Party's policy directives had to be followed, newspaper staff were not allowed to change the language of TASS materials, and before an event could be reported, it had to be confirmed and the style of its reporting determined by a political authority. Thus appropriate reporting too was valued over speed. Sections with headings called "rubrics" contained articles on approved themes, running several months. The whole ethos was of education and public good. From Stalin's time in particular, writing was conformist and clichéd, readers' tastes were barely considered and their profile under-researched. Customer demand was less important than the message to be conveyed. Professional independence was not valued,

and the profession had low value, poor pay, long hours and required subservience to the Party. (Remington, 1988)

Soviet foreign news

According to McNair, Soviet foreign news was supremely important, since it could convey the legitimacy of Marxism-Leninism. The Party leadership interpreted foreign news, and newspapers had to present it such that “the central ‘sustaining myth’ of Soviet socialism’s innate social, economic, political and cultural superiority over advanced capitalism is elaborated above all in international journalism, through the construction of the latter in images and symbols consistent with that myth.” (McNair, 1991: 117)

Foreign news was produced by Soviet foreign correspondents based in Soviet embassies abroad, by TASS and foreign news agencies such as Reuters and Associated Press, and by political observers in the Soviet press. Soviet media covered more foreign events than Western media did, but allocated them less time and space. The rubric “Fraternal News” told positive stories about building of socialism abroad, while “Hot Spots of the Planet” included conflict between pro-Soviet (or Soviet-backed) and anti-Soviet governments and opposition movements. Socialist governments were presented as popular, and Soviet media took the side of the pro-Soviet faction. For example, Soviet media reported US and UK vetoes of sanctions against the apartheid South African government, which the UK press barely reported, although world opinion generally supported the Soviet stance. Protocol news, which reported on Soviet delegations abroad or foreign delegations to the USSR, portrayed the Soviet state with friends and influence, “with the USSR at the centre of the world stage as the bearer of progressive human values” (McNair, 1991: 146). Western racism and peace movements were much reported in the Soviet media, as they were under-reported in the Western media. Western sources were quoted if they supported a Soviet stance (McNair, 1991).

Quality and effects of Soviet media – from Stalinism to Brezhnevism

The quality of media from the mid-1920s to the mid-1980s was fairly uniform. Lenin’s four principles were not upheld, especially during Stalin’s time, when partiality and objectivity were distorted and the *rabselkor* became informants, perverting *narodnost*. *Glasnost* was eliminated by the mid-1930s, as content praised Stalin and his allies and denigrated those he considered enemies. Khrushchev’s subsequent “thaw” extended to the media, he called for an end to political jargon, and in 1956, *Sovetskaya Rossiya* newspaper was started, to eradicate Stalinism. However, when Khrushchev was deposed

in 1964, Brezhnev and Kosygin brought a return to Stalinist orthodoxy. While Brezhnev called for *perestroika* and *glasnost*, these were not really implemented.

According to Remington, the advanced planning, demands from superiors for ideological success and conformity to political guidelines resulted in ritualism and campaignism. Stalin's 1938 decree "became the basis for the training of a generation of communists who, while little tempted to think for themselves, need never be at a loss for the official answer to every problem" (Leonard Schapiro, quoted in Remington, 1988: 78). The media carried campaign themes such as Khrushchev's emphasis on the practical, and the Brezhnev-era concepts of the "all-people's state" and "developed socialism", the stage attained by the USSR in its march towards communism. Since media professionals and volunteers hoped for subsequent work in the Party, the media remained uncritical of Party and government. Stylistic peculiarities included photographs of healthy rural Russians and war veterans, and "the ingratiating tone of the "family friend" that [Soviet writers] adopt" (Remington, 1988: 108). The style was heavy and repetitive:

On the scale of desiderata, clarity and freshness of expression, timeliness of coverage, and correspondence with audience interests rank lower than acceptability in the eyes of the most pertinent audience, the party staff of the corresponding party organisation. Repetition and didacticism, a preference for production over consumption themes, the heavy stamp of campaign slogans, all reflect these values, as does the force of conventionality and inertia. (Remington: 130)

The mass media reached everyone. Almost all adults read at least one central newspaper and one other, and in one town researched, on average two to three people read each copy of *Pravda*, *Izvestia* and the local paper (Remington, 1988: 186). The Soviet populace thus learned to live with such media. Vladimir Shlapentokh argued that official ideology governed their verbal behaviour, while pragmatic considerations governed their material behaviour (cited in Remington, 1988: 85). Stephen White likewise wrote of a "dualism" in which people used official phraseology while retaining contrary private values. The organisational aims of Soviet media may, however, have worked, as it helped engage party activists in common tasks and contributed to economic performance (White, cited in Remington, 1988: 86-87). Many readers discounted information from the media, instead seeking word-of-mouth and foreign radio. Those most involved in public affairs were those most likely to trust word-of-mouth over official media. (Remington, 1988: 195) In addition, the style was too

difficult for most people to understand. Initially newspapers were published for a largely illiterate (80% peasant) population, with articles of 30 lines or less. By the late USSR, in one sample only 12% of respondents could fully understand each article, 33% understood key words but not their meaning in the articles, nearly 40% lacked knowledge needed to understand content, and 90% of workers could not interpret articles properly (Dridze, cited in Remington, 1988: 197). Poor quality Soviet media also prompted the development of underground *samizdat* (“self-publications”), which criticised the regime and were a risk to their authors and distributors if detected by the authorities, but which had small circulations, amongst dissidents.

By Brezhnev’s death in 1982, Soviet media was in crisis, mistrusted and misunderstood by its audience, undermined by radio, and lagging behind international politics. In 1986, Chernobyl made headline news around the world, but Soviet media continued to concentrate on routine economics, upsetting domestic and foreign audiences, and boosting the information reforms instigated by Gorbachev, who one year previously had become CPSU General Secretary. (McNair, 1991)

Quality and effects of Soviet media – Glasnost

Gorbachev referred to Lenin’s principle of *glasnost* in a 1984 speech, became General Secretary next year and then relaunched Glasnost, to revive the revolutionary essence of Soviet Marxism. To make the media more independent of the Party, Glasnost included replacing many media executives. *Pravda* remained largely conservative, and in 1989, the more reformist Ivan Frolov replaced editor Viktor Afanasyev. Under the new Press Law, *samizdat* became unnecessary. The media began to cover domestic affairs more openly and foreign affairs in a more timely manner. Glasnost began to restore journalism’s prestige. Soviet history began to be retold more honestly. The public began to demand more coverage of disasters in the USSR, and this was granted, but with more about cause and fewer salacious details than in Western press. Soviet industrial disputes and national movements began to be covered too, but accompanied by tales of normality in the area, ignoring shocking violence in the Caucasus. By 1989, even items critical of the Soviet regime could appear in the Soviet press, but Glasnost remained difficult locally, where criminals exposed by journalists sometimes silenced them, through murder or threats. Nevertheless, as Soviet media reflected Glasnost and Perestroika (“restructuring”), demand outstripped print runs.

International news was for long virtually unchanged. “Fraternal News” continued throughout Glasnost, as other socialist governments presumed that Soviet

journalists wrote on behalf of the Soviet government, and a diplomatic incident might arise from a newspaper article which criticised them. However, Gorbachev's "new political thinking" in Soviet foreign policy meant de-emphasising class-based ideologies when determining the approach to overseas conflict, and emphasising peaceful resolution of international conflicts. Thus, Soviet and Western governments developed similar views of South Africa, and Soviet and Western views in the media began to converge. Soviet public relations staff learned to drive the Western news agenda, for example telling Western journalists reporting on the 1986 Reykjavik conference that the Soviet team was offering a large reduction in nuclear weapons if the USA would reciprocate, raising expectations in the West which Reagan then disappointed. (McNair, 1991) Soviet reporting of Northern Ireland became more sympathetic to the UK government, as the Soviet conception of human rights moved from being purely about class to include victims of terrorism, and the USSR experienced similar problems in Nagorno Karabakh (Remington, 1988).

1.4.2. Soviet *Pravda*

I selected *Pravda* (Правда) for this research because of its large circulation, national status and role as the voice of the CPSU. It was one of two main Soviet daily newspapers, the other being *Izvestia* (Известия), published by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. In 1928, *Pravda* had an average daily circulation of 572,183, while *Izvestia*'s was 432,325.⁸

From 1912, *Pravda* was published in St. Petersburg as a legal Russian political newspaper. Due to its revolutionary content, the police harassed *Pravda*'s staff, and in 1913 the government closed it. It reopened after the February 1917 revolution, with Stalin, Kamenev and Muranov as editors, and was moved to Moscow in 1918, where it became the CPSU's official newspaper. *Pravda* had regional versions, and its management oversaw titles including *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (*Young Communists' Pravda*). (McNair, 1991) Its editorship was the most senior and prestigious in Soviet media. The *Pravda* editor was chair of the Journalists' Union, and after 1976 attended most weekly Politburo and Secretariat meetings, along with some other chief editors of central media organisations, although none was a Politburo member. He, plus the chair of Gosteleradio, chief editor of *Literaturnaya Gazeta* and editor of *Kommunist*, were members of the CPSU Central Committee. Soviet opinion vaunted *Pravda* as a model well-produced newspaper. (Remington, 1988)

⁸ <https://www.marxists.org/history/ussr/government/1928/sufds/ch19.htm>

To the end of the USSR, *Pravda* carried mainly political and economic news. It used interdiscourse, with special discourses feeding into this. Political discourse in particular entered through discourse fragments such as speeches of Soviet and foreign leaders, interviews with foreign leaders and reports from political meetings. Many foreign reports in *Pravda* came from TASS. I elaborate on *Pravda's* post-Soviet stage in Section 1.4.3 and on its style in Chapter 3.

1.4.3. Post-Soviet Russian media landscape

Post-Soviet media brought changes and continuity. It changed through technological advances, such that by 2012, 73% of people gained most news from television and 25% used the internet. However, while significantly privately owned and therefore with a purpose of profit, many media outlets are owned by “regime-friendly business concerns, including large oil and gas companies” (Orttung R, Walker W in Russian Analytical Digest, 2013b: 1), and media’s purpose remains control by government of the population. Indeed, as “state media works to provide Russian viewers with an officially-approved version of what is happening in Russia and the world, while discrediting potential opposition voices or forces that are critical of the incumbent powers” (ibid: 1), the continuity of production means and quality standards from Soviet times, including on foreign affairs, is striking. Even the *rabselkor* continue in the guise of contributors to official websites. A new, unsavoury feature is that as journalists seek to exercise freedom of expression, between 1993 and 2013, 341 reporters were killed, their murders little investigated (ibid: 5).

Government ownership, financing and intimidation around reporting on sensitive issues therefore lead to self-censorship across the media. While some print media is able to “tackle serious issues of politics, corruption and public affairs” (ibid: 1), self-censorship is still considerable in print, such that:

Over the course of the Putin era widespread self-censorship has grown deep roots at news organisations. Today, print journalists and editors must increasingly rely on support from the state budget and routinely confront intimidation, lawsuits and other forms of harassment when they report on sensitive issues. (ibid: 2)

Newspaper discourse thus still excludes the content that people consciously or unconsciously excise from writing. This is in spite of the fact that the state controls only two of the 14 national newspapers (Freedom House’s 2012 report, cited in ibid: 2). In 2013, 24% of Russians used newspapers and magazines for news (Russian Analytical

Digest, 2013a: 9).

Pravda's role, of course, changed. At the USSR's collapse in 1991, President Yeltsin sold *Pravda* to a Greek family. In 1996 it split into *Pravda Online*, the first Russian-language web newspaper, and *Pravda* the newspaper, which the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF) acquired and made their official newspaper. While it is tempting to see continuity between ownership by the CPSU and CPRF, there are significant differences between the parties. Obviously the CPSU was much more powerful than the CPRF, as the CPRF has never been in government. Indeed lately the CPRF has appeared not to seek to be in power, but to remain an imitational opposition, strengthening an appearance of democracy, in this age of "managed political contention from above" (Cheskin and March, 2015: 270). Its membership has aged and dwindled, and its policies have changed little since Soviet times. While the CPRF has appreciated Putin's nationalism, its public statements imply disapproval of his privatisation agenda and reduced state funding of social services. Its 2007 election manifesto included a "refusal to live under the dictate of the imperialists", renationalisation, pay rises, state-led industrial and agricultural initiatives, restoration of power to the soviets of people's deputies, free healthcare and education, and more "people's power" (White, 2011, p. 46-47). The first statement brought it closer to the Kremlin, but other policies ensured that it remained in opposition. In the 2011 elections, it regained its 1990s popularity, and by 2015 was still the dominant left-wing party in the Russian Duma. However, being a "systemic party", it was co-opted as part of a "licensed opposition":

with limited access to state funding and guaranteed electoral participation... Occasionally strong rhetoric against the government is permitted, but any démarche against the President goes beyond the Kremlin's 'imposed consensus' and is likely to result in extreme pressure from above. (March, 2015: 101)

Thus *Pravda* has mainly been the voice of the Communist Party, of the CPSU from 1918 to 1991, and of the CPRF from 1997 to today. Although it belongs to a weaker party than before, it still plays a role in supporting the current regime. A more complex media landscape with over 400 newspapers⁹ does not prevent a still relatively monolithic, self-censoring media discourse, and *Pravda's* role in this is of willing supporter of its government and willing participant in government control of discourse through media. *Pravda* does not provoke the government into harassing its journalists.

⁹ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4315129.stm>

I take the above into account in Chapter 6, where I show that *Pravda's* different ownership periods indeed marked different discourses on Africa, and that during periods of Communist Party ownership, *Pravda* has broadly supported the government, while using strong socialist discourse. However, modern *Pravda* has a circulation of only 100,000¹⁰. Its influence is far less than the mighty Soviet *Pravda's*, and it is an example of just one amongst many newspapers. I have followed the discourse from Soviet to post-Soviet *Pravda*, as a case study of the route that this unique newspaper took, but post-Soviet *Pravda's* discourse is no longer that of the government, and *Pravda's* socialist rhetoric that I shall show in Chapter 6 is not typical of modern Russian media rhetoric. It displays nostalgia for the Soviet fight against colonialism and for solidarity with Africa, which might not be seen in other current media. It nevertheless is one part of the current media landscape and merits this exploration.

1.4.4. Research on Soviet and Russian media discourse on Africa and aid

There is very little published on the linguistic construction of Africa, international development or aid in Soviet media, although some social scientists have analysed post-Soviet media on these topics, including comparison with Soviet media.

Political scientist Veronica Usacheva reviewed mentions of Africa and African countries over 9 months from 2000 to 2001 on NTV (National Television) and over five years from 1996 to 2000 in 10 magazines and newspapers with a democratic slant. Her objectives were to see whether accusations of racism levelled at the Russian mass media for their reporting on Africans in Russia held true for their reporting on Africa, and to clarify the mass media's role in creating an image of other races. She found that the presentation of Africa was indeed racist. (Usacheva, 2003) Usacheva has also compared representations of Africans in the Soviet media with representations in the post-Soviet media, and found that the post-Soviet media is more negative about Africans (Usacheva, 2006: 120).

Sociologist Svetlana Boltovskaja too has examined the topic of race in post-Soviet Russian media, finding much of it chillingly racist. However, much internet media of Russian origin concerning Africa and Africans is non-racist, run by Africans living in Russia. (Boltovskaja, 2006)

Social anthropologist Patty Gray reviewed Russian media coverage from 2005 to 2011, looking particularly at the quantity of representation of international development and aid in post-Soviet Russian media (Gray, 2011b: 27).

¹⁰ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4315129.stm>

I examine the findings of these pieces of research in Chapter 4. None is a substantive linguistic analysis of either Soviet or post-Soviet media constructions. The scholars are social scientists, and their reviews mainly concern which topics are discussed in the media and what is said about them. There is little research published on other public discourse on these topics. Chapter 5 includes an assessment of the scant Soviet literature on development.

1.5. Research questions

Taking into account all the foregoing, my research questions are:

- How did Soviet media representations of aid and development, particularly in *Pravda*, conceptualise Africa and international development in Africa?
- What discursive strategies were used in *Pravda* to construct Africa and aid?
- How did these change during Soviet times and since then?

In answering these questions, I consider the wider context, including the USSR's and Russia's relationships and encounters with Africa and aid. Finally, I consider the legacy of Soviet discourse.

1.6. Thesis summary and contributions to knowledge

Part I – Introduction, Theory, Methodology and Context

The USSR and Russia had and have a unique perspective on Africa and aid, due to geographical location, changing ideologies and alternating aid status of both recipient and donor. **Chapter 1** outlines Russian-Soviet-African history, recounting the origins of Russia's treatment of Africa as a tool with which to deal with the West, and highlighting occurrences of Russia and the USSR both giving and receiving aid, both to and from Africa. In so doing, I add to the literature a unique interpretation of these combined topics. This introductory chapter also explains the value in analysing media discourse, its importance in conveying ideology and power, and the rich content and power of the media. Soviet media was monolithic, all-pervasive and increasingly malfunctioning, with an explicit role to disseminate ideology; it was followed by a more fractured and yet still government-controlled post-Soviet Russian media. *Pravda's* role in Soviet times was immense, but dissipated after the USSR. Social scientists have researched post-Soviet media content on either Africa or aid, but separately, not in Soviet times, and not using discourse analysis. The questions and gaps revealed in this chapter explain my research questions, concerning how *Pravda's* discourse constructed

Africa and aid, the Soviet and Western contexts which shaped this discourse, and the legacy of conceptions of Africa, aid and development bequeathed to present-day Russia.

In *Chapter 2*, I show how the USSR's foreign policy was quasi-colonial, an attitude inherited from imperial Russia. While my interpretation is valuable in itself, this also explains my choice of a postcolonial approach. The main tenets of this approach include keen observation: of false binaries; of the speaking back, agency and lowly position of the less powerful; and of the desire of the more powerful to change others and their assumed right to observe others. A postcolonial approach includes discourse analysis, since it is through discourse that the West or North constructed a needy, empty, backward Africa and it is through analysis that we can perceive and stop this. Through a postcolonial approach, "a powerful critique of 'development' and an increasingly important challenge to dominant ways of apprehending North-South relations" (McEwan, 2009: 27), I show how Africa was discursively constructed. Discourse creates and perpetuates knowledge, society, ideology, inequality, power structures, subjects and objects, while CDA, like the postcolonial approach, aims to uncover, dismantle and redistribute power within discourse. Within this, DHA emphasises analysis of texts over time within their contexts, deconstructing argumentation strategies, measured against truth and validity claims and critical discussion rules. Combining CDA's and DHA's deconstruction of discourse with the keen mindfulness of a postcolonial approach and my research questions, my thesis is a unique and apt application of these theories.

In *Chapter 3* I describe my methodology in detail, including my adaptation of DHA, selection of texts, analysis of each text, my knowledge of international development and my personal experience of the USSR and Africa. My multiple specialisms strengthen my unique contribution to knowledge. In this chapter I also describe Soviet media language, explaining the importance of language to Soviet ideology, the difficult circumstances in which pre-Soviet revolutionary media survived, and the evolution of "newspeak" from the 1950s (breeding underground dissenting views and necessitating parallel unofficial language to convey meaning to the initiated). Lenin and Marx endured as key figures in media discourse, with Lenin both revolutionary and journalistic model. *Pravda's* place within this was for the increasingly educated masses, while in post-Soviet Russia it has a more niche, much smaller reach, to supporters of communism in Russia.

In *Chapter 4*, I recount how Western aid and development discourse evolved to produce a large aid apparatus, accompanied by depoliticised discourse on Africa. Postcolonial theory traces anti-Muslim metaphors of Savages back to early Europe and the Crusades. From this evolved discourses of colonialism with metaphors of Saviours to Savages. Aid discourse, traced back to eighteenth century discourses of human rights, added metaphors of Victims. Development conceived in the nineteenth century was linear and could be intentional. Aid and development combined discursively after WWII, when the West divided the world into “developed” and “developing”, with the former giving aid to help the latter to develop. As discourse produces activities which produce materialisations, the aid industry proliferated and this division became entrenched in the postcolonial environment. Strong criticisms of the industry are of its depoliticising discourse. Even as the aid landscape changes, with “re-emerging” donors India, China and Brazil practising south-south development cooperation, this binary discourse endures. Analyses of media discourse on Africa and aid concentrate on emergency appeals and reporting rather than aid for development, and show an increasingly depoliticised discourse of news reporting and of charities, as the latter concentrate on helping people to feel good by donating, and portray Africa as weak, victimised, corrupt and needy. Three analysts of content of post-Soviet Russian media show similar trends and tropes in Russian media. My original contribution in this chapter is my bringing together of scholarship on Russian media on these topics.

Part II – Analysis of Secondary and Primary Materials

In *Chapter 5*, I analyse Russian encounters and relations with Africa and aid, and evolving constructions of these topics. In the eighteenth century, these included exoticism, lowly status, a minority of Africans gaining high status in Russia and comparisons of African slavery with Russian serfdom. This complexity intensified in the nineteenth century, incorporated black Americans in relation to Africa (defining Africa in part through race) and strengthened Africa’s role as object of competition between Russia and the West. Soviet discourse retained complexity, as Africa was all of exotic, political, socialist, colonised and decolonised. The USSR stopped advocating for African freedom as it needed the West in WWII, and after WWII the official discourse stabilised around an exotic and yet political Africa of use for opposing the West, while the unofficial used Africa to dissent. My analysis is original due to my emphasis on impressions, constructions, relations and encounters. It is followed by my rounded analysis of post-Soviet government policy, in the age of modern international

development, showing that Russia is ambivalent about joining the West's aid model, sees itself as part of the North and yet possessing affinity with the South, and puts its own resources for Africa primarily into business development with the continent.

In **Chapter 6**, my analysis of *Pravda* texts shows that Africa was sometimes a tool with which Russia constructed and maintained its relationship with the West, and the USSR and Russia sometimes cultivated an image of limited similarity between themselves and Africa. My structural analysis of 462 articles in 262 pages of Soviet *Pravda*, and detailed analysis of 54 of these articles, show that Soviet official discourse constructed the topics of Africa and aid to bolster its Cold War, anti-Western discourse. While showing an allegedly active, political Africa, *Pravda* in fact displayed Africa below the USSR in the international hierarchy. *Pravda* presented Africans as largely similar to Soviet citizens, with similar dress, work and aspirations of freedom such as *Pravda* alleged that Soviet citizens had. Indeed, *Pravda* portrayed Africa as eternally struggling for freedom, from colonialism and then neocolonialism. While calling African countries “developing”, *Pravda* nevertheless presented development as a valid activity for any country, and presented freedom from colonialism and neo-colonialism as the overriding aim for Africa. As *Pravda* constructed development as natural, it constructed a weak link between development and aid, in contrast to Western discourse. In general *Pravda* presented aid as subversive Western military and political aid.

Part III – Conclusion

The phrase in the title of this thesis, “Freedom as Development”, is a play on the title of Amartya Sen's book “Development As Freedom” (Sen, 1999). In **Chapter 7**, I explain that *Pravda's* freedom theme, which I call “Freedom As Development”, was similar to and predated by several decades Sen's book. *Pravda's* description of Soviet aid was also similar to later Western ideas of best practice in aid. With regard to Africa, Soviet and Western representations contained similar features of low status and problems, but built on different assumptions, motivations and argumentations, and each discourse used different tools. All this has resulted in different legacies. *Pravda* persistently conveyed assumptions that all countries, including the USSR, are developing, that the USSR and Africa are comparable and in some ways similar, and that freedom is a fundamental aspiration; none of these assumptions was or is expressed so strongly in Western discourse. Certainly UK New Labour's motivation to bolster the British elite's and British state's moral image, which required distance from and “flattening” of Africa as a needy consumer of UK aid (Gallagher, 2009), recalls *Pravda's* presentation of

Africa similarly enjoying good Soviet aid. To give is to raise one's status, and *Pravda's* Africa, like the West's, was a somewhat passive recipient. But *Pravda's* overriding portrayal of Africa as highly political and similar to the USSR, and its use of Africa as rhetorical proxy in the Cold War arose from its non-colonial history with Africa, its socialist, internationalist rhetoric, its historic view of Africa in a tripartite relationship with the West, and its need to win the Cold War. And so the legacies are different: while both discourses show Africa eternally low in the hierarchy, the Western representation of Africa needs Western aid, while the Russian representation of Africa does not necessarily need aid, and still permits comparison with Russia. I end my thesis by explaining my contributions. My adaptation of DHA is innovative, as I included structural and topical analyses. My thesis contributes to knowledge of development, aid, Russian foreign policy and international relations, and to applications of postcolonialism. Finally, my topic is original, and I suggest elements of Russian discourse on aid, development and Africa that the West might usefully adopt.

Chapter 2. Theories and Approaches

It is within language itself, exactly in that fold of words where analysis and space meet, that the first but endless possibility of progress arises. In its root, progress, as defined in the eighteenth century, is not a movement within history, but the result of a fundamental relation between space and language. (Foucault, 1966)

Introduction

The USSR continued Tsarist imperialism, with a mission to bring socialism to all Soviet citizens. It tried to end Western colonialism in Africa and yet had an imperial approach in its anti-imperialism. It had no great need of Africa for natural resources, but wished to spread socialism in Africa, perhaps both out of principle and to increase its number of allies. Whether one regards this as better or worse than exploitative colonialism, certainly no reasonable person could endorse the accompanying despotism, such as in Ethiopia. The USSR and the West both needed and used Africa during the Cold War. Motivated largely by self-defence, the USSR might be called quasi-colonial in Africa, spreading socialist ideology, defending socialist client states, and encouraging a Soviet-led socialist empire against a western capitalist empire. I expand on this in **Section 2.1.**, where I outline the key elements of a postcolonial approach, its relevance to this thesis, the history of Russia's and the USSR's relationship with colonialism, and the ways in which I apply a postcolonial approach.

Section 2.2. explains the main discourse theory concepts and definitions used. Based on the social constructionist belief that discourse creates and perpetuates society, its subjects, objects and phenomena, discourse analysis helps us to understand the knowledge, attitudes, actions and materialisations of the time and place under study. It looks at language as a social practice, a collection of actions, or "speech acts" (John Austin, 1975), themselves resulting in actions. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) sheds light on negative impacts of power structures. This makes it suited to an exploration of one country's discourse concerning Africa and international development, tied up as these topics are with global inequalities, and given that these discourses result in actions of high import to all countries concerned. Indeed, much analysis of international development concerns its discourse, as we shall see in Chapter 4. Linguists and social scientists work in tandem in CDA. CDA is "not interested in investigating a linguistic unit per se but in studying social phenomena which are necessarily complex and thus

require a multi-disciplinary and multi-methodical approach.” (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 2) Through examining context and language, discourse analysis unveils power at work by investigating matters such as who has agency (Ahearn, 2001), which topics are silenced (Foucault, 1976), and how social beliefs are reinforced and expressed through rhetorical tropes such as metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, Hart, 2008). I leave examples of the application of discourse analysis to Chapter 4, where I present a chronological account of discourses on international development and Africa.

Section 2.3. explains Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), a type of CDA which grew from the Frankfurt School, whose Marxist origins caused reflection on causal relations between society, ideology and individuals. DHA theory and approaches are concerned with context, discursive strategies, argumentation and fallacies, and claims of truth, rightness and truthfulness. DHA’s main proponent is Ruth Wodak. It is a modern tool of analysis, applicable to the USSR’s socialist discourse which was part of post-Enlightenment Europe, modified by socialism and its environment. It is also applicable to the discursive construction of a place, and Wodak’s analysis of Austrian discursive construction of Austria (Wodak et al., 1999, 2009) is a useful model for analysing Soviet officialdom’s discursive construction of another continent.

Soviet media differed from Western media, for which discourse analysis was developed, and I list caveats to analysing Soviet media in **Section 2.4.**

2.1. Postcolonial theory

2.1.1. Why a postcolonial approach is appropriate

Postcolonialism concerns deconstructing binaries of hierarchy, particularly in international matters, unlearning the rights of some people to privilege, learning the standpoint of people in other parts of the world, seeing their viewpoints as important, and giving voice to those whose voice is not normally heard. A major reason for using a postcolonial approach in this thesis is that this is an analysis of how one superpower conducted its discourse of a colonised part of the world. A second reason is that Russia and then the USSR were themselves colonial powers over their own territory, which they expanded during WWII. A third reason is that the USSR was at least a quasi-colonial power in Africa. While the first reason I have given for using a post-colonial approach is self-evident, I now elaborate on these last two reasons.

2.1.2. Russia, USSR and colonialism

Pre-Soviet Russia was imperial. Russian expansion intensified in the eighteenth century, after the Napoleonic wars, when Russia expanded in the Caucasus, Siberia and Central Asia, defeating resistance. In the 1850s, the war in the Caucasus used one sixth of the Russian state's income. The Russian elite and government perceived the people of these areas as wild, and so implemented a huge, "civilising" russification campaign plus continued expansion. By the end of the nineteenth century, most inhabitants of the Russian empire were not Russian, although two thirds were Slav. Both "Westernisers" and "Slavophiles" in Russia believed that Russia had a duty towards its non-European peoples, and by the early twentieth century, the vision of the Russian mission to reorder the world was still strong, in revolutionary Bolshevism. While Lenin advocated self-determination for all nations, he and other Bolsheviks expected Russia, the first socialist state, to lead others to socialism. Moreover, the newly socialist Russia found that it had inherited the Russian empire. (Westad, 2007) It was thus a humiliation for the USSR when the Brest-Litovsk treaty of 1918 made it give a quarter of its European territory and a third of its population to Germany (Natufe, 2011). It was also a setback for the country's socialist cause. In 1918 Lenin put Stalin, a Russified Georgian, in charge of the Soviet government's People's Commissariat of Nationalities as it began to deal with non-Russian socialist and communist parties in the territory of the Russian Empire. Former Russian colony Georgia had a socialist revolution and resulting socialist regime, but the USSR invaded and occupied Georgia in 1921. Lenin oversaw the forced incorporation of other former Russian colonies into the USSR and violent repression of their leaders. By the mid-1920s, national opposition had been crushed, although armed resistance in Central Asia lasted until the 1930s. By 1941, local national leaders were killed in Stalin's purges. In Russia, in the 1930s Stalin had continued the Tsarist regime's internal colonialism through trying to end it, through terror and collectivisation: "Stalin's purpose was simple: he wanted to create a modern state by liquidating the internal colony that serfs had been in imperial Russia." (Westad, 2007: 55) In WWII, the USSR took over the Baltic States. The USSR therefore accepted and expanded the Russian empire, while assuming leadership of worldwide anti-colonial struggle. In continuing the Tsarist regime's imperialism, and in its belief in its own mission to save its underlings through bringing them a better ideology, the USSR emulated the west's belief in its role as saviour to savages, described in Chapter 4.

Nevertheless, Arne Westad credits the USSR's professed anti-colonialism with genuine desire to do good in Africa. Lenin had viewed the Russian revolution as the precursor to revolution in Europe and then in Europe's colonies. Therefore Comintern, the Communist International, formed in 1919 with headquarters in Moscow, promoted Russia as a model, and in 1921, Russia helped Mongolian revolutionaries to establish the Mongolian People's Republic. Later, Stalin sidelined Communist leaders of other nations who differed from the CPSU line. As Stalin sided first with Hitler and then with the West, the spreading of socialism was deprioritised, and Comintern was dissolved in 1943, its administration evolving into the CPSU's international department, tasked with spreading socialism to former Western colonies. Finally, the USSR made a direct bid for an African colony, as after WWII Stalin tried unsuccessfully to negotiate Tripolitania (western Libya) as a Soviet colony. (Westad, 2007: 59-60) Only when this was refused did the USSR support instead Libya's independence. Khrushchev retained Soviet-centric thinking. The KGB, Soviet military intelligence and a new African Institute established in 1960 were tasked with gathering information about the Third World, while the Central Committee started the International Department and the Department for Relations with Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries. China had followed its own route to socialism since 1949, disdainful of the USSR's ideological compromises, and from 1953 to 1960, the USSR began to mend its relationship with China, granting it aid equal to 7% of Soviet national income. However, from the late 1950s, China again began to go its own, faster way. (Westad, 2007) The USSR thus expected to lead the spread of socialism, and was commanding in its dealings with countries which might be recruited to the cause. However, Westad contrasts European exploitation of resources and people of their colonies with the USA's "empire of liberty" and the USSR's "empire of justice" during the Cold War. Both sought to control and improve their empires: "As in the United States, the Soviet elites saw their mission as part of a world-historical progression ... The USSR's role was to help make the world safe for revolution and thereby to assist in the progress of humankind." (ibid: 72) Both the USA and USSR governments believed themselves to be anticolonial, but used the same methods that European colonisers had used: cultural, administrative and economic change, and violence, sometimes aided by local allies. Indeed, as I shall tell in Chapter 4, it is a common view that the USA "created the Third World, by repeated interventions, by its need for raw materials, and – first and foremost – by its vision of development." (ibid: 403)

By contrast, Nigerian-born Sovietologist O. Igbo Natufe, who trained in the USSR, Ghana and Nigeria, and advised the Canadian government between 1970 and 2011, sees that Soviet foreign policy was driven primarily by national interest and merely justified by Marxist-Leninist ideology, which the Soviet government also used to keep its own people and foreign communists on its side. An early Soviet distortion of professed ideology was the 1939 Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, which caused many communists to call the USSR imperial. NATO's formation in 1949, partly to curb Soviet expansionism, heralded a new "scramble for Africa", as the USA and USSR courted and aided African countries, willing them to join their respective ideological camps, financing and arming opposing factions in African countries. After the 1955 Belgrade Declaration, which spoke of "different paths to socialism", and after aligning itself with the broadly anti-Western Bandung Declaration, the USSR turned to alliances with national liberation movements and bourgeois nationalists, to resist Western imperialism. In 1960, Khrushchev's Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties exhorted Communists in non-communist countries to seize power, choosing the Soviet empire. This Soviet policy of working with national bourgeoisies to overthrow colonialism caused the 1960s Sino-Soviet split, the biggest damage to Soviet influence in Africa. China and the USSR supported different factions in African countries, with, for example, the USSR arming the Nigerian government while China supported Biafran independence and blamed the conflict on the imperialist coalition of the USA, Britain and the USSR. However, as China sought African alliances against Soviet imperialism, through projects such as the TANZAM railway, it too appeared imperialist. Nevertheless, China advocated ideological purity, while Soviet leaders believed that their own compromises were due to their responsibility as a superpower: pre-Soviet Bolsheviks could be true to their ideology, but Bolsheviks running a state had to put national interests first. According to Leninist principles, Marxism could be interpreted and used according to the colonised African country's circumstances. Thus in "Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and the Colonial Questions", Lenin had described the need for temporary alliances in colonies between communists and bourgeois democracy. He also advanced the USSR's survival as vital to colonial countries, whose liberation could come only through Soviet victory over imperialism. Lenin saw the USSR as inheritor of Russia's role of world leader. (Natufe, 2011)

The USSR's strong point in this Cold War was its anti-colonial rhetoric, but African countries remained suspicious of its wish to advance communism. Further, as

the West slowed decolonisation, using African colonies as buffers against communism, and the USSR nourished Africa's liberation struggles to develop allies, colonialism in Africa benefited both the West and the USSR. Whether due to ideological inconsistencies, socialist imperialism, the USSR's inability to compete financially with the West, or the world economic downturn and subsequent African debt to the IMF and World Bank with conditions of increased Western market liberalism, the USSR began to lose influence in Africa. By 1960, the revolutionary African regimes (Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Algeria) no longer had communist parties. In the 1960s, "socialist-oriented" states were Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Algeria, Tanzania, Congo and Somalia, while in the 1970s they were Benin, Ethiopia, Libya, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, and no longer Somalia or Egypt. Under Brezhnev, the USSR lost Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Somalia. As each succeeding Soviet regime inherited leadership of the worldwide revolutionary struggle, each abandoned elements of the past regime, and justified its policies with ideology. (Natufe, 2011) This explanation permits that African countries took at least as much initiative as the superpowers in determining their future, and that the USSR often had to follow these initiatives and then justify its actions.

While Westad and Natufe argue that the USSR sought to spread socialism, Richard Herrmann concludes rather that fear drove Soviet foreign policy. He applied theories of motivation in international affairs to Soviet foreign policy in 1967, 1972 and 1979, looking at Soviet perceptions of US intentions, consequent Soviet actions, and the extent to which the USSR was motivated by revisionism, détente or containment. In all three years, Soviet policy was driven by fear of the USA, concern for its own security, and desire to defend any gains towards socialism in other countries. Expansionism for its own sake was not a motivation. In these three years, Soviet fear of the USA was greatest in 1967 and 1979. The 1977 Soviet airlift of arms and Cuban troops to Ethiopia followed the Ethiopian revolution which the Soviets had not instigated, and followed US withdrawal of aid after Ethiopia had announced that it would ask the USSR for aid which the USSR had not offered. Thus the USSR merely took up an opportunity offered of involvement in socialist Ethiopia. In supporting Ethiopia against Somalia and Eritrea, the USSR lost friends in the Arab and Islamic worlds, preferring to help retain socialism where it had already taken root. After Ethiopia had, with Soviet help, defeated Somalia in 1978, the USSR did not force Somalia to become part of a socialist federation of Ethiopia, Somalia, South Yemen and Djibouti as mooted in 1977. Thus, in 1979, even when the Soviets regarded themselves as militarily equal to the USA, "There is no

evidence that prevailing leaders perceived opportunities in American weakness or were motivated by expansionism. To the contrary, an intensified sense of threat may have stimulated Soviet commitments to self-defense.” (Herrmann, 1985: 165) This was thus a contained Soviet colonialism in Africa, supporting socialism where it occurred, but unwilling to risk more than necessary to do so.

Annex 1, a case study of Ethiopia, illustrates how Tsarist imperial tendencies became Soviet socialist imperial tendencies. As I related in Section 1.2.4., support of the military Derg regime of Ethiopia in the 1970s meant support of a government which murdered nearly half a million people.

2.1.3. Postcolonial approach in this thesis

Postcolonialism “works towards finding an alternative to false universalisms that subsume difference under hegemonic western understandings, and to relativism that would abandon any universalist claim in favour of reified and absolute conceptions of difference” (McEwan, 2009: 303). It helps us reject dominant explanations, both universalist and cultural relativist, of the Other and of the world. It forces us to accept the possibility of different discourses on Africa, and thereby in this thesis to notice the very similarities between *Pravda*’s, Russia’s and the USSR’s discourses on Africa and the West’s discourse on Africa: the troubled continent, defined by others as needing to be helped. It reminds us to look for Africa’s discourse, and to realise that it is hard to find in *Pravda*. It tells us that the sense of Africa being different from the West and similar to or different from the USSR is discursively constructed.

A postcolonial approach also forces us to accept the possibility of different discourses on development, since this discourse of difference “translated into a sense of superiority and justified various political interventions that underpinned imperialism. The same processes persist in present-day development... and geopolitical discourses.” (McEwan, 2009: 65) A postcolonial approach highlights this sense of superiority in Soviet and Russian discourses, from which the discourse in *Pravda* of the USSR’s political aid to a political Africa is born. And while the needs of the Cold War shaped *Pravda*’s construction of Africa, it is the discourse of difference that created in *Pravda* the same silent, empty Africa that the West utilised to talk about other things, as I describe in Chapter 1 quoting Gallagher (Gallagher, 2009), below quoting Mbembe (Mbembe, 2001) and at the start of Chapter 4 quoting Achebe (Achebe, 1977).

In helping us see the possibility of other discourses, postcolonialism allows us to note the dominance of Western discourse, such that, “Though much has been achieved in terms of freeing the world from colonial domination, postcolonial theories assert that discursive power (which also translates into material power) still lies with the West.” (McEwan, 2009) My unique combination of postcolonial theory, DHA and Soviet and Russian discourse shows that Western tropes on Africa and development indeed occurred in Soviet and Russian discourse, although my contextual analysis indicates that this was in part caused by the USSR and Russia being colonial and quasi-colonial superpowers themselves, vying to be equivalent powers with the West. Thus discursive subordination of Africans occurred in Soviet and Russian discourse too but in different form as it described political Africans. This facilitated Soviet discourse of aid to Africa but in different form as it prioritised political aid. And Soviet discourse only superficially harnessed “development” as a tool in its discursive subordination of Africa or as justification for aid. If using DHA alone, I could have uncovered such findings, but use of a postcolonial approach ensured that I did, enabling interpretations which were as free as I could manage of dominant Western assumptions. Indeed, the addition of my subject matter forces us to consider whether these are Northern as well as Western assumptions. Overall, a postcolonial approach disrupts development discourse.

My thesis adopts several postcolonial principles and practices: pointing out discursive constructs and false binaries, listening to “speaking back” (as represented in *Pravda*), being mindful of African agency, observing an observer, noticing unequal representation, noticing when one group of people wishes to change an Other, and considering the potential of a new postcolonial discourse. I now explain each of these principles and practices and their application in this thesis. Many postcolonial works to which I shall refer acknowledge their debts to Marx’s ideas of class and exploitation in “Capital” (Marx, 1867-1890), Gramsci’s ideas of hegemony and description of subalterns in his “Prison Notebooks” (Gramsci, 1929-1935), and Foucault’s idea of biopolitics best described in “The History of Sexuality” (Foucault, 1976).

Discursive constructs:

I take the stance that the construction of the USSR, Africa, the West and their constituent countries is discursive. In this, I follow the thinking of postcolonial scholars since the 1970s. Edward Said’s groundbreaking postcolonial “Orientalism” used literary analysis to show how early Europe’s fear of the invading Muslim evolved into misrepresentation of colonised countries as exotic, inferior, barbarous, passive and

unchanging. The Orient, in a sense thus invented by Europe, being its Other, became an essential part of European culture. (Said, 1977 (2003 Preface)) “Orientalism” marks the beginning of postcolonial writing which made explicit the misinterpretation and misrepresentation of colonised countries. Africa was part of the USSR’s discursively constructed barbaric Other.

The very concept of countries and nations arose in the eighteenth century in response to nationalism in the colonies, brought to colonising countries by the diaspora of colonised countries. Benedict Anderson, in “Imagined Communities”, tells how dynasties used to rule over people of diverse languages, and classism therefore led to racism. Such dynasties adopted nationalism out of political expediency, to show identification with their majority ethnic groups. These national communities are thus imagined. (Anderson, 1983, revised and extended 1991) The significance to this thesis is the discursive construction of nations and a continent, the equation of racism with classism, the imposition of hierarchies, and the USSR’s support of African nationalism to show identification with its leaders and peoples.

Achille Mbembe sees Africa as an imaginary signification of the West, invented and necessary. Western speakers use Africa as “always pretext for a comment about something else... the mediation that enables the West to accede to its own subconscious and give a public account of its subjectivity.” (Mbembe, 2001: 3) Mbembe sees that Africa is perceived as the essence of nothing, its politics and economics seen only as a lack, if seen at all. Modernity, rationalism and Westernism are seen as interlinked and unique, such that none can happen anywhere but in the West. These are attitudes which any minority recognises in those who hold power over it, and I shall show in Chapter 6 that the USSR too used Africa to talk about other things.

False binaries:

Much of this discursive construction concerns an observer and an observed. The discursive construction of Self and Other is binary. For example, Said and many subsequent scholars noted the dependence of Orientalism on Occidentalism. Jacques Derrida’s deconstruction proposes understanding and then overthrowing the hierarchy in binary pairs, in which one element in a pair dominates the other (Derrida, 1976, Preface by Spivak). The period under examination was one in which the USSR and the West paid great attention to each other, in a discursively West-East binary world. This East-West world co-existed alongside a discursively developed-developing world, confusingly called, in early postcolonial discourse, an Occidental-Oriental world. Thus

several binaries contradicted and overlapped each other. In addition, if the West was the First World, and “developing countries” were the Third World, the socialist bloc was the Second World. We shall see that in constructing this world of binaries from its own point of view, the USSR reduced this threesome to the prevailing East-West twosome. Postcolonialism also holds that ex-colonies are erroneously grouped together, and we shall see that Soviet and Russian discourses treated Africa and Asia as one, facilitating the binary discourse.

Listening to Speaking Back:

Overthrowing binaries is related to listening to the Other. Spivak’s “Can the Subaltern Speak?” includes the real-life story of Spivak’s great-aunt, whose suicide was misinterpreted as “a case of illicit love”, no matter how hard she tried to speak through her suicide with a political message (Spivak, 1988). Derrida’s approach enabled Spivak to get to the truth of understanding the subaltern without pretending to be one or represent one. His contributions to her idea of “speaking back”, and her attempts to escape the language of condescending power, came from his insights to discourse. People who “speak back” to power effectively do so by using the only language available, “while not subscribing to its premises, or “operat[ing] according to the vocabulary of the very thing that one delimits.”” (Derrida, 1976, Preface by Spivak: xvii-xviii) Similarly, Scott’s “Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts” disputes the patronising idea of hegemony in which the oppressed are said to be unaware of their oppression. Underclasses dream of speaking back to their oppressors, and indeed use it against their oppressors, but the powerful determine the public discourse and who is heard and how. (Scott, 1990) Bhabha’s concepts of hybridity and mimicry too posit the colonised resisting the power of the coloniser through the discourse available, while Mignolo advocates a meta-language so that the powerless can speak in a language that the powerful can understand (Mignolo, in Delgado et al., 2000).

The USSR, from its position in the Second World, played an interesting role in speaking back. Neither a direct colonial power in Africa nor a subaltern subject, it was an observer of the coloniser-colonised binary, the major party in one side of the West-East binary. Although the rhetoric adhered to such binary imaginaries, it overlay a more complex situation, which was at least “trinary”, consisting of West, socialist bloc and colonised, expressed at its simplest. Since newspaper discourse was deliberately planned in the USSR, with one aim being to invent a new discourse, *Pravda* appeared to

facilitate speaking back by Africans. However, as I shall show, since the USSR perceived that the true battle was binary (between West and East), it was selective in whose speaking back it facilitated, subordinating the speaking back to a role in the binary struggle.

Mindfulness of African (and Russian) agency:

As well as desiring to speak back, Africans naturally had agency. This thesis shows that *Pravda* and other official discourse constructed its own African agency.

We should also be mindful of Russian agency, remembering, for example, that the USSR was a donor. I also review the Soviet population's own unofficial opinions and discourse, which were different from *Pravda's*.

Observing an observer:

This discussion brings us to a consideration of who, in this binary-trinary complex, spoke about which Other. Colonialism involves a habit of observing and commenting on the Other, the colonised. However, where does a third party fit in, the USSR in the Second World? Vietnamese filmmaker Trinh T. Minh-Ha's 1982 film "Reassemblage" asks why her subjects in an African village should be observed, other than that we want to observe them. In an interview about her filmmaking, she further speaks of the pressure on someone from the "Third World" not to comment on another "Third World culture". (Chen, 1992) This unwritten rule is mentioned by others (Jaggi, 2009). This thesis takes a different angle yet, by examining one of the oft-ignored observers of Africa, the USSR.

Noticing unequal representation:

If the observer exerts power by observing and commenting on the Other, then *Pravda*, simply in writing about Africa, represented it as unequal to the USSR. For Bhabha, "Under the sign of the postcolonial, cultural difference is politicised: it reveals through its representations the traces of unequal relations of power (Bhabha 1992)." (Quoted in Huggan, 2001: 13) In this thesis I show the extent to which *Pravda* and other Soviet and Russian public discourse represented Africa as unequal to Russia.

Noticing when one group of people wishes to change an Other:

Unequal representation of an Other can have tragic effects. Agamben elaborates on the position of the underclass in "Homo Sacer", taking the Roman idea of "bare life" and relating it to the killing camps of Nazism, the situation of modern stateless refugees and the aid industry. He suggests that Roman times and modernity both required an underclass, which we now frequently try to eliminate, either through futile efforts to

eliminate poverty under capitalism, large-scale killing mechanisms, or abandoning people to their inter-state fate. Developing Foucault's idea of the "biopolitical" in "The History of Sexuality", Agamben notes that in the modern era, natural life is included in calculations of State:

The obsession with development is as effective as it is in our time because it coincides with the biopolitical project to produce an undivided people... The fracture that was believed to have been overcome by eliminating the people (the Jews who are its symbol) thus reproduces itself anew, transforming the entire German people into a sacred life consecrated to death, and a biological body that must be infinitely purified (through the elimination of the mentally ill and the bearers of hereditary diseases). And in a different yet analogous way, today's democratico-capitalist project of eliminating the poor classes through development not only reproduces within itself the people that is excluded but also transforms the entire population of the Third World into bare life. Only a politics that will have learned to take the fundamental biopolitical fracture of the West into account will be able to stop this oscillation and to put an end to the civil war that divides the peoples and the cities of the earth. (Agamben, 1995: 179-180)

Soviet public discourse attempted to construct an "undivided" Soviet people, although not entirely successfully, as we saw in Chapter 1. And it constructed a Soviet people at one with socialist-leaning people everywhere, although also not entirely successfully, as we shall see in Chapter 5. I shall show Western discursive attempts to change Africans in Chapter 4, and Soviet attempts in Chapters 5 and 6.

Aid is given to those whom the donor wishes to change, and who accept it. The most recent aid received by Russia, in the post-Soviet period, was much smaller than the Marshall Plan, which helped Germany to recover from Nazism (Etkind, 2015). By the time aid came to Russia, in the 1990s, it was to help Russia join its old enemy, the capitalist West. Thus Russia has experience of receiving aid through which others wish to change it and make it one with them.

Considering the possibility of a new postcolonial discourse:

Aid critics since the 1970s have tried and failed to overturn development discourse, which divides people into haves and have-nots, powerful and passive, white and black. Development rests on modernist assumptions that the world can be changed, while postmodernism offers ways of critiquing these assumptions, through feminism, discourse analysis, black consciousness and environmentalism. Cheryl McEwan illustrates my final point about postcolonialism, that of attempting to change language

deliberately. McEwan posits that if development discourse was amended, it could become beneficial. She thereby takes a positive view of the potential of international development, and a classic Critical Discourse Analytical approach of trying to change language. (McEwan, 2009: 3) This thesis too, in analysing the discourse of the USSR, a third party to the coloniser-colonised binary, may contribute to breaking down the current binary of developed donor North and undeveloped recipient South, by showing the sometimes positive discourse of this historical third party.

2.2. Discourse theory

2.2.1. Discourse

Discourse is what is said or written, supplemented by complementary elements of communication, such as gestures, intonation, page layout and pictures. It is a type of social action. Since discourse varies between situations, with people adopting the appropriate type of discourse for each particular situation or topic, and with actions following discourse, it can further be characterised as ‘an institutionalized way of talking that regulates and reinforces action and thereby exerts power’ (Link, 1983: 60, quoted in Jäger and Maier, 2009: 45). Discourse varies according to speaker and persuasive intent, and it both constructs and reflects concepts. Therefore in DHA, discourse can be defined as:

- Related to a macro-topic (and to the argumentation about validity claims such as truth and normative validity which involves social actors who have different points of view);
- A cluster of context-dependent semiotic practices that are situated within specific fields of social action;
- Socially constituted as well as socially constitutive;
- Integrating various differing positions and voices. (Richardson and Wodak, 2013: 246)

I take the above as my definition of discourse.

2.2.2. Multimodal communication

These “semiotic practices” consist largely of what is said, written or otherwise put to paper, including photographs, cartoons and layout. Texts convey meaning not only through words:

All texts are multimodal. Language always has to be realized through, and

comes in the company of, other semiotic modes... When we write, our message is expressed not only linguistically, but also through a visual arrangement of marks on a page. Any form of text analysis which ignores this will not be able to account for all the meanings expressed in texts. (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1998: 186-187)

This thesis therefore refers to photographs, cartoons and layout. Newspaper layout conveys information value, salience and framing of content, partly through positioning of items on the page. According to Kress and van Leeuwen, elements on the left are those which the reader already knows (Given), those on the right are the elements which the reader does not yet know (New), those at the top constitute generalised or summarised information (Ideal), and those on the bottom convey detailed, down to earth information (Real). Layout also sets up particular reading paths, encouraging the reader to engage first with the most salient element, and then the next most salient, and so on. Readers engage with pictures, headlines and some or all of the text, moving from one to the other. Front pages differ from other pages, as readers scan them before they read them, and sometimes do not read them at all. Different newspapers, being structured differently from each other, develop different reading habits. (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1998) My structural analysis includes analysis of texts' salience, and I assess the meaning conveyed by texts, photographs, cartoons and layout.

2.2.3. Knowledge

Knowledge is "a specific category of beliefs, namely, those beliefs 'we' (as a group, community, culture, instance or institution) take to be 'true beliefs', according to certain grounds or (truth) criteria." (van Dijk, 1998a: 19)

Knowledge keeps changing, and is bounded by the limits of its time, which permit some knowledge but not other knowledge (Foucault, 1966). It grows from preceding knowledge, creates new objects when it perceives them, and changes existing objects:

Knowledge no sooner starts from scratch, by way of a stabilizing objectification, than it will distort the objects. Knowledge as such, even in a form detached from substance, takes part in tradition as unconscious remembrance; there is no question which we might simply ask, without knowing of past things that are preserved in the question and spur it. (Adorno, 1966, English translation 1973: 54)

Thus knowledge of Africa and development evolves from past knowledge. Discourse conveys and constructs knowledge. Those using the discourse may be unaware of the knowledge which they are conveying and absorbing through the discourse:

Discourses take on a life of their own as they evolve. They transport more knowledge than the single subject is aware of. In Foucault's words, '[people] know what they do; they frequently know why they do what they do; but what they don't know is what what [sic] they do does' (personal communication, quoted in Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982: 187). (Jäger and Maier, 2009: 38)

In this thesis, I conceptualise *Pravda* within the Foucauldian paradigm of an archive of knowledge about Africa and international development, and therefore I talk about discursive construction and reproduction of knowledge, within the context of Russian and Soviet relations with Africa and aid, from Tsarist times to the present.

2.2.4. Ideology

Knowledge and ideology are inextricably linked. The Marxist concept that ideology is determined by the ruling class was followed by Gramsci's idea of hegemony, which works subtly to manage citizens' minds, usually persuading them of the naturalness of the social order. Postmodernism took this further, with Foucault envisaging ideology as the base on which knowledge is gathered: "This common denominator, this foundation underlying all knowledge, this origin expressed in a continuous discourse is Ideology, a language that duplicates the spontaneous thread of knowledge along the whole of its length." (Foucault, 1966: 104) Scholars of the postcolonial era have refined this with the conviction that dominated people can understand their situation, and that they have their own ideologies, for example of coping or resistance. In addition, there are competing ideologies between equally powerful groups, and some ideologies are shared by all or most groups, for example the belief in the good of the survival of humankind.

I subscribe to van Dijk's definition of ideology, its effects and workings:

ideologies may be very succinctly defined as the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group. This means that ideologies allow people, as group members, to organize the multitude of social beliefs about what is the case, good or bad, right or wrong, for them, and to act accordingly. Ideologies may also influence what is accepted as true or false, especially when such beliefs are found to be relevant for the group. In that latter, epistemological sense, ideologies may also form the basis of specific arguments for, and explanations of, specific social arrangements, or indeed influence a specific understanding of the world in general. (van Dijk, 1998a: 8)

I use "ideology" to mean a social belief system which dictates our interpretation of

reality and our behaviour. Further, “it may be concluded that inter-group relations are generally fundamental in the development and support of ideologies, and conversely that ideologies are at the basis of the social practices that implement such group relations.” (ibid: 171) I shall show in Chapter 6 that *Pravda*’s discursive construction of Africa served largely to help shape Soviet-West relations.

Van Dijk posits the existence of meta-ideologies, organising subsidiary ideologies. The USSR’s meta-ideology of socialism organised subsidiary ideologies such as social equality, inclusion and international solidarity amongst workers and the oppressed. Different ideologies can cause different beliefs in and interpretations of facts: “ideologies have a very powerful control over the very selection, focus, representation and construction of historical ‘facts’.” (ibid: 295) I shall show in Chapter 6 that *Pravda* selected arguments which arose from and supported its ideology.

Ideologies hide their exploitative nature, spreading discrimination through elite control of discourse, presenting others as negative. Their generous nature may be hard to perceive through the lens of an opposing ideology. Ideology critique aims to uncover how ideologies look and work. In this thesis, I critique part of Soviet ideology.

2.2.5. Soviet ideology

Official Soviet writing distinguished between ideology which evolves with little apparent intervention for the public good (capitalism) and that which results from social analysis and deliberate, open intervention for the public good (socialism). Thus Bikkenin wrote in 1983 that all people are ideological in thought and action, ideology being a type of theoretical consciousness reflected in how people comprehend and act on their surroundings, but only socialist ideology is a scientific expression of the proletariat and rejects the false consciousness of exploiting classes. The theory was that Marxism comes from the proletariat, which shares it with the popular masses and with a party of political insight, and it rests on science and learning, while capitalist ideology rests on power. However, Soviet ideology became monolithic and unquestionable: even criticism in private was dangerous during Stalin’s era, and the ideology changed little. After Stalin, Party officials and experts competed to define and apply new ideological concepts, and a plethora of ideological terms arose. Brezhnev-era terms included “system management” and “scientific-technical revolution”, reducing politics to managerialism, while Chernenko said that Soviet society was in a prolonged phase of “developed socialism” which the Party must perfect. Gorbachev emphasised the role of

intellectuals and continued to emphasise economic improvement, with terms such as “restructuring”, “modernisation”, “intensification”, “glasnost”, “democratisation”, and “acceleration of scientific-technological progress”. (Remington, 1988) The conscious, scientific and deliberate nature of Marxism-Leninism means that it did not entirely take over people’s subconscious, as we saw in Chapter 1, Section 1.4.1.. Dissidents criticised it openly and many others were critical in private while playing expected roles in public.

In foreign affairs, Soviet leaders blended national interest and ideology, since: “National interest is determined by the specific ideological orientation of the particular class in power” (Natufe, 2011: 5). Lenin had written in 1901 that the Russian proletariat should be the vanguard of the international workers’ revolution, and so the USSR saw that its survival (its national interest) would present a model for world communism (its ideology). After 1917, therefore, international politics was dominated by class and ideological struggle. (ibid: 27)

Thus some elements of Soviet ideology were conscious and others unconscious.

2.2.6. Power

If ideology involves trying to make people perceive, think and act in a particular way, then we can speak of power. Power is ubiquitous:

Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere. And “Power,” insofar as it is permanent, repetitious, inert, and self-reproducing, is simply the over-all effect ... there is no power that is exercised without a series of aims and objectives. But this does not mean that it results from the choice or decision of an individual subject. (Foucault, 1976)

Discourse analysts have analysed power’s harmful effects. Blommaert concludes that the greatest effect of power may be inequality (Blommaert, 2005: 2), while van Dijk has examined situations in which one social group controls another social group’s language, such that “Those who control discourse may indirectly control the minds of people. And since people’s actions are controlled by their minds (knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms, values), mind control also means indirect action control.” (van Dijk, 2008: 9)

However, power is inevitable: “It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression.” (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002: 13) In his lectures of 1982 to 1983, Foucault expanded on governmentality (Foucault, 2008), which is both the

increasing role that government has in our lives (Burchell et al., 1991), and our increasing conformity to the system around us, as it becomes the norm: “The concept of power, in the Foucauldian sense, refers to ‘a whole series of particular mechanisms, definable and defined, that seem capable of inducing behaviours or discourses’ (Foucault, 1996: 394)” (Jäger and Maier, 2009: 35). In “Discipline and Punish” (1975), Foucault related the evolution of punishment into discipline, self-discipline and mutual observation, such that most people comply with the system, and the powerless, being unlike the powerful, have to be explained. In both governmentality and the evolution of discipline, we are speaking of ideology and power.

The CPSU and Soviet media had the power to convey values, set the agenda, and select and construct topics. Lack of alternative information meant that many people believed *Pravda*, absorbing its assumptions and assertions. In addition, discourse conveys who has power relative to others, as I shall show in Chapter 6.

2.2.7. Subjects, objects, agency and reification

The creation of the subject is related to power, discourse and ideology. Through a process that he called interpellation, Louis Althusser, drawing on Lacan, believed that we become the type of subject that authority “hails” us as: “*all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects*, by the functioning of the category of the subject.” (Althusser, 1970) It is thus ideology that creates the subject, but people’s actions which reproduce the ideology in continuing the work of hailing, as Althusser explained in his example of someone being called in the street, and turning round in response, being thus “hailed”. The interpellation occurs even before we are aware of it, and we obey it, whether hailed as criminal, worker, boss or daughter.

Foucault (a student of Althusser) and early members of the Frankfurt School such as Adorno also viewed the individual as determined by structures: “Society precedes the subject. That the subject mistakes itself for an antecedent of society is its necessary delusion, a mere negative statement about society.” (Adorno, 1966, English translation 1973: 126) The inevitable result of thought is to divide the world into subject and objects: “The division, which makes the object the alien thing to be mastered and appropriates it, is indeed subjective, the result of orderly preparation.” (ibid: 175) The subject and object illuminate each other, and without each other do not exist: “Mediation of the object means that it must not be statically, dogmatically hypostatized but can be known only as it entwines with subjectivity; mediation of the subject means

that without the moment of objectivity it would be literally nil.” (ibid: 186)

The subject has agency in interpreting and conveying what it as an individual sees around itself, albeit influenced by prevailing knowledge, discourse and ideology (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002). Based on Gramsci’s theory of hegemony, Stuart Hall’s encoding/decoding theory assigns agency to the subject in the interpretation, negotiation and hence production of meaning (Hall, 1973).

The agency of subjects and objects of discourse can be hidden, through reification, making verbs into nouns, which consequently have no subject, thereby representing actions as passive, as if they had no agent, nobody responsible for them (Billig, 2013). Fairclough and van Leeuwen call this nominalisation, “a process converted into noun” (Fairclough, 1989: 140), a form of objectivation, a substitution for the real action, a recontextualisation of social practice (van Leeuwen, 2008).

In this thesis, the main subjects considered are Russia, the USSR and *Pravda*, and the main objects are those which they perpetuated in discourse: Africa, Africans, African development, aid to Africa, and the West. *Pravda* constructed some as having agency, and used reification to obfuscate some agency.

2.2.8. Discursive construction and legitimization

As society, discourse and subjects construct their objects and phenomena discursively, they make them appear tangible objects. I take a social constructionist approach:

Constructionists place most emphasis on the generative power of discursive acts. In other words, the constructed character of social phenomena is taken to indicate that those phenomena do not have the kind of objective reality normally ascribed to them by everyday social actors and by most social scientists. In other words, a distinction is drawn between how social phenomena appear to people, as objective things existing in the world, and their true nature, which is that they are discursively constructed – and constructed precisely in such a way as to appear to be objective features of the world. (Hammersley, 2013: 102)

Indeed, language and society are mutually constitutive, their objects, observations and values expressing and reproducing the prevailing ideology:

This is the whole point of our insistence on the dialectical inseparability of two concepts ‘language’ and ‘society’ that happen to be separately lexicalised in English (Kress, 1985b: 1)... a society’s implicit theory of what types of objects exist in their world (categorisation); of the way that world works (causation); and of the values to be assigned to objects and

processes (general propositions or paradigms). These implicit beliefs constitute 'common sense', which provides a normative base to discourse. (Fowler, 1996: 159-160)

Such reproduction of norms is sometimes called legitimization: "present as soon as a system of linguistic objectification of human experience is transmitted. For example, the transmission of a kinship vocabulary ipso facto legitimates the kinship structure." (Van Leeuwen, 2007: 327) Van Leeuwen sees discourse as recontextualised social practice, in its representation of social actors, social action, purpose and legitimization (van Leeuwen, 2008). I show how *Pravda* discursively constructed and legitimated the USSR, Russia, Africa, development, aid and the West.

2.2.9. Reproduction and recontextualisation

Discourse self-reproduces and depends on itself. Every text or utterance is in a dialogue with every other text or utterance, and all texts are built on previous texts and can inform other texts. This is true in the evolution of language as it is in the spreading of ideology and knowledge, and includes new members of groups (including the young) learning their groups' ideologies and discourses. Through language, different speakers reproduce power and social structure, each person adding their unique slant, and ideas are consciously and unconsciously reproduced.

Bakhtin called this dialogism. The Self depends on having an Other, and dialogism can be understood as a complex version of relativity, in which two bodies and their observer are all moving in relationship to each other (Holquist, 2002: 21). *Pravda*, the official outlet of the CPSU, presented the Soviet government's views of Africa, aid, the USSR and the West. I am in turn here an analyst of the historical context and an observer of *Pravda*. My own evolution of knowledge affects how I see *Pravda* and its representations of Africa, aid and development. This is reflected in CDA through its requirement that I, the researcher, describe myself briefly, that the reader may deduce my biases. This I have duly done in Chapter 3.

Following Bakhtin, Kristeva (1966) introduced the idea of intertextuality, texts referring to and shaping each other, for example when an author refers (explicitly or implicitly, consciously or unconsciously) to another text or a reader recalls one text when reading another. Fairclough and Wodak talk of interdiscursivity (discourses referring to and shaping each other), and the historical development of discourse, in which concepts are contextualised (put into a certain context), decontextualised (taken out of their context) and then recontextualised (put into a new context) (Wodak and

Meyer, 2009). Van Leeuwen's theory of recontextualisation of social practice (see Section 2.2.8.) is also a way of talking about the reproduction and evolution of ideology, knowledge, language and power. Newspaper reporting particularly recontextualises:

Recontextualization can, for instance, be observed when contrasting a political speech with the selective reporting of the speech in various newspapers. A journalist will select specific quotes which best fit the general purpose of the article (e.g. commentary). The quotations are thus de- and re-contextualized, i.e. newly framed. They can partly acquire new meanings in the specific context of press coverage. (Fairclough, 2009: 90)

The media also preserves much of the status quo:

The language of everyday usage and the everyday practices of the media are part of this unthinking (unwitting, unconscious) process whereby the world reproduces itself as it is (Hall, 1982). This means, in effect, that it reproduces unquestioningly (without putting in question) a distorted dominant reality that mystifies social inequalities... Hall insists that the primary function of media is ideological: Gennett (1982) has called language 'the home of ideology'. (Scannell, 1998: 256)

Pravda, mouthpiece of a revolutionary political party which helped liberation movements in Africa to defeat their colonial and neo-colonial masters, aimed to change the status quo abroad but defend the continuation of socialism at home, in the USSR.

Such contradiction in discursive reproduction is not unusual. As writers and speakers must assume some knowledge in readers and listeners, "most of the communicative context and the discourse need not be made explicit because of such presupposed sharing of social representations within the same group, society or culture" (van Dijk, 1998a: 226), or because "the local and personal constraints of context may distort or prohibit their unfettered expression" (ibid: 231). By remaining implicit, some values continue with little challenge, even if they contradict other values. For example, a public immersed in discourse about victimised and unfree Africa may not wonder whether it too is unfree. Access to elite roles and elite people gives some people greater capacity to reproduce ideology. Elite-controlled ideologies succeed because although everyone has some prior knowledge to which they add newly acquired knowledge, many have no alternative opinions or experiences to contradict the elite. (ibid: 246) This was particularly important in the USSR, with tightly controlled information.

2.2.10. Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis aims to discover ideology, its knowledge and power centres. In analysing texts, "we succeed only if we designate the centres of power (and resistance) on which this body depends." (Deleuze, 1986: 69) And we examine language because it is "ideologically saturated... a world view ... a concrete opinion, insuring a maximum of mutual understanding in all spheres of ideological life." (Bakhtin, 1934-5: 271) It is "shot through" with social forces, which "stratify" language, and saturate it with limiting "intentions and accents". (ibid: 293)

Therefore discourse analysis proceeds through an examination of elements of language and other semiotic features. Van Dijk proposes critical discourse analysis as knowledge analysis, or critical epistemic analysis, since in studying discourse, we study its underlying knowledge and the knowledge which discourse creates. In critical epistemic analysis we may examine topics, local coherence, actor description, levels of detail and precision of description, implications and presuppositions, definitions, evidentiality, argumentation, metaphor, modalities, rhetorical devices, grammar, lexicon and nonverbal ('semiotic') structures. Since critical analysis involves analysing abuse of power, critical analysts focus on the public discourse of elites such as politicians. Therefore critical epistemic analysis focuses on texts such as news articles, sources of official knowledge, government declarations and textbooks. (van Dijk, 2010)

Topics are particularly worthy of note in the media. The media influences especially through choice of topics, the "semantic macrostructures" through which it sets the agenda: "discourse topics are crucial in the formation and accessibility of preferred ideological models and, thus, indirectly in the formation or confirmation of ideologies." (ibid: 266) "The mass media... may not tell people what to think, but they are quite effective in influencing what people will think about." (ibid: 243)

Discourse analysis clarifies propositions, particularly the "ideological square": "1 Emphasize our good properties/actions 2 Emphasize their bad properties/actions 3 Mitigate our bad properties/actions 4 Mitigate their good properties/actions." (van Dijk, 1998b: 33) Discourse analysis uncovers other propositions such as implications, where the writer gives us one proposition, from which we infer others. Coherent propositions express related facts and explanations based on assumptions or generalisations. For van Dijk, for sequences of propositions (sentences) to constitute discourse, they must be coherent with each other, for example in content or function: overall or global coherence uses macrostrategies to construct topics in text fragments, fuller texts or

whole discourses, while microstrategies (such as Soviet newspapers' rubrics referred to in Section 1.4.1., of which we shall see more in Chapter 6) manage the reader's opinion of the statement which follows and of the writer. For coherence to be conveyed and perceived, language users must share an ideology in which these propositions are related, and the presentation of coherence is itself ideological, as when the writer defines some reported violence as justifiable or not, provoked or not, conducted by a crowd or by individuals (ibid: 206). The writer's cultural, social, personal and situational perspective is conveyed by context-dependent deictics, including pronouns, demonstratives and adverbs (such as "here", "now" and "today"), verbs (such as "come" and "go") and position- or relation-dependent nouns (such as "home" and "sister"). (ibid) All of these are examined in CDA.

Van Dijk proposes the following steps to ideological analysis of media:

(a) examine the context of the discourse, (b) analyse which groups, power relations and conflicts are involved, (c) look for positive and negative opinions about Us and Them, (d) spell out the presupposed and the implied, and (e) examine all formal structures that (de)emphasize polarized group opinions. (ibid: 61)

In adopting and adapting DHA, I do all these.

2.2.11. Context and archaeology of discourse

Analysis of context is integral to discourse analysis. Some analysts might limit "context" to the immediate context of the newspaper plus some basic knowledge of the topic of each newspaper article. Others, such as Foucault, include wider context, for example in the concept of archaeology (Foucault, 1969), in which the analyst delves back into a topic's history to understand its present-day existence. In the "History of Sexuality" (Foucault, 1976 - 1984), and "Discipline and Punish" (Foucault, 1975), Foucault illustrated dispositive analysis: analysis of the discourse (language and thought), the non-discursive (action) and materialisations (created through non-discursive practices) (Siegfried Jäger and Florentine Maier in Wodak and Meyer, 2009). I too take a wide view of context, since the greater the understanding of this wider context, the greater the understanding of the discourse. Therefore I include interpretation of Russia's and the USSR's history with Africa and aid and an explanation of Soviet media in Chapter 1, analysis of Russia's and the USSR's postcolonial attitudes towards Africa in Chapter 2, an explanation of Soviet media

language in Chapter 3, and analysis of the evolution of aid and development in Chapter 4. This interpretation and analysis is context to my Chapters 5 and 6 on Russia's and the USSR's relationships with and discourses on Africa and aid. DHA gives theoretical backing to the approach of analysing discourse alongside its history and context.

2.2.12. Newspapers and genre

Newspapers contain different genres: “semiotic ways of acting and interacting, such as news or job interviews, reports or editorials in newspapers, or advertisements on TV or the internet” (Fairclough, 2009: 164). Genres are functional, evolving to meet a social need, and a facet of action. Fairclough refers to different types of political genre, linked through “genre networks”: “systematically linked genres (e.g. discussion, report, debate) which semiotically constitute procedures – in this case, procedures of governance” (ibid: 176). *Pravda* contained a variety of genres, including news articles, political speeches and feature articles, with photographs and cartoons accompanying many articles, sometimes as the main component. My corpus includes such “procedures of governance” as ministers’ speeches, interviews, speeches from party conventions, speeches in meetings of supranational organisations (the United Nations) and heckling (in the UK Parliament). In publishing these “procedures of governance”, *Pravda* decontextualised and recontextualised them into the genre of its choosing.

While genres have functions, newspaper producers also have intentions, which they realise in part through choice of genre. Readers may or may not detect intentions: “Overall genre or communicative action type are essentially related, from the point of view of the speaker or writer, with specific intentions, but recipients may or may not be able to detect such intentions, and may thus be manipulated.” (van Dijk, 1998a: 216) *Pravda*'s functions were to interpret, manufacture and convey news, educate, and convey propaganda, as noted in Section 1.4.1. (Remington, 1988). All media genres are ideological, whether Western or Soviet, op-ed articles or other genres:

For news in most of the Western media it is one of the major (ideological) criteria that ‘facts’ should be separated from ‘opinion’... when such assertions are made, that is, when ideology is denied, it is especially relevant to do ideological analysis... in many situations recipients already know that ideologically based discourse may be expected from the speakers or writers. This implies that ideological communication may be most effective when recipients do not or hardly expect ideological implications.” (Van Dijk, 1998: 264-5)

Pravda's intentions were openly ideological, but as I noted in Section 1.4.1., readers closest to it trusted it least (Remington, 1988). However, since there was no legal alternative to the Soviet media's "ideologically based discourse", most of the population was steeped in it, albeit saying one thing in public and another in private.

2.3. Discourse Historical Approach (DHA)

2.3.1. Context

DHA requires a systematic interdisciplinary and multi-method approach, drawing on evidence and context (Wodak 2001). This means including "the historical, political, sociological and/or psychological dimension in the analysis and interpretation of a specific discursive occasion." (Wodak, 2007: 378)

First the DHA analyst should situate the discourse in its context, understand that context and explain the evolution of meanings in the discourse:

In order to be able to demonstrate the connection between linguistic behaviour and speech acts on the one hand, and between linguistic behaviour and non- or extra-linguistic phenomena on the other, however, the analysis of the respective contexts has proven to be of central importance... Since these context worlds also frequently comprise historical discourse or history sources themselves, this approach is designated 'discourse-historical'. (Wodak and Matouschek, 2013: 397)

In the interests of triangulation, Wodak recommends looking at four levels of context:

- The co-text of each utterance or clause
- The con-text in the macro-text; the genre analysis
- The socio-political context of the speech event
- The intertextual and interdiscursive relationships of the respective speech event to other relevant events. (Wodak, 2007: 379)

I afford due importance to context throughout, as explained in 2.2.11 above.

2.3.2. Discursive strategies, argumentation, fallacies and topoi

DHA distinguishes five main discursive strategies, "more or less intentional plan[s] of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic goal": argumentation, nomination, predication, perspectivisation, and mitigation and intensification (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 94). Implemented through a wide range of linguistic means, including topic selection, choice of vocabulary, layout and metaphor, most can be analysed in Soviet discourse. Nomination is the names used to refer to people, objects, events or phenomena.

Predication is the features attributed to people, objects, events or phenomena. Perspectivisation (or “perspectivation”) is the point of view or standpoint of the speaker or writer. Mitigation is the de-emphasis of good aspects of the Other and bad aspects of Us. Intensification is the emphasis of good aspects of Us and bad aspects of the Other.

Argumentation demands particular evaluation in the Soviet context. It can be deliberate, where the speaker or writer is aware that they are advancing a “negative or positive view with regard to a proposition” (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 2004: 3). It is “a verbal, social, and rational activity aimed at convincing a reasonable critic of the acceptability of a standpoint by putting forward a constellation of propositions justifying or refuting the proposition expressed in the standpoint.” (ibid: 1) Within argumentation, a fallacy is “a wrong discussion move” (ibid: 5). In discourse analysis terms, a fallacy is a disorder of discourse, such as Foucault wrote of, sometimes called miscommunication or contorted discourse, and including contradictions, bias, illogicalities and the things that people omit from communications. Fallacies may be deliberate or not, and may or may not be detectible by those making the arguments and their listeners. Contradictory statements within one text, or across texts, indicate ideological dilemmas or ambivalence. These can be brought to the surface through examination of discursive and argumentation strategies, and following argumentation theory of Frans van Eemeren. A rhetorical strategy is biased if its statements contain a normative judgment or assumption, but since this is almost always the case, statements are classified as biased when the bias, normative judgment or assumption is detected. In DHA, while fallacies are fallacious argumentation schemes, topoi are plausible argumentation schemes (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009). They are rules or content which link an argument with a conclusion or claim, and are collections of general ideas which can serve as the source for statements or arguments. To analyse fallacies, such as those used in prejudiced discourses, we must understand the topoi on which they are based. (Richardson and Wodak, 2013: 248)

Thus DHA breaks arguments down into topoi. Topoi of argumentation include:

Topos of Authority	An action is legitimate if mandated by someone in authority
Topos of Burden	A problem needs to be acted on if a person or institution is burdened by it
Topos of Definition	A person/object with certain attributes of X should be classified and treated as X
Topos of History	An action should/should not be performed if history teaches us that it has consequences
Topos of Justice/ Equity	A person should be treated in a certain way if equal in other respects
Topos of Numbers	Sufficient numerical evidence means an action should/should not be performed
Topos of Reality	A particular action needs to be performed given the way reality as it is [sic]
Topos of Threat	An action should be performed if specific dangers are identified
Topos of Urgency	A decision/action needs to be made if an event requires such a response

(Clarke et al., 2011: 133)

Wodak et al's analysis of construction of a country showed that argumentation schemes (topoi and fallacies) and means of realisation were essential. At content level, they found a collective past, present & future, common culture, common territory and "homo nationalis". Speakers and writers used strategies of justification and relativisation, constructive strategies, and strategies of perpetuation, transformation and demontage (or dismantling) and destruction. Speakers and writers made extensive use of topoi or fallacies of superior objective, external threat, the victim, illustrative example and the people. Other means of realising argumentation included metonymies (substitution of one item for another), synecdoches (substitution of a semantically wider or narrower item for a similar item), deictic expressions (particularly "we"), *argumentum ad hominem*, *argumentum ad populum*, and expressions of degrees of sameness or of foreignness. (Wodak et al., 1999, 2009) I particularly draw on this framework in Section 6.2.4.3., where I examine *Pravda's* construction of a unified Africa.

When analysing official Soviet discourse, we encounter a significant number of fallacies. Van Eemeren and Grootendorst propose 15 rules for their ideal critical discussion and "Ten commandments for reasonable discussants", of which violation constitutes a fallacy (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 2004: 175). Public discourse in the USSR violated several. For example, Rule 1b is: "no special preparatory conditions apply to the position or status of the speaker or writer and listener or reader." This was clearly not the case for *Pravda*, mouthpiece of the sole political party allowed in the country. Rules 2 and 3 concern the obligation to defend one's own standpoint and challenge that of the other discussant. Certainly *Pravda* defended its standpoint and challenged that of its Other, the West, but the converse was unthinkable: at least until Glasnost, any public opposition to *Pravda* carried excessive risk, and there was no channel to publish such a view legally. Indeed, the impossibility of the application of

rules 1 to 3 in the USSR means that many of the remaining rules also were barely applied. Rule 12, for example, “the right to retract any complex speech act of argumentation that he has performed, and thereby to remove the obligation to defend it” (p. 153) held only at the whim of the CPSU. The commandments too were violated in the USSR, for example Commandments 1 (“Discussants may not prevent each other from advancing standpoints or from calling standpoints into question”), 2 (“Discussants who advance a standpoint may not refuse to defend this standpoint when requested to do so”) and 8 (“Standpoints may not be regarded as conclusively defended by argumentation that is not presented as based on formally conclusive reasoning if the defense does not take place by means of appropriate argument schemes that are applied correctly”) (ibid: 190-195). We saw in Chapter 1 that officialdom under Stalin gave up trying to convince people, merely telling them what to say.

2.3.3. Validity claims and presuppositions

To make judgements as to which communications are miscommunications, we need some benchmark of truth. Van Eemeren’s critical rationalist “proceeds on the basis of the fundamental fallibility of all human thought” (ibid: 131), but moves ever closer to the truth through following the 15 rules of critical discussion and the 10 commandments of reasonable discussants. Reisigl and Wodak propose uncovering and contesting manipulation through using and promoting rules for rational arguing in a deliberative democracy, and linking their concept of fallacies with Jurgen Habermas’s concept of validity claims (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009). Since the USSR was not a deliberative democracy, this element of DHA too requires evaluation.

Like van Eemeren and Grootendorst, Habermas posits an ideal discourse, an Ideal Speech Situation, as the basis of all argumentation, against which contorted discourse can be compared. According to Habermas, every text contains validity claims (claims of truth, rightness or truthfulness), which make communicative action possible. They may be disputed, and the better argument wins. Validity claims employ presuppositions, activated by allusions, which depend on shared pre-existing knowledge between writer and reader, or are created by other discursive devices. For example, if a Soviet journalist alluded to Western aid as neocolonialism, they relied on the reader to know something of colonialism and associate it with the West. The vital presuppositions are moral: “ideas of justice and solidarity are already implicit in the idealizing presuppositions of communicative action, above all in the reciprocal recognition of persons capable of

orienting their actions to validity claims.” (Habermas, 1993: 50) The truthfulness of argumentation is provided by weak but ever-present presuppositions, because: “whenever we say what we mean, we necessarily raise validity claims which rest on (often) idealised assumptions... nothing forces the speaker not to capitalise on the trust of her/ his counterpart in order to deceive her/ him.” (Forchtner and Tominc, 2012: 44)

Like van Eemeren’s and Grootendorst’s critical rationalism, Habermas’s Ideal Speech Situation contains rules: publicness, absence of coercion, sincerity of participants, and inclusivity and equal rights for all participants (Habermas, 1972). These too were not followed in the USSR, but they are not realised anywhere: after all, this is an ideal situation, a benchmark against which people judge what they hear and decide what to say. Although both critical rationalism and the Ideal Speech Situation are founded on a belief that we come closer to truth through rational argument, and both put forward rules of discourse, the Ideal Speech Situation differs from critical discussion in its search for truthfulness, rightness and truth. These exist in people’s minds, and according to Habermas, the intersubjective, communicative nature of discourse and language between at least two people leads in their direction. The claims and their benchmarks in our minds are necessary in social life, a moral code present in all arguing in all discourse. For all *Pravda*’s one-sidedness, the Ideal Speech Situation is probably what readers unwittingly used in judging *Pravda*.

Postcolonialism, CDA and DHA rest on moral grounds, making them suitable to analysis of one superpower’s discourse on a continent contested with another’s. Habermas’s presuppositions consider the presence in discourse of those who are not participating:

Habermas and DHA are both concerned with the issue of including not only the standpoints of those who are already part of the discussion but also those who are affected by the outcome of an argument. The voices and well-being of third parties, so often ignored, violated and robbed of any chance to self-determination, are at the heart of DHA. (Forchtner and Tominc, 2012: 46)

2.4. Caveats to analysing Soviet media

These caveats include reminders from Chapter 1 and two from rules of argumentation:

- Soviet journalists saw themselves as conveying Party messages, not holding government accountable to society.
- Soviet media was considered by some citizens to be biased and hence

inaccurate, and did not convince all the population to think as the elite wished.

- Since Soviet citizens who were most involved in public affairs were the most likely to trust word-of-mouth rather than Soviet media, Soviet journalists and editors may have distrusted the media that they produced in larger numbers than contemporary western journalists did.
- The ideological square assumes two parties, but the aid and development discourse had three: the USSR, the West, and developing countries; we shall see the extent to which Africa was merged with either side in the ideological square or was absent, as Soviet rhetoric concentrated on the capitalist-socialist divide.
- While western media influences policy-makers, in the USSR policy-makers owned the media; thus the CPSU, of which *Pravda* was part, issued the discourse, rather than was influenced by it.
- *Rabsselkor* freelance community contributors and many letters to *Pravda* gave *Pravda* wider public interaction than was common in the West, but also a more self-censoring one, as readers could face sanctions over their interaction with the media.
- In the West, discourse structure such as “syntax of headlines, local semantic disclaimers, or the choice of metaphors, is only moderately or not at all consciously controlled. Ideological influence of discourse ... is barely intentional, but a more or less automatic expression of biased models.” (Wodak, 2007: 234) However, in *Pravda*, given its ideological purpose and conscious base of its ideology, these structures were more likely to be intentional.
- Since Soviet public discourse did not follow van Eemeren and Grootendorst’s rules of “critical discussion”, and seldom contained the contradictory view explicitly, it contained many fallacies, defective moves in argumentation, and did not advance towards rational or reasonable truth.
- Since Soviet citizens did not dare contradict *Pravda* publicly, could not test its truthfulness, and had few or no alternative sources of information against which to test its rightness, we have to use our knowledge of context and our own alertness to perceive the opposite arguments which nobody made in *Pravda*.

I next elaborate on peculiarities of Soviet media language, and how I analysed it.

Chapter 3. Methodology

Introduction

CDA requires that I describe myself, and in **Section 3.1**. I describe my own background and motivations. From this, the reader may attempt to deduce my biases, particularly with regard to the desirability or otherwise of aid and international development, and may assess the reliability of this research.

Not all scholars have avoided the risks inherent in CDA, but this is not a reason for avoiding CDA, rather a reason to identify and mitigate risks. In **Section 3.2**. I explain how I avoid common pitfalls of CDA, while in **Section 3.3**. I explain how I adapted Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), and define intertextuality and interdiscursivity and their place in my analysis.

Section 3.4. describes Soviet Russian newspaper language. Soviet language was simultaneously bureaucratic, formulaic and overtly ideological but rich in hidden meanings, officially sanctioned allusions, aspirational thinking, unofficial double meanings and reinterpretations of ideologemes. Soviet newspapers appeared to continue the revolutionary zeal of their illegal pre-Revolutionary predecessors, but did so as the only legal publications, and instead merely entrenched and ossified a language that no longer represented reality, as many readers knew. Replete with Newspeak and allusions, however, even as newspapers sought to simplify language and clarify messages, they unwittingly continued this Russian tradition of readers looking for hidden meanings. *Pravda* represented but one style of Soviet press article. Combining populism with bookishness, it was written for the increasingly educated masses, to whom it must not talk down, but whose understanding it should raise. The voice of the CPSU talking to the people, it was the exemplar of Soviet Newspeak. I followed *Pravda* into post-Soviet times as a case study of one newspaper, which is not typical of its time, and which does not have a large circulation, to show how the discourse of this once-mighty newspaper evolved, and to complete this history of *Pravda* discourse.

3.1. The researcher

My academic qualifications are an M.A. in Russian and French, with a dissertation in sociolinguistics (1985, University of Aberdeen) and an M.Sc. in Social and Public Policy (2000, University of Edinburgh), both acquired in Scotland, U.K., where I have lived most of my life. During my first degree, I studied at Leningrad University in the

USSR from 1982 to 1983, on a scholarship from the British Council. I taught English in China from 1986 to 1987, employed by the Chinese government, motivated by an interest in poverty reduction. From 1989 to 1992 I worked in software development, using Russian to coordinate the conversion of software into Russian and east European languages. I travelled every three months or so to Russia, for work and holidays. In 1992 I entered the charitable sector of international development. I undertook my M.Sc. in Social and Public Policy part-time while working in this sector. I have worked since then for Scottish international relief and development charities, and since 1995, have been mostly a senior manager. I have been mainly based in Edinburgh, travelling for work to many countries, including 12 in Africa. I lived and worked in Ethiopia from 2006 to 2008.

The main impetus of this research was as follows. While I lived in Ethiopia, my daughter attended the Russian Embassy school, so that she could learn a foreign language while continuing a good education. I noticed that Russians whom I encountered there spoke of foreign development interventions in Africa differently from many Westerners. I noticed that Russians appeared to conduct relationships with African development differently from the way Westerners did. I noticed much Western talk of the West's relations with Africa but very little Western talk of Russia's relations with Africa, even though Russia has a long history of engagement with Africa, including particularly Ethiopia. Finally, I noticed that many of the international development forums with which I was familiar did not include Russians. Therefore I wondered what Russia's attitudes to Africa and aid were and how they had arisen.

3.2. Mitigating risks in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

I here address matters of bias, evidence, rigour and clarity.

The risk of partial selection of texts to prove a point can be mitigated by using corpus methodology (Widdowson, cited in Breeze, 2011), and so I used computer technology to search for occurrences of words, from which to select systematically my corpus, a selection of texts for analysis. I mitigated the similar risk of selecting aspects of texts to fit my interpretive framework (Verschueren, 2001, cited in Breeze, 2011: 507), through triangulating findings with a wide context analysis and analysis of the media, cultural, social, information and language environment in which texts occurred. This follows the advice of Hammersley, who states that if discourse analysis is to make broad claims, it must join other social scientific research. For example, if it is to

generalize about the repertoire of discourse and knowledge available to one set of people, it must show whether this is the case, and if it is to base its analysis on people's innate desire to persuade others of their arguments, it must be sensitive to times when people do not apparently do so (Hammersley, 2013).

In general, CDA does not speculate on the effect of discourse on readers, and so avoids the risk of assuming a simple relationship between text and audience. However, the broad range of knowledge and interpretive techniques of audiences and readers results in a large number of widely differing interpretations of each media text (Abercrombie 1996; Nightingale 1996; Reese et al. 2003, cited in Breeze, 2011). Therefore, "Ideally, studies of this kind [about the effect of media texts] should be borne in mind or carried out in combination with discourse analytical research, in order to establish how media, institutional and other texts "work" in their natural settings." (Breeze, 2011: 512) I therefore paid attention to scholarship on Soviet newspapers and their language, reviewed secondary literature of other contemporary discourse planes, and conducted primary examination of recent key relevant Russian texts, which I describe in Chapter 5. I addressed the recommendation that we should "acknowledge from the outset that some discourses are more powerful or influential than others, and ... focus attention on those that are particularly likely to have an impact on a large audience, or to attempt to determine what factors make such an impact probable." (Breeze, 2011: 508) I therefore analysed the largest circulation Soviet newspaper, while explaining in Section 1.4.1. the limitations on *Pravda's* influence, evidenced by others' research.

I also brought additional knowledge to the research, through combining researcher and practitioner in one person: myself. Chouliaraki and Fairclough encourage works co-authored by discourse analysts and practitioners in the fields in question (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). Bearing in mind my intent to avoid bias and concentrate on evidence, as described in the foregoing paragraphs, my thesis therefore combines inside understanding of aid with a context analysis which includes criticisms of aid, a long view of the evolution of the discourse in Russia over 300 years, and a postcolonial perspective on the discourse. I thereby sought to avoid shaping what I found to meet my political aims. "Values are present in all stages ... the investigator can and should, albeit with training and with great effort, deliberately exclude his or her values from the describing, explaining, and identifying causal status." (Wickham and Kendall, 2008: 365) I therefore represent points of view in both Western and Russian discourses.

Scholars cannot avoid that they too are entangled in power relations and “the heart of the matter is that it is not legitimate to maintain a difference between researcher and researched solely on the grounds of access to social theory.” (Slembrouck, 2001, cited in Breeze, 2011: 506) While attempting to mitigate this through rigorous discourse analysis and comprehensive context analysis, I also summarise my background, so that a reader may deduce my position in power relations and ideology.

My own training in international development has given me not just particular knowledge but a linguistic advantage: it has trained me to identify subjects and actions. Clear language can keep CDA from becoming an exclusive arena denying entry to the uninitiated, the very type of institution which CDA scholars’ own work seeks to identify and disempower since, “Critical analysis, if it is to be critical, should have political targets. These targets should not be abstract entities but the actions of actual people or classes of people.” (Billig, 2013: 34-37) Therefore, in describing concepts such as nominalisation and reification, CDA practitioners should be careful to use precise language which does not itself nominalise and reify, making it appear that things and abstract entities have performed actions. Instead, CDA practitioners should state precisely who did what. To bring to light hidden actors, I identify nominalisations and reifications, and also avoid them myself, balancing this with the vocabulary and style of my chosen academic framework.

Most basic to this framework is the definition of “discourse”. Confusion over its meaning, and whether it includes the whole culture surrounding language (for example, behaviour, architecture, customs and policies) is compounded by the varied uses to which the word is put:

‘Discourse’ has captured the totalizing and semiotic connotations of ‘culture’, combined it with the Gramscian and Althusserian notions of ‘hegemony’ and ‘ideology’, blended it with Lacanian psychoanalytic concepts, tapped into the linguistic turn in literary theory, and then introduced Foucault’s historical perspective on power/knowledge relations. ‘Discourse’ thus retains many connotations of 1970s Marxist and Lacanian theory, but in a way that allows the incorporation of history, culture and both structuralist and post-structuralist insights. It is not surprising that such an all-encompassing term is now associated with a wide range of conflicting and confusing meanings... (Sawyer, 2002: 451)

As explained in Sections 2.2.1. and 2.2.2., this thesis examines “discourse” as signification conveyed by language and other communications put to paper, namely photographs, cartoons and layout.

3.3. Adapting DHA

I conducted a diachronic analysis of the discursive construction of Africa, aid and development, particularly where they overlapped, in Russia and the USSR. This analysis included a) context analysis, b) analysis of relevant culture, media and social factors of the time examined, and c) structural analysis and linguistic research on official public discourse in one newspaper.

This coincides broadly with Reisigl and Wodak’s 8-stage programme:

1. Activation and consultation of preceding theoretical knowledge (i.e. recollection, reading and discussion of previous research).
2. Systematic collection of data and context information (depending on the research question, various discourses and discursive events, social fields as well as actors, semiotic media, genres and texts are focused on).
3. Selection and preparation of data for specific analyses (selection and downsizing of data according to relevant criteria, transcription of tape recordings, etc.).
4. Specification of the research question and formulation of assumptions (on the basis of a literature review and a first skimming of the data).
5. Qualitative pilot analysis (allows testing categories and first assumptions as well as the further specification of assumptions).
6. Detailed case studies (of a whole range of data, primarily qualitative, but in part also quantitative).
7. Formulation of critique (interpretation of results, taking into account the relevant context knowledge and referring to the three dimensions of critique [topics, discursive strategies and linguistic realizations]).
8. Application of the detailed analytical results (if possible, the results might be applied or proposed for application). (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 96)

I merged points 5. and 6., and added a structural analysis, including topic analysis. My methodology, using the numbering above, was as follows.

3.3.1. Activating and consulting preceding theoretical knowledge

Preceding theoretical knowledge includes the wider context of my topics, the theories and approaches that I chose for my research, and existing research on my topics.

Given the importance of context to my topic and to DHA, much of my methodology concerned understanding the wider context. I consulted scholarly works on: a) the history of Russia, Africa and aid, b) Russian and Soviet colonialism, neo-

colonialism and quasi-colonialism, especially in Africa, c) Soviet media, and d) the evolution of aid. I visited relevant sites in St. Petersburg: the Ethnographic Museum, an exhibition of the history of the Department of African Studies and the Museum of Printing. I consulted an author of Soviet journalism teaching materials, Professor Kira Anatolyevna Rogova, and the Head of the Department of African Studies, Professor Alexandr Yurievich Zheltov. I analysed this as context in Chapters 1 to 4, and as part of my original research in Chapter 5.

I consulted scholarly works on Discourse Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis, Discourse Historical Approach and the Postcolonial Approach. I analysed these in Chapter 2.

I analysed preceding research on Soviet media representations of Africa and aid in Chapter 5, concerning Russian relationships with Africa and aid.

I activated all this contextual reading in my analysis in all chapters, on context, theory, approaches and linguistic analysis.

3.3.2. Collecting data and context information

I also analysed recent co-texts, and this too contributed to Chapter 5.

The first stage in my linguistic research was systematic collection of the corpus of newspaper articles. I selected articles appearing in *Pravda* because it was the largest circulation Soviet newspaper, and also collected post-Soviet articles from *Pravda*, for continuity of newspaper. In one sense, all items in my corpus are of the genre of the press article, while in another sense, they consist of a variety of genres, including editorials, opinion articles, feature articles, interviews, speeches and news reporting. All, however, are driven by news.

I initially conducted two searches, in early 2012 and late 2013, using online media database East View, through Edinburgh University library. I searched for occurrences in *Pravda* of Африк or африк, the root of the Russian word for “Africa” and “African”, between 1917 and 2013. My two searches yielded 179 and 262 pages respectively. East View searches are conducted on poor quality pdfs which are scans of old newspapers, in which Африк and африк are therefore not always clear. Searching a year apart, during which time East View and technology advanced, meant that I found more results in 2013 than in 2012. I took the 262 pages which I found in late 2013 as my *Pravda* corpus. These 262 pages were all from different issues, or days. They contained 462 articles mentioning Africa, articles where the continent was constructed

as a whole. Some also contained mentions of individual countries.

In June 2015, I repeated the search, to download all the corpus as pdfs, and on different days I found 22,702 pages (14th June 2015) and 22,688 pages (21st June 2015) containing Африк or африк up to 2009. East View confirmed to me in June 2015 that:

In 2014, East View updated its UDB platform to use the latest Lucene-based open source search technology, Apache Solr. This upgrade provided a lot of additional functionality, but did change the algorithm used to search content, and therefore also changed the search results. This would explain why the search results you received were different then versus now. (Email communication, 26th June, 2015)

Thus the vastly differing results between 2013 and 2015 are due to East View improving its search technology. As I explain in Chapter 6, in my structural analysis, I checked the distribution of my corpus pages against those of the more numerous occurrences showing in East View in 2015, and found that my corpus is representative of the distribution which I found in 2015, and that it includes texts from the start to the end of the period of most intense coverage of Africa in *Pravda*.

As recommended by East View, I sometimes used the browser Safari, version 5.1.10. I also found that Google Chrome, version 49.0.2623.112, worked well.

The total area occupied by the 462 articles over 262 pages was the equivalent of 63 broadsheet pages. It was not practical to count articles' words, as is normal in corpus analysis, because the quality of the pdfs was such that their content could not simply be copied and pasted into a Word document for counting words. Instead of talking of numbers of words, therefore, I refer to Percentage of a Broadsheet Page.

3.3.3. Selecting and preparing data, and structural analysis

My structural analysis facilitated my selection of data for detailed analysis. My structural analysis methodology follows Jäger and Maier (2009) in being systematic and concentrating on topics, which, as we saw in Section 2.2.10., are a vital part of discourse analysis. My steps for the structural analysis of the discourse strand of "Africa" are consistent with the methodology which they propose:

1. A list of all articles of relevance for the discourse strand is compiled. This list should include bibliographical information, notes about topics covered in the article, the literary genre, any special characteristics and the section in which the article appears.
2. Structural analysis should roughly capture the characteristics of articles

- on particular aspects of interest, such as any illustrations, the layout, the use of collective symbols, the argumentation, the vocabulary and so on, and identify which forms are typical for the newspaper...
3. A discourse strand encompasses various sub-topics. These are first identified and then summarized into groups...
 4. The next step is to examine with what frequency particular groups of subtopics appear... Are there any sub-topics that are conspicuous by their absence?
 5. If the analysis is diachronic, it will also examine how sub-topics are distributed over the course of time...
 6. Discursive entanglements are then identified. (Jäger and Maier, 2009: 53-54)

I conducted a structural analysis of all 262 pages, containing 462 articles mentioning “Africa”. I examined:

- Number of articles which mentioned Africa in each issue,
- Prominence of articles (front page, prominent author, photo or cartoon),
- Percentage of page occupied by these articles,
- Author and description of author
- Headlines and summaries or subheadings
- Topics (semantic macrostructure),
- Frequency of topics,
- Main stance or opinion of the article,
- Broad portrayal of Africa,
- Ruptures (changes) in this portrayal,
- Richness of content,
- Dates of articles; how Africa was presented in different periods.

I present the findings of my structural analysis, including topic or content analysis of all 462 articles, also called macrostructure analysis or macro-analysis, in Chapter 6.

My structural analysis also included multi-topic analysis of a discrete sample of 22 pages, which displayed particularly strongly at least one of these features:

- Apparent rupture with previous representations of Africa,
- Return to a previous typical representation of Africa,
- Potential apparent rupture where content implied change would come,
- Prominence (front page, prominent author, photograph or cartoon), or
- Concerning aid or development.

These 22 pages were spread representatively over the 97 years in question, 20

Soviet and 2 post-Soviet, so that I could follow the progression to post-Soviet discourse in one newspaper. They contained 30 articles mentioning Africa. I analysed the presence of multiple topics in these 22 pages.

3.3.4. Specifying research questions, formulating assumptions

Throughout the research, I refined the research questions, as my literature review and analysis of wider context and co-texts and structural and pilot analyses gave me new information. I began to see patterns:

- *Pravda* often represented freedom as a primary aim for African countries, a prerequisite to development, or even a replacement for it,
- *Pravda* often used Africa as a rhetorical proxy or alter ego of the USSR,
- *Pravda* represented Africa and some of its individual people as having agency,
- In showing great concern about the West's evil military intent, *Pravda* appeared to show the USSR lower down the hierarchy of power than the West.
- In showing how the USSR was standing up for Africa, *Pravda* appeared to show African countries lower down the hierarchy of power than the USSR.

3.3.5., 3.3.6. Detailed case studies of 54 pages, additional discrete analyses

I had already conducted a multi-topic analysis of 22 pages as part of my structural analysis. To these 22 pages, I added the 9 remaining pages which included aid or development as a main theme. Starting in 1963, these followed pages from 1955, 1957 and 1960 which referred to development, but not as a main theme.

I next added the 9 issues which celebrated African Day, or African Freedom Day, from 1961 to 1989.

My context reading and initial analysis led me to see my corpus as falling into five phases of the USSR's relations with Africa, which I show in the table below. I added 1 page from the middle of World War II, so that I had pages from all five phases.

This gave a portfolio of 41 pages, with 86 articles, for detailed analysis. It included all articles in the corpus in which aid or development were significant topics, plus some in which development was emerging as a topic, in relation to Africa.

I now had a spread of issues for the detailed analysis which reflected the corpus density in each phase, included the evolution of the concept of development and aid to Africa, and gave due attention to African Freedom Day, when content could be particularly dense. Selected pages were as follows, with pages named C (for "corpus") plus a number:

Phase	No. pages	Names of pages	Articles = x% of 1 Broadsheet Page	% of corpus pages in each phase
Phase 1: 1917-1941	2	C2, C9	53%	20%
Phase 2: 1941-1945	1	C16	30%	8%
Phase 3: 1945-1953	3	C23, C24, C29	88%	30%
Phase 4: 1953-1984	26	C35, C36, C40, C60, C61, C63, C70, C77, C86, C87, C91, C103, C120, C128, C129, C136, C141, C143, C149, C160, C164, C179, C183, C191, C196, C197	622%	15%
Phase 5: 1985-1991	6	C211, C213, C220, C221, C230, C233	259%	21%
Post-Soviet: 1991+	3	C241, C244, C249	70%	19%
TOTALS	41 pages		1122% = 11 Broadsheet Pages = 1/6 of Broadsheet Page area in corpus	

I explain my numbering of extracts quoted at the start of Section 6.2..

The 86 articles in the 41 pages occupied an area equivalent to just over 11 broadsheet pages, approximately one sixth of the entire area of the relevant texts in the corpus, which totalled an area of just over 63 broadsheet pages. Put another way, the 41 pages were just over one sixth of the total 262 pages, while the 86 articles were over a sixth of the 464 articles in the whole corpus. While the selection of pages in the longest phase, Phase 4, was a low proportion (15%) of the total pages in the corpus for that period, this was a period in which little might change, according to all my reading of context and Soviet media discourse.

Within these pages, I examined only discourse fragments (articles, photograph or cartoon) mentioning Africa. I examined the five types of discursive strategy which I listed in Section 2.3.2.:

- Nomination strategies (of people, objects, phenomena, events, process, actions)

- Predication strategies (of social actors, objects, phenomena, processes, including allusions and presuppositions)
- Argumentation strategies (including topoi and fallacies)
- Perspectivisation strategies (of the above nominations, attributions and arguments)
- Mitigation and intensification strategies (whether overtly articulated, and whether and how illocutionary force is intensified or mitigated). (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 94, summarised)

In a sense, all the above are argumentation strategies, and my analysis treated my findings as such. Bearing in mind the five categories, I analysed relevant texts in the 41 pages of data to discover the linguistic means of realisation of these strategies, and looked for means such as Wodak, van Dijk and van Leeuwen suggest. Led by my research questions, my data and the questions which it raised, I drew on each of these scholar's approaches more or less, depending on which aspect of *Pravda's* construction I was considering and which was best suited to it. Thus, I noted metonymies, synecdoches, topoi, fallacies, expressions of sameness and uniqueness and specific arguments, as I analysed how these matched the realisations of strategies which Wodak et al found constructed a country: strategies of justification and relativisation, construction, perpetuation, transformation, and demontage and destruction. (I described all these in Section 2.3.2..) As I noted mitigation and intensification strategies, I related these to the Ideological Square devised by van Dijk. When I analysed the USSR's construction of power, hierarchy and freedom struggles, I used van Leeuwen's categories of discourse as recontextualisation of social practice: representation of social actors, social action, legitimation and purpose through semantic and syntactic moves. I discuss my analyses in Chapter 6.

As I continued to refine my research questions, categories and assumptions, I conducted additional, discrete searches of the whole corpus for analysis of other topics which arose as relevant. These included citations by *Pravda* of African journals and newspapers, and depictions of African clothing in photographs and cartoons. This meant that I analysed closely 13 more pages, which I also analyse in detail in Chapter 6. These are: C12, C28, C41, C55, C57, C73, C83, C124, C147, C151, C222, C224, C234. This gave me a total of 54 pages which I analysed in detail. A table in Annex 2 lists all 54 pages, their dates and page number in *Pravda*.

I then reviewed the whole corpus of 262 pages for all occurrences of the root разви (devel), where it meant development of aspects of a country. From 1958, it occurred in almost every page in the corpus, whether applied to Africa or other parts of

the world. I wove in my analysis of this alongside my detailed analysis of 54 pages.

Hence I analysed 54 pages and continually reviewed the whole corpus, investigating relevant points of interest as they emerged.

3.3.7. Critique and legacy analysis

In Chapter 6, I drew discrete conclusions. Guided by the content of my corpus, I assessed the extent to which the Soviet construction of Africa used a collective past, present and future, common culture, common territory and *homo nationalis* which Wodak et al had identified in their analysis. I analysed instances of intertextuality and interdiscursivity, since:

the concrete analysis should take into account historical developments of discursive practices (change), intertextuality, and interdiscursivity. This might explain why it is so difficult to provide “short, telling” examples in a paper: an example needs the deconstruction of the whole social-political and historical context in which the discursive practices are embedded. This approach... explains why interdisciplinarity is a necessity when undertaking CDA. (Wodak, 2002: 12)

As Wodak et al (2009) identified how issues of common past, present, future, culture and territory are constructed and reconstructed through intertextuality and recontextualisation, they considered discourses amongst different publics and in relation to each other and to sociopolitical changes. They elucidated that there is no single national identity, but “different identities being discursively constructed according to the local socioeconomic and political conditions, which in turn helps to reconcile old agency/structure dichotomy by taking into account social change” (Perez-Milans, 2013: 2). I use Kristeva’s explanation of intertextuality as my definition: “each word (text) is an intersection of other words (texts) where at least one other word (text) can be read” (Kristeva, 1980: 66). This recalls my explanations of subjects, reproduction, recontextualisation and presuppositions in Chapter 2, emphasising recall of previous texts. I take Wodak and Meyer’s definition of interdiscursivity: discourses referring to and shaping each other (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). My analysis is a story of intertextuality and interdiscursivity, which divides naturally into the different historical periods of the USSR and Russia, as they interacted with and were part of global history and discourse. During all stages, I reviewed findings, iteratively questioning and finessing them.

I drew my conclusions in Chapter 7, where I answer my research questions. I

formulated my critique of themes which had arisen in the context, structural and detailed analyses, and summarised my normative critique (“critique of power in discourse” (van Dijk, 1998a)), explanatory critique (“a critique of power behind discourse” (ibid)) and critique of ideology. I concluded what legacy Soviet times had left for the post-Soviet period.

3.3.8. Applying detailed analytical results

The detailed analytical results, assessment of the legacy, and the conclusion are relevant to a) scholarly discussions on Russia’s current evolution as a donor and Russia’s current evolving relations with Africa, and b) discussions within the community of practice of international development about the importance of language and how we should use it within the sphere of international development and Africa. There is scope for dissemination and discussion within both spheres.

3.4. Soviet newspaper language

3.4.1. Soviet language policy and linguistics

Language was an explicitly political topic amongst some revolutionaries before the Revolution and amongst some Communist Party leaders during the USSR.

One issue was the relative status of Russian and other languages of the USSR. A multilingual USSR was a hurdle to socialist government, which wished to spread its ideology and unite its territory. Lenin encouraged the use of all native languages, whether to defend them against extinguishment (Kreindler, 1982), or ease communications. However, Stalin evoked his own form of linguistics to justify russification, which was intensified in the 1930s (Gretchko, 2010). Even by 1979, however, only 59% of the USSR considered Russian their native language, and only 82% considered it their first or second language, while approximately 40% of the non-Russian population had little ability in Russian (Solchanyk, 1982).

A related issue, therefore, was low literacy in Russian: in Nineteenth Century Russia, only 28% of the rural population was literate in any language (Kahan and Weiss, 1989). Therefore the Soviet government implemented a mass roll-out of education, and reformed the language, as the 1918 spelling reform abolished four redundant letters of the alphabet. The developmental aim was to help illiterate people to learn to read more quickly; the ideological aim was to dissociate the language from the oppressors’ culture (Gusejnov, 2004). Lenin also started work on dictionaries of Russian, beginning a process of standardisation which Stalin completed.

Shortly after Lenin's death, an exploration of recent changes in the Russian language was published, linguist Selishchev's 1928 "The Language of a Revolutionary Era – Observations on the Russian Language in Recent Years (1917-1926)". Selishchev compared the languages of Russian and French revolutionaries, and compared the general prevailing languages of the two countries in their revolutionary eras, when both rejected aristocracy and religion. He attributed import of new words into Russian from German and Polish, spread of linguistic features of key revolutionary figures such as Lenin, new words concerning new phenomena and subjects, and new phrases including abbreviations, philosophical and political-economic terms to social phenomena and changes in Party, social, administrative, cultural and everyday life. (Selishchev, 1928) During this period, the language of peasants and illiterate masses, spontaneity and linguistic innovation were officially valued (Petrov and Ryazanova-Clarke, 2015).

Under Stalin, linguists had to be extremely careful. In 1950, for example, *Pravda* published Stalin's "Concerning Marxism in Linguistics", in which he denounced linguist Nikolai Marr for non-Marxism, muddled thinking and calling language a superstructure, and criticised Marr's disciples for supporting him and for recommending his works to students (Stalin, 1950). The article was, however, really about Stalin and politics, not about language and linguistics: "The main thing that Stalin demonstrated by his public intervention was that he was the one who determined the content of any area of knowledge." (Dobrenko, 2015)

Nevertheless, from the 1930s until Stalin's death in 1953, Soviet ideological discourse had literal meaning. According to social anthropologist Alexei Yurchak, the authorities and ordinary people generally expressed in public what they thought was true and possible (Yurchak, 2005).

3.4.2. Newspeak

The USSR brought changes requiring new language and increased communications between state and citizens. State language and ideology were broadcast to the whole country. Mature official Soviet language has been called variously Orwellian Newspeak (Orwell, 1949) (новояз), "wooden" language (деревянный язык), ideological language, officialese and bureaucratese, and has been compared to Victor Klemperer's 1957 *The Language of the Third Reich*. As communism and the state became one, and Stalinism strengthened, the fresh post-Revolutionary language solidified into a bureaucratic and administrative one which lasted until Glasnost. (Petrov and

Ryazanova-Clarke, 2015) During the Stalinist period, communist language consisted of agitational, bureaucratic and ritual varieties (Weiss, 2000). According to Yurchak, after Stalin, the language became fixed and had less literal meaning, as in Bakhtin's "authoritative discourse", which has great hold over us but dies as soon as it is dethroned (Bakhtin, 1934-5). Soviet discourse became more formulaic, its rituals and slogans more performative than constative, and in more and more situations the act of speaking was more important than content. Yurchak calls this the "performative shift", in which the "performative dimension of ritualized and speech acts rises in importance (it is important to participate in the reproduction of these acts at the level of form), while the constative dimension of these acts become open-ended, indeterminate, or simply irrelevant." (Yurchak, 2005: 26) In the late USSR, as the agitational element weakened, the language lost some emotion and metaphors. According to Stephen Kotkin (1995) and Johann Hellbeck (2005, 2006), workers willingly used Bolshevik language to find their place in the system. (Petrov and Ryazanova-Clarke, 2015)

Soviet language was rich in ideologemes, discursive items which refer to ideology or cultural norms, with stable meaning, unquestioned and understood as common sense: "As a result, ideologemes can direct language users towards authoritative and canonized meanings; in essence, they can function as signals of ideological orthodoxy." (Sherry, 2015: 149) As compound words, acronyms, party slang, newspaper jargon and bureaucratic style infiltrated people's speech, they became part of their way of thinking, creating a "partocracy". Published texts by party leaders formed part of the linguistic environment, with ideologemes guiding people in "correct" thinking and behaviour. Ideologemes included the new toponyms (placenames) of the USSR, which intensified immediately after the Revolution and again after the Second World War. Early toponyms contained names of people, while later ones commemorated other ideologemes, in names such as "Builders' Street", "Innovators' Boulevard" and "Victory Park". Other ideologemes in common use were allusions such as quotations, appealing to authority and renewing the meaning of the original text. (Gusejnov, 2004)

Official Soviet language contained gnomic statements: "generalizing propositions that ascribe an essential property or regularity to entities, persons or occurrences." (Petrov, 2015: 40) In *Bolshevik*, *Pravda's* sister paper, from 1930-34, Petrov found Soviet gnomic expressions which frequently appeared ambiguous, but whose dual meanings Soviet citizens could merge, for example merging aspiration and the present, thinking and saying things into existence. "The notion of demonstrative realization...

marks off a fascinating cultural and epistemological space where normative universality commutes with existentiality.” (ibid: 56) Official Soviet language was wishful thinking, just as organisational policies in the West today include aspirations.

Alongside this official discourse, a parallel unofficial discourse developed. Even Selishchev had noted the word правдизм (“truthism” or “Pravdism”), used in 1913 by Zinoviev (Selishchev, 1928: 182). From the very start of the USSR and as the Twentieth Century progressed, Sovietisms could be used sincerely, denigratingly or humorously. After the USSR, a dictionary of the language of Sovdepia gathered 10,000 Sovietisms: “words, idioms, sayings, aphorisms, periphrases, “winged words”, expressing the reality and ideologemes of their time.” (Mokiyenko and Nikitina, 1998: 2) The word “Sovdepia”, for example, was a shortened form of the Council of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Deputies, but in slang was a derogatory way of referring to the Soviet country or government (ibid: 391-2). Similarly, dissidents used some elements of Soviet language and made them their own (Davies, 1997). Interpretation of ideologemes depended on insider knowledge; every text had dual meaning, and people developed an engrained habit of looking for subtexts while ignoring explicit information in formal communications (Gusejnov, 2004). This built on the skills of Aesopian language, part of Russian tradition, which allowed one’s meaning to escape the attention of the censor or informer and yet be understood by the initiated and sympathetic. Stretching back to Pushkin’s times, handed down from generation to generation, it had a community of speakers in Soviet times too. Ironically, even Soviet officialdom referred to Aesopian language to which nineteenth century Russian democrats had to resort. But Aesop was a slave, and both Lenin in 1905 and Saltykov-Shchedrin in 1972 called Aesopian language slave’s language, for cowards. (Sandomirskaya, 2015)

3.4.3. Soviet newspaper language

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the most popular Russian newspapers, Новое Время (“New Time”) of Suvorin and Русское Слово (“Russian Word”) of Sytin and Chekhov, had presented subjective opinions and analysis for intellectuals, appropriate to the Silver Age of Russian literature. Socialist newspapers were in part a reaction to this. Marxist newspapers such as the émigrés’ *Iskra* (“Spark”), started in 1900, were initially illegal in Russia, and Lenin’s 1901 “Where To Begin?” stated the overwhelming need for a revolutionary newspaper, and stated the aims of a newspaper to be agitator, propagandist and organiser (Lenin, 1901). Lenin wanted facts,

not opinions, and a language to appeal to most of the population (Rogova, 2014). Of course, remembering the definition of ideology in this thesis, given in Section 2.2.1., the “very selection, focus, representation and construction of historical ‘facts’” (van Dijk, 1998a: 295) was determined by the prevailing ideology. Therefore Lenin’s wish was only achievable within certain parameters. The “science” of Soviet ideology and wishfulness of Soviet official language combined to select, focus, represent and construct the “facts”.

Soviet journalists were exhorted to follow Lenin’s example. From the 1920s, Leningrad University held lectures on journalism, and in 1946, its first journalism students started studying, initially in the Faculty of Philology, then from 1947 in the Departments of the History of Russian Journalism and of Theory and Practice of Party-Soviet Print Media, and finally from 1961 in an independent Faculty of Journalism. Moscow University’s Department of Journalism was established in 1947, likewise initially as part of the Faculty of Philology and then as an independent Faculty of Journalism from 1952. Textbooks instructed students to be agitators (tell what was happening), propagandists (analyse matters) and organisers (advance the Revolution). This approach lasted from before the USSR right up until the 1980s. News was strictly managed in the Stalinist period, less strictly during the post-Stalinist Thaw, and then more strictly again in the 1970s, although by then magazines began to publish articles questioning the USSR’s economic success. During the 1980s, it became possible to question the Soviet system in newspapers, laying the ground for the final collapse of the USSR. (Rogova, 2014)

The books of five prominent journalism scholars in the 1970s illustrate how Soviet journalists were to implement their Marxist-Leninist tasks. Berezhnoy of Leningrad University contended that newspapers should form Lenin’s ideology in the minds of the people, while the more liberal Prokhorov, of Moscow University, stated that newspapers should form social opinion. Kostomarov of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and Rogova of Leningrad University promoted elegance and effectiveness of style. All four journalism textbooks examined here began with an obligatory eulogy to Lenin and his journalistic prowess. The fifth book analysed here, of Zasursky, urged developing countries to emulate the Soviet media experience.

Thus “Lenin – Creator of a New Kind of Print (1893 – 1914)” (Berezhnoy, 1971) told the history of Lenin’s involvement in the early formation of newspapers in the USSR, from his motivations arising from childhood, to the first years of *Pravda*.

The reader was told of Lenin's first published article (on agriculture), his conviction that an illegal newspaper must be founded, the importance of teaching social-democrats to put themselves in the position of the revolutionary class, the importance of spreading Marxism, Lenin's conviction of the importance of agitation, his illegal publications, his hard work, and parallel struggles of workers, for example in the 1895-96 strikes. Subsequent chapters told of the newspaper as the centre of ideological and organisational activities, how Lenin realised his plan, the history of *Iskra*, the progression from *Iskra* to *Vperyod* (*Вперед*, “Forward”) and from *Vperyod* to “Proletariat” (*Пролетария*), eventually telling the tale of the founding of *Pravda*. A few chapter headings and subheadings, using my own translations, indicate the recommended style, replete with metaphors and emotion:

Chapter 4 – On the Crest of the Revolutionary Wave
Down with Literary People with No Party Affiliation
Chapter 5: - Towards a New Revolutionary Approach
Chapter 6 – A Newspaper is not only for Workers, but is Of the Workers
Leninist Ideas on Print Live On in the Actions of the Masses
Leninist *Pravda* and Worker Journalists
Chapter 7 – The Spreading Abroad of Leninist Principles of Party Press
(ibid – all extracts using my translations)

The book ends with a rousing message to aspiring journalists, and refers to the spreading of Leninist ideas to developing countries:

Learning about a new type of press, which was basically worked out and applied in the period 1893-1914, proved itself brilliantly in the future: in the years of the struggle for power, and in the years of building a new life in our country and in socialist countries, and in communist and workers' parties of capitalist and developing countries. (ibid)

In “The Publicist and Reality” (Prokhorov, 1973), Prokhorov also wrote about “the study of all Marxist-Leninist theory of press and journalism and of works on the journalistic mastery of Marx, Engels and Lenin”. However, he included sections such as “A Literary View of Journalism” and “Chapter 2 – The Search for Specific Features of Journalistic Creativity”. Like Berezhnoy, he referred to the works of Marx, in sections such as “Elements and Structure of Karl Marx's “Civil War in France””. Like Berezhnoy too, he emphasised the social role of the journalist in creating social opinion. However, he placed more emphasis on creativity, stating that, “The social purpose is the basis of the creative identity”. He wrote of journalism's social-educational role and that

of conveying social information; the journalist must engage with science and art, and know social history. The final chapter expounded on different styles of journalism. The book thus combined orthodox Marxism-Leninism with a call for thoughtful and creative journalism, given the demands of different publications. He concluded:

Contemporary Soviet journalism more and more fully and vividly embodies the requirements of the party - to be a deeply partial, true, passionate chronicler of modernity, an ideological fighter and educator, whose word not only helps people to understand all the diverse facets of social life and the laws of its functioning and development, but also activates the energy and the will of the builders of communism. (ibid)

Both writers thus emphasised education, Marxism-Leninism and passion, while Prokhorov encouraged variety in style to achieve specific aims. Partiality, as I explained in Section 1.4.1., was considered a virtue (McNair, 1991).

Vitaly Grigorevich Kostomarov also encouraged varied style. In “Russian Language in the Newspaper Sphere”, he urged journalists to use and blend a variety of styles: “The homogeneity of newspaper language is in the specific variety of its composition.” (Kostomarov, 1971: 252) This book’s main theme is the sometimes contradictory and yet complementary tendencies towards expressiveness and standardisation in newspaper language. He urged journalists to strike the right balance: “the necessary balance of the duality that constitutes suitable newspaper language” (ibid: 259).

Kira Anatolyevna Rogova’s *The Style of Lenin’s “Iskra” and of the Newspaper “Novaya Zhizn”* gave detailed analysis of Lenin’s journalistic style. The Bolsheviks’ aim of educating the masses had determined both Lenin’s style and content. Lenin was said to have expressed his opinions explicitly, used a wide range of vocabulary, expressed emotions, made exclamations, and adopted a style of spontaneous speech. His main stylistic features were variety of prose style and intense rhythm, used to analyse class politics and convey the proletarian movement’s theory and practice. Writing in 1979, Rogova said that all newspaper writing therefore now directly addressed the reader, whether about political events and their analysis or the journalist’s attitude, feelings and intentions towards them. Newspapers considered the linguistic characteristics of their readership, and used their everyday speech as well as whatever their readers considered ideal newspaper language. Clarity was of utmost importance to Lenin, but he insisted on resisting any urge to simplify the message to reach those who could not immediately understand complex theoretical and practical issues. Instead,

he wrote: "This does not mean that the newspaper would have to drop to the level of the mass of its readers. On the contrary, the newspaper is to raise their level and help the release of the middle layer of the workers - workers foremost." (Vol. 4, pp. 269-270). (Т. 4, с. 269-270). (Rogova, 1979: 144)

Yasen Zasursky's 1979 "Soviet Mass Media – Aims & Organisation Past & Present" presented the USSR as instigator of free media in developing countries, through UNESCO, a United Nations (UN) resolution and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the West as opposing this. Directed at citizens and leaders of developing countries, the book told how the USSR came from poverty and illiteracy to be an industrialised country with a large and sophisticated mass media, an inspiration to developing countries. It aligned the USSR as ally of colonies and ex-colonies, their supporter in a sympathetic UN, and stated a major purpose of the media to be to educate the oppressed and formerly oppressed masses. It talked of the West's vast efforts in broadcasting information to developing countries, through large news agencies and a US-led World Press Freedom Committee, which promised aid in return for capitalist-leaning media in developing countries. It explained the public's involvement in writing to *Pravda* and as freelance correspondents, and newspapers' involvement in conducting inspections and holding meetings. Zasursky said that Soviet media raised political awareness in society, monitored the implementation of five-year plans, and facilitated large-scale public evaluations. He stated desired topics in Soviet media to be major social and public events, including the functioning of factories and individual workers, public control over work to meet production targets, public discussion of key CPSU and government documents, economic news, large-scale political campaigns such as October Revolution anniversaries, major international events plus their analysis, and the views of Soviet people on all these matters. Media content should be planned and segmented by age group of readers and days of the week, with Saturdays containing more entertainment than educational Sundays. (Zasursky et al., 1979) Zasursky's description of a Soviet media with such wide-ranging activities and campaigns made it appear like a modern Western NGO (non-governmental organisation). Aimed at developing countries, the book illustrated a media race, accompanying the arms, space and aid races.

Journalism students were taught three styles of newspaper article: informational, analytical and artistic-expressive. The Soviet press contained a variety of styles, with differences between central and local papers, and between those such as *Pravda* for the

less educated masses and magazines for the more educated minority. Journalists such as Leonid Shishkarev were known for their essays (очерки), which might be published in magazines or in *Izvestia*. Essays conveyed their message to intellectuals through indirectness, analysis, and aiming to persuade through gaining readers' sympathy. *Pravda*, on the other hand, was written for the ironically named SSP (Simple Soviet Person), ПСЧ (Простой Советский Человек), for whom both language and content were simplified. *Pravda* articles were simple in structure, with insulting names for the USSR's opponents. Regional *Pravdas* added regional news to main news emanating from Moscow. *Pravda's* black-and-white language reflected the ideology of class war, of "who is not with us is against us". However, all articles, wherever published, were to have logical structure, leading the reader through an argument to the desired conclusion, and each should contain a theme, aim and hypothesis. The content of news was prescribed, such that journalists might, for example, seek news of wrongdoing, but must report them to the CPSU, which would investigate and tell newspapers whom, if anybody, they must criticise. (Rogova, 2014)

While journalism students of the 1970s were urged to emulate Lenin's journalistic style and aims of the previous century, in reality Soviet journalistic style changed over the decades, with the immediate post-Revolution years followed by a process of increasing stylistic uniformity which was ossified by the end of Stalin's era and which lasted until Glasnost in the 1980s. These changes were partly due to rising literacy, partly to the regimes of different Soviet leaders. Here I examine two scholars' analyses of these changes into a totalitarian press with a totalitarian language.

The 1917 Decree of the Press led to a one-party press, part of a totalitarian system, and bureaucratisation of journalism. The policy of varied styles, with variety between and within publications, was initially facilitated by sociologists in the 1920s, using questionnaires to understand how well readers understood the political press. Apparently spontaneous language was partly deliberate. The *rabselkor* and news agencies used different language, the former more emotional and simple, the latter more neutral and bookish. *Rabselkor*, particularly writing in *Bednota* ("Poverty") and *Krestyanskaya Gazeta* ("Peasant Newspaper"), used conversational, emotional and evaluative phraseology, similar to speech, with incomplete sentences, questions-and-answers and exclamations. This appeared to create trust in publications, showing writers as similar to most readers, sharing their experiences of living and working conditions. This style was preserved when preparing readers' letters for publication. *Krestyanskaya*

Gazeta combined such emotional and evaluative commentary with extended explanations, in contrast to the more bookish lexicon and semantics of *Pravda*. However, foreign news was treated with emotion in all three of these publications in the 1920s, due to foreign hostility to the USSR. By 1968, the three sources (agencies TASS and Novosti, *rabselkor* and readers' letters) used similar styles: emotional-evaluative, spontaneous and yet more neutral. By the 1980s, a new linguistic style in newspapers heralded changes to come through Perestroika. Nevertheless, the stylistic standard of TASS had entered the consciousness of all Soviet citizens, along with a standard diet of children's poems, newspapers, magazines and children's radio shows. By the end of the USSR, the texts and styles of the CPSU, TASS and *Pravda* were so well known that parodies of them met widespread understanding. Indeed, the 1990s resembled the revolutionary start of the USSR, as society and language changed together, with critics bemoaning the degradation of the Russian language. (Lysakova, 2010)

Poppel's conclusions are similar. In "The Rhetoric of *Pravda* Editorials: A Diachronic Study of a Political Genre", she examined 174 editorials from 6 years between 1924 and 1959, combining descriptive, critical and cognitive approaches to discourse analysis, and using Austin's and Searle's speech act theory. By 1959, Soviet language had fully developed and thereafter did not change significantly until Perestroika. The change from revolutionary to totalitarian language took place in the 1920s and 1930s. *Pravda* editorial language was revolutionary in the early 1920s, but in 1922, the CPSU's Central Committee produced a prescriptive letter "On the Layout of Local Newspapers". By the end of the 1950s, Soviet language was comparable to George Orwell's Newspeak (новояз) (Orwell, 1949), a fictional futuristic language which deliberately restricted available vocabulary and grammar such that only acceptable thoughts could be expressed or even thought. It had become more ritualised and less expressive and figurative. According to Poppel, hypocrisy is a feature of totalitarian language, and in the USSR this meant that harsh rhetoric was abandoned at the time of the greatest terror and Stalinist purges. From the early 1930s, the editorials simplified, dropping allusions, religious phraseology, proverbs and sayings whose meanings relied on readers' knowledge. As time went on, there was less and less appeal to imagination and reason, and the language became uniform, boring and repetitive, and expressed stability and unity. *Pravda* glorified Stalin during his life, and the Soviet people after his death. *Pravda* transformed Marx and Lenin from the Revolution's founders and practical leaders into ideological symbols. Some things remained constant

throughout the period: the obligation to mention Marx and Lenin, and the constant presence of an enemy, internal, external or past. The tendency to bureaucratised, and threaten or educate rather than persuade, made the language simplified, depersonified, ritualised, rules-based, driven from the top, full of abbreviations, clichés, slogans and nominalisations, repetitive, unemotional and lacking imagery. (Poppel, 2007)

The effects of such “wooden” language were a passive populace. A study of language in Soviet and post-Soviet newspapers of 1978-2003 found that the explicit role for Soviet newspapers in agitating and organising people to continue the Revolution’s work coexisted with rules that prohibited journalists from stepping outside prescribed methods of acquiring information or prescribed aims of writing. Soviet journalists were not to take their logical arguments towards conclusions other than those decreed by the CPSU. Soviet newspapers therefore encouraged passivity: “the social role for the readership that is implied through the press discourse as regards transparency in the political process in the Soviet period is clearly a passive and ignorant one.” (von Seth, 2011: 27) This contradiction between rousing writing and passivity (or the “right” form of activity) was common across all Soviet newspaper styles. Although the discourse appeared highly political, it was in fact apolitical, since the monolithic viewpoint meant that the media revealed no conflict over resources, the very definition of politics.

Within this peculiarly Soviet media environment, discourses on Africa, aid and development evolved, largely driven by the Cold War, and affected by the evolution of Western discourses on the same topics.

3.4.4. Why review post-Soviet Pravda

Post-Soviet *Pravda* is, as explained in Section 1.4.3, atypical of its time: it has low circulation, it belongs to a political party, and it professes socialism.

Pravda’s circulation is now 100,000, while its fellow Soviet giant newspaper, *Izvestia*, now owned by SOGAZ, has 371,000. The largest circulation newspaper by far (2.75 million) is weekly *Argumenty i Fakty*, founded in 1978 and largely owned by Promsvyazbank. *Moskovsky Komsomolets*, founded in 1919, owned by Pavel Gusev, has 1.2 million, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, founded in 1925, owned by energy group YeSN, has 660,000, and *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*, founded in 1990, owned by the Russian government, has 638,000.¹¹ Choosing any of these for an investigation through the turbulent first years of post-Soviet Russia would have been an individual case study. While I could have selected *Argumenty i Fakty* for its role as the largest circulation

¹¹ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4315129.stm> , figures from 2007 and 2008.

post-Soviet newspaper, just as *Pravda* was the largest circulation Soviet newspaper, I chose to study one which I could follow from earliest Soviet to recent times. I gathered a large amount of data from post-Soviet *Argumenty i Fakty* for use in a later comprehensive analysis of post-Soviet media discourse on my topics, but such an analysis in addition to my analysis of Soviet *Pravda* was beyond the scope of this thesis: I could either follow *Pravda* to current times or stop at 1991.

I chose to continue my investigation of *Pravda* into post-Soviet times as a case study of this one newspaper. I thereby show the Soviet, and then capitalist and then socialist discourses that evolved, first consumed by many people in the USSR and then by a minority in post-Soviet Russia. In so doing I complete this history of discourse of this once-mighty newspaper, seen through the prism of topics of Africa, aid and development. Some *Pravda* readers will have remained loyal to it, still reading it after the USSR, or maybe returning to it when it returned to the ownership of a communist party. This case study is a history of the evolution of a socialist rhetoric to which there was little choice during Soviet times and for which there is a voluntary market today.

Chapter 4. Evolution of Aid; Analysis of Media Discourse on Africa and Aid

Africa is to Europe as the picture is to Dorian Gray—a carrier onto whom the master unloads his physical & moral deformities (Achebe, 1977).

Introduction

This chapter describes the context of the subject matter of Africa, development and aid. It presents first an analysis of the evolution of development and aid, and then a review of approaches used to analyse media discourse of Africa, development and aid. Much of this refers to Western ideas and discourse, and is the backdrop against which I later analyse Soviet and Russian discourse. I engage with the literature on these topics to date, and analyse some recent co-texts. As in Foucauldian dispositive analysis, I assess knowledge of its time, understanding discourse as a precursor to actions, which lead to materialisations. To use Foucault's terminology, I conduct a modest archaeology of discourses of development and Africa.

Discourses on Africa, development and aid are entangled in Western discourse, and therefore **Section 4.1.**'s outline of the evolution of development and overseas aid subsumes discourse on Africa. The discourse divides the world into developed and developing countries, with the North intentionally developing the South. The North has evolved from those countries which colonised, while the South consists largely of those countries which were colonised, and the entanglement of aid and development is such that development in other countries is sometimes assumed to happen only with aid from the North. Aid discourse downplays politics, class and racial discrimination, and perpetuates an image of a superior north giving to an ever-poor, incapable, inactive south, strengthening a model of givers and receivers. Proposed solutions concern changing this discourse, but the model of giving is hard to change. Ideology, one-upmanship, solidarity, altruism, reaction to world events, national pride, each country's own experience and investment by the donor country in itself are all motivators to give, though seldom consciously articulated by the donor.

Media discourse of emergencies has been researched more than that of development. Therefore much discourse analysed is of emergencies. In **Section 4.2.** my review of analytical approaches to media discourse of Africa and development shows

that Africa is generally conveyed negatively and stereotypically, and that the trend is for aid agencies to move further from calls to political action. If the media had the will, they could address the racism and operational matters which cause their superficial reporting, and if international development agencies had the will, they could prioritise educating the public and calls for political action over maximising fundraising income. Russian media, meantime, contains both an official, measured if instrumental attitude towards Africa and international development, and a less managed and freer media which tends to release racism.

Section 4.3. is an ironic African viewpoint of how Africa is portrayed.

4.1. Evolution of aid

4.1.1. Discourses of human rights and humanitarianism

Much discourse of intentional development today is based on human rights. Their history can be charted from the Enlightenment, through the 1776 US Declaration of Independence, France's revolutionary 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, and Edmund Burke's 1790 reactionary "Reflections on the Revolution in France" (Hunt, 2007).

In the Nineteenth Century, modern organised humanitarianism began, with the autobiographical *A Memory of the Battle of Solferino* (Dunant, 1859), the personal story which led to Henri Dunant establishing the Red Cross in 1864, which in turn led to the Geneva Conventions and the 1899 and 1907 Hague Conventions concerning the rules of war. In the Twentieth Century, the Russian Revolution spawned two other major international institutions: the League of Nations established the High Commissioner for Russian Refugees, which became the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), now called the UN Refugee Agency; and two English sisters founded Save the Children to care for Russian refugees. The advent of the Nazi regime led Albert Einstein to start the International Rescue Committee.

4.1.2. Discourses of pre-colonialism, colonialism and intentional development

A Savages, Victims and Saviours metaphor had entered Western discourse during the Christian crusades and has lasted until the present day (Mutua, 2001). This is reminiscent of Said's description of Western discourse on orientalism, discussed in Section 2.1.3., and is seen throughout the history of intentional development.

As with humanitarianism, the idea and discourse of intentional development also

arose in nineteenth century Europe, as Michael Cowen and Robert Shenton recount in their critique of development, *Doctrines of Development*. Previously development was thought to be cyclical, with decay leading to life leading to decay. Now development began to be perceived as linear and as it brought ills in industrialising Europe, such as unemployment and poverty, it was to be accompanied by a deliberate, curative type of development. From Europe this mixed development was supplanted to Europe's colonies, both promoting capitalist development and addressing the ills that it caused. Intentional development requires doctrines and trusteeship, meaning that it is done by someone on behalf of someone else. Given its origins in capitalism and being driven by colonial powers, it was critiqued by Marx, Hegel, Faust, Kant, Lenin, Deborin, Mao Ze Dong and Keynes. (Cowen and Shenton, 1996) In these mixed and contradictory origins we see the internal conflicts of capitalist, intentional and international development, seeking to solve the problems which they brought to others.

Early Twentieth Century efforts to develop other countries accompanied colonialism. Anthropology was developed in part to facilitate development, helping British government administrators to understand and subvert cultures to make people work in the coloniser's interests. The discourse of intentional development enabled colonisers to feel virtuous, as they spread white culture and capitalism. Both were assumed to be advanced, modern, civilised, adaptable to every location, and good for everyone, with some natives said to be regaining meaning in their lives by working for Europeans. (Lattas, 1996) The discourses, practices and methods of control of this humanitarian colonialism "came to be concerned with producing, remaking and caring for the subjectivities of the colonized (Foucault, 1982)." (ibid: 143)

By the 1920s the word "develop" had changed from a purely intransitive verb to also a transitive verb, with a potential of doing things to others (Arndt, 1981, quoted in Porter, 1995). The concept of trusteeship thus grew. Development, long seen as linear, as described by Hegel and Marx, increasingly absorbed metaphors of physics, including "constraints" to be removed, to facilitate development (Porter, in Crush, 1995).

4.1.3. Discourses of aid, development and human rights

By the end of the Second World War, with the UN's 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the discourse of rights had lost its Eighteenth Century entanglement with revolution. Revolution was now instead entangled with the discourses of nationalism and socialism (Moyn, 2007). This left the concept of human rights free to

join the concept of development, at a later point in the twentieth century.

Aid for development became formalised from the late 1940s. Harry Truman, in his 1949 inaugural speech as President of the USA, launched the discourse of “developed” powers giving aid for the intentional development of “underdeveloped” countries. However, this was almost an accident. Referring to President Truman’s introduction of the terminology of development and under-development, Rist quotes a staff member of the State Department as saying that these started as a “public relations gimmick thrown in by a professional speech-writer”, since President Truman wanted to include in his address something “a bit original” (Louis J. Halle, quoted by Gilbert Rist in Cornwall and Eade, 2010: 19).

So from the very beginning, when the idea was first aired in international circles, no one – not even the US President – really knew what ‘development’ was all about. This did not, however, prevent the word from gaining wide acceptance. Nevertheless, this unintentional stroke of genius turned the two antagonists – colonisers vs. colonised – into seemingly equal members of the same family, henceforth considered either more or less ‘developed’.” (Rist, G. in Cornwall and Eade, 2010: 19)

The result was of huge import:

‘development’ was no longer considered a social construct or the result of political will, but rather the consequence of a ‘natural’ world order that was deemed just and desirable. This trick – which is at the root of what Bourdieu calls ‘symbolic violence’ – has been highly instrumental in preventing any possible critique of ‘development’, since it was equated almost with life itself. (ibid: 20)

Truman’s infamous 1949 speech joined all countries into a family embarked on the same path of development, and marked the beginning of stronger intentional development, with biological, organic and evolutionary metaphors and colonial economics, which became neo-classical economics. The “classic positivist project”, with development professionals and development projects, depoliticising the countries where aid was applied, started in the 1950s. As international development became institutionalised, organic metaphors changed into systems language, order and stability metaphors provided certainty and boundaries, and language such as “appropriate” and “sustainable” was taken into the system’s master metaphor. The whole depoliticised system thus entrenched the power of some over others. “Organizing metaphors”, “master metaphors” and “metaphors of practice” de-authored development and denied

agency:

‘Organizing metaphors’ are those which to a great extent are peculiar to the post-World War II phenomenon of development. These articulate in various ways a range, secondly, of ‘master metaphors’ which transcend the historical period of development and frequently provide the fount for a diverse range of discourses which may overlap with but which maintain a separate discursive identity from development. Finally, ‘metaphors of practice’ are features of project-level discourse which sometimes are current only in particular projects or geographic regions, but increasingly characterize the profession or interpretive community of development workers irrespective of location. (Porter, in Crush, 1995: 66)

The US government lent money for rebuilding Europe after World War II and created the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in 1961. The UK Ministry of Overseas Development was created in the 1960s by a Labour government. In the 1970s it was in turn incorporated into the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) by a Conservative government, made a separate ministry again by a Labour government, and taken back into the FCO by a Conservative government. In 1997 a Labour government again made it a full government department, the Department for International Development (DFID).

Intentional development of other countries was now firmly institutionalised, with a discourse of who was to develop whom, and with the discourses of aid and development firmly entangled. Other language too had to change:

Verbiage about racial superiority, the tutelage of backward peoples, and people not ready to rule themselves went into the wastebasket. Self-rule and decolonization became universal principles. The West exchanged the old racist coinage for a new currency. “Uncivilized” became “underdeveloped.” “Savage peoples” became the “third world.” (Easterly, 2006: 20-21)

The new terms denoted and caused changed meanings and attitudes. Within the UK’s international development industry, discourse on Africa mirrored ideologies in donor countries. In the 1960s it concerned welfare and charity, in the 1970s equity, in the 1980s anti-poverty and efficiency, and in the 1990s empowerment (Gardner, 1997).

In the late 1970s, as neoliberalism took hold in the North and West, much official aid began to be channelled through Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), part of the private sector, due to their closeness to civil society. While the number of international and national NGOs proliferated, their growing dependence on donor government funding meant that they became more driven by donors, and less by their

constituencies to bring about political change – at the same time that they plus donor governments said that they were promoting democracy and were rights-based. (Banks and Hulme, 2013)

By the 1970s, some East European dissidents claimed that human rights were anti-revolutionary, and so widespread use of the phrase “human rights” began with the emergence of East European dissidence (Moyn, 2007). Officially entangling the discourses of rights and development, in 1986 the inalienable human right to development was adopted as a UN General Assembly resolution, entitling everyone “to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized.” By the 1990s, the end of the Cold War, the failure of top-down neoliberal World Bank-driven Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), and a desire to show that development is about more than economic growth prompted increasing talk of human rights and adoption of rights-based approaches (Peter Uvin in Cornwall and Eade, 2010: 163). As the West had weakened some African countries’ social fabric, through SAPs, trade protectionism, debt repayments and setting international trade rules, it made its foreign development interventions all the more necessary, as during colonialism. In the 1990s, though, development agencies had to question themselves, when the self-interested Rwandan government, strengthened and indeed largely funded by the World Bank, wreaked such havoc on its population (Storey, 2001).

Strengthening the entanglement of human rights and humanitarianism, in the 1990s human rights and humanitarian law became more similar (Wilson and Brown, 2009). The UN Security Council started to refer to humanitarian crises as threats to international peace and security and justification for sanctions. Many organisations which started as humanitarian moved into development, and the sector grew hugely. By 2008 there were about 2,500 NGOs in the humanitarian business, compared to 57 in 1960. Between 1997 and 2005, the number of people working for humanitarian NGOs grew 91%, and the number of staff working in the international humanitarian system, including UN and Red Cross, grew 77%. The number of governments pledging aid to humanitarian crises grew from 16 for Bosnia in the mid-1990s, to 73 for Iraq in 2003, to 92 for the 2004 tsunami. (Barnett and Weiss, 2008)

The aid profession and the public were not necessarily of one mind, however. Special discourse used by development professionals in U.K. government White Papers since 1997, focussing on the Other who must be explained, may not reflect the

discourse that the UK public would like to see. UK development professionals and the UK public appear to maintain two parallel, overlapping development discourses:

Throughout the years, White Papers have not used words such as critical, reflection, self-awareness, empathy, solidarity, compensation, personal development, love, happiness, pleasure, hope, spiritual, or holistic. Only in recent years have terms like marginalisation, exclusion, and professionalism begun to appear... statements still dwell upon the roles and responsibilities of poorer countries. Similarly, papers since 1997 have included needs, rights, accountability, and justice, but there continues to be a lack of language articulating the responsibilities and obligations of the powerful countries and international organisations towards those who are marginalised and excluded. Attention remains focused on the poor and relatively powerless, not on the wealthy and powerful. When invited to name positive words expressing concepts, values, and actions that they would like to be given greater emphasis in future development, participants in workshops have often proposed and given high scores to critical, empathy, ethics, honesty, humility, justice, listen, love, peace, reflect, respect, and redistribution. (Cornwall and Eade, 2010: 41)

Such Foucauldian contradictions, disorders of discourse, indicate a dilemma.

4.1.4. Aid in the age of re-emerging donors

Western discourse largely ignores past Socialist donorship, but the rise of China in the 1990s could not be ignored, as China conducted a dual strategy of private investment and aid, particularly in Sudan, with large oil reserves (Large, 2008). Critics see China as disrupting development efforts so far (Brookes, 2007), (Gadzala, 2010). Renowned China specialist at Johns Hopkins University, Deborah Bräutigam, on the other hand, points out first that China is not a “rising donor” (having donated to Africa since 1956, to more African countries than the USA in the 1970s, and to all African countries except Swaziland), and secondly that OECD donors’ practices with regard to human rights, democracy, transparency, the environment and corruption are not uniformly superior to China’s (Bräutigam, 2010). Hong Kong political scientist Barry Sautman and sociologist Yan Hairong defend China’s good donorship. They warn the West against hypocrisy, pointing out that British colonialism de-industrialised colonised countries, by 2006 China had cancelled US\$1.4b of debts from Africa, and Africa recently received 44% of China’s development assistance, while two-thirds of US foreign aid went to less needy Israel and Egypt. Whether Western aid is needed to salve the harm that the West does in Africa and simply perpetuates this situation, or whether China exploits Africa more and ignores best practice, including in human rights, we

cannot ignore the vast scale of China's aid. It reached \$4.7 billion in 2005, up from \$100 million in 1995, far above all other donors' contributions. By 2009, 4,000 Africans a year were to receive Chinese scholarships to study in China. Chinese staff studied at USAID and the Millennium Challenge Corporation, and therefore understand Western discourses of aid and development. (Sautman and Hairong, 2006) China announced in 2015 that it would give \$60 billion to Africa over three years, plus cancel debt of the poorest African countries.¹²

India likewise expanded trade and investment in Africa, perhaps due to Africa's importance to Indian energy supplies. It intended to increase trade with Africa to \$70 billion by 2015, compared to China's 2012 trade with Africa of \$130 billion. In 2011, India promised nearly \$6 billion of aid to Africa. The Indian government supports an e-network linking 53 African countries to Indian universities and hospitals. (Roy, 2012) Brazil too intends to cancel much African debt, has a Brazilian Cooperation Agency, and supports business and investment in Africa.

These large re-emerging or expanding donors are changing the aid landscape, with more south-south cooperation, debt cancellation and trade. While Western discourse sometimes ignored their aid in the past, their current aid and trade figures far surpass previous figures, and they may even succeed in changing the discourse. Mawdsley speculates that we may start to talk more widely of development cooperation, and we may adopt new imaginaries of who gives and who receives. The current discourse that the West gives and others receive is in any case wrong, since non-DAC donors (non-members of the OECD's Development Assistance Committee) provided 10-12% of all aid in 2011, at one point in the 1970s Saudi Arabia was the biggest donor in the world, and in 2011 it gave more aid than 15 DAC donors. (Mawdsley, 2012)

By 2030, 80% of the world's middle class will be in "the South". The UN's 2013 Development Report, *The Rise of the South*, therefore called for a review of global governance institutions, new types of partnership and a greater role in decision-making by the world's most vulnerable. (United Nations Development Programme, 2013) Western public discourse and professional practice may catch up with this.

4.1.5. Criticisms of aid and its discourse

Given the above-described continuity masked by changed language, intentional development is seen by many as a post-colonial phenomenon, a continuation of

¹² <http://www.focac.org/eng/zxxx/>

colonialism (Crush, 1995). In talking about achieving good governance in the South, some say the North is justifying its continued power over the South. Democracy is constructed as relevant only within countries, and so undemocratic international organisations are less scrutinised and retain legitimacy in their power in the world order (Abrahamsen, 2000). In *The White Man's Burden – Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good*, Easterly parodies today's rhetoric of participation and attempts at being less colonial:

Cornell political scientist Nicolas Van De Walle describes the PRSP [Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers] process as one of “ventriloquism” by the IMF and World Bank. The IMF and World Bank have allegedly given up on telling governments what to do. So, instead, they want a government to tell them what it will do in order to get a loan. (Easterly, 2006: 129)

Endorsing the constructionist view that discourse constructs society, the 1990s classics of aid criticism were based on criticising the mindset and discourse which promoted aid. Wolfgang Sachs's book of essays on development discourse, *The Development Dictionary*, describes development, and by implication aid, as “a particular cast of mind”, “a perception which models reality, a myth which comforts societies, and a fantasy which unleashes passions.” (P. 1) “From the start, development was nothing else than the Westernization of the world.” (P. 3-4) (Sachs, 1992) In *Encountering Development – The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, Arturo Escobar agrees that the Third World was invented after the Second World War, when countries were portrayed as poor and in need of development. This image has resulted in a worldwide aid apparatus, with professionals and institutions perpetuating the idea of one permissible model, capitalism. The discourse allowed some countries to examine others, explain them and “solve their problems”, in other words make them “more like us”. (Escobar, 1995, new preface 2012)

Other high-profile criticisms of aid point out its deleterious materialisations, including dependency, ill-thought out distribution of resources, imposition of an alien and destructive model, and depoliticisation of others' countries. From *Famine Crimes* (De Waal et al., 1997) to *The Bottom Billion* (Collier, 2007) and *Dead Aid* (Moyo, 2010), academics and practitioners have launched popular books to try to stop development aid or alter it radically.

The mindset is difficult to shift, however. Rist likens belief in development and aid to a religion:

Without entering into too much theoretical detail, it should be remembered that, according to Durkheim, no society can exist without religion, since religion is an ‘eminently social thing’ and religious representations ‘express collective realities’ (Durkheim 1995:9). (Cornwall and Eade, 2010: 22)

Reminiscent of Agamben’s “bare life” described in Section 2.1.3., Rist concludes that:

poverty is proof of the ‘good health’ of the capitalist system: it is the spur that stimulates new efforts and new forms of accumulation. To put it differently, economic growth – widely hailed as a prerequisite to prosperity – takes place only at the expense of either the environment or human beings. (ibid: 24)

Some economic and business analyses simply relegate Western aid to near irrelevance. For example, African governments are said to be the largest investors in their own infrastructure (McKinsey & Company, 2010), China has graduated from labour-intensive to capital- and technology-intensive industries without aid (Chandra et al., 2012), and neither China’s nor India’s growth was due to aid (Bhagwati, 2010).

Contradictions are inherent to the discourse. While the discourse of the 1980s turned to concepts such as participation and country ownership, the logic of the global aid structure meant that the 1980 and 1990 World Bank Development Reports showed decreasing country ownership (Ahmed et al., 2013).

Forces thus keep the discussion apolitical. The discourse of the Third Way promoted by powerful international institutions depoliticizes poverty. Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers and Social Inclusion Strategies contain contradictions, merging notions of voluntarism and inclusion with discipline and responsibility. The language of class and politics of the poor are excluded, while the absence of discussion of causes of poverty and concentration on its effects creates an apolitical account of poverty, leading to apolitical solutions. Idealised metaphors such as level playing fields and open markets are invoked, and soothing terms of uncertain meaning are used:

In notions like social capital, human capital, social investment, sustainable development, public/private partnership, stakeholders, participation, employability, and so on (and on), the ideological trick is the holding together of two moments, one economic, one apparently social... In promoting aid while largely leaving core trade barriers and global market power uncontested, and obscuring US foreign policy interest, PRSP points up core hypocrisy. (Craig and Porter, 2005: 252)

Even a revolutionary movement can be co-opted into apolitical development, adopting modernist discourse. For example, after the ANC gained power in South Africa, they began to talk the language of development instead of the language of class and race (Crush, 1995).

The above-noted growth of humanitarianism means that aid agencies are now doing development and services work which was previously considered government's work, while governments are increasingly doing the relief work formerly considered the preserve of aid agencies. Barnett and Weiss attribute this to SAPs impoverishing southern governments, which then need foreign humanitarian agencies for basic social services. "Humanitarian organizations are produced by the world that they attempt to tame." (Barnett and Weiss, 2008: 42) In addition, development aid for poverty reduction and humanitarian aid form a discursive knot, in which the Western public distinguishes little between the two.

Several studies have been conducted of the effect of development discourse on individuals. In an ethnographic study drawing on Laclau, Maria Eriksson Baaz interviewed aid workers from a non-colonising power, Sweden, and found that they conveyed themselves as from a more advanced culture than the more passive and resistant Africans. However, Baaz contends that 'post-development' writers use the same dichotomy, idealising passive Africans while ignoring how to better their lot. Partnership masks continuity and inequalities, discursively constructs identity, aids amnesia about European colonialism (of 84% of the earth's land), and permits rediscovery of privilege. (Eriksson Baaz, 2005)

People in recipient countries are aware of their position in the system. Even if the dominant discourse of development and poverty has been internalised, with signs and plaques announcing projects and other symbols of development on all streets and in all villages (Woost, quoted by Katy Gardner in Grillo and Stirrat, 1997), the Listening Project, speaking to thousands of people in recipient countries, heard that people are very much aware of aid's harmful effects:

Many describe how assistance begins as a boost to people's spirits and energies, but over time, becomes entrenched as an increasingly complicated system of reciprocated dependence. A number say that they believe aid providers depend on the recipients' "needs" because responding to these needs justifies the providers' existence and work. (Anderson et al., 2012: 12)

In every location where the Listening Project visited, people talked about the effects of international assistance on the likelihood of conflict in their areas. In all but one country, people said that international aid over time had introduced or reinforced tensions among groups and that, cumulatively, it had increased the potential for violence and/or fundamental divisions within their societies. (ibid: 34)

In the humanitarian sphere, the chasm between donor and recipient, between haves and have-nots, in a world divided into teams of nation-states, is graphically expressed in one aid worker's articulation of a decision. Didier Fassin was Vice-President of Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) when the USA and UK started to bomb Iraq in 2003 and MSF reluctantly withdrew from Iraq:

The clash of ethics seems to be resolved in the final formulation of an "ethics in action" differentiating two constructions of life: the life that is saved, that of the victims, and the life that is risked, that of those intervening. Physically, there is no difference between them; philosophically, they are worlds apart. They illustrate the dualism that Giorgio Agamben derives from Aristotle's Politics, between the bare life that is to be assisted and the political life that is freely risked, between the zoe of "populations" who can only passively await the bombs and the aid workers and the bios of the "citizens of the world," the humanitarians who come to render them assistance... In contemporary society this inequality is perhaps both the most ethically intolerable, in that it concerns the meaning of life itself, and the most morally tolerated, since it forms the basis for the principle of altruism. (Fassin, 2007: 507)

In summary, criticism of aid arises from an objection to its static, binary, hierarchical discourse, in which one side is passive. This discourse is resilient to attempts to change it, perhaps because few truly understand all participants in this international phenomenon. Perhaps it takes an instance of domestic aid to allow one writer to explain motivations of all players. *The Soap Man* is a rare detailed insight to how three parties (recipients, host government and donor) each differently perceive aid. Roger Hutchinson tells the tale of early twentieth century attempts by an English businessman-philanthropist to give crofters (independent tenant smallholders) in the Western Isles of Scotland salaried jobs with good living conditions and individual ownership of their plots of land without traditional communal management. The crofters easily dismissed the salaried jobs as loss of freedom, and with much thought rejected individual ownership of their plots of land. This is a tale of a philanthropist who wished to impose his values on others whom he did not understand, tenant smallholders who were polite to the philanthropist but persistent in their values, and a government trying to fulfil its

promises to its people without alienating a potential benefactor to them. (Hutchinson, 2003) Told by a journalist with an understanding of all sides, it is a rare insightful tale of mismatched values and visions for the future. Written after the author had lived 27 years near the island concerned, it is not the subaltern speaking back, but comes close to granting them a voice.

4.1.6. Proposed solutions

Some scholars make conscious moves to change the discourse.

Deconstructing Development Discourse - Buzzwords and Fuzzwords is a successor book of essays to Sachs's *The Development Dictionary*. 'Buzzwords' depoliticise the concepts that they are supposed to express, and appeal to diverse speakers and audiences, while meaning something different to all of them, allowing a development apparatus to continue to harm. This is an example of Gramsci's cultural hegemony, as those whose lives are most affected by development absorb its discourse. Since development arises from the discourse, the book's editors propose a reverse in the discourse:

For all the association of Foucault's work with the totalising power effects of discourse, his work on 'governmentality' reminds us that even the most powerful masters of meanings can never completely secure the capture of language for their own projects. It is in the 'strategic reversibility' (1991:5) of discourse, he argues, that the potential for resistance and transgression lies. (Cornwall and Eade, 2010: 13)

Anthropologist David Lempert has proposed tables of translations of "Newspeak" (the language of international development) into plain English, in which "international development", for example, is translated as "globalization", "rural development" as "rural elimination", and "aid agency" as "colonial agency" or "poverty business". He argues that we now use terms of international development to mean the opposite of what they really represent. To Lempert, all development aid is continued colonialism, and his solution is to start by naming elements of development as they are. (Lempert, 2015) Of course in Section 3.4.2. we saw that Soviet language too is accused of being "Newspeak": ideological and detached from its literal meaning. All language can obfuscate and depoliticise.

Language is often driven from the top. In the UN's High Level Panel report, signed by heads of state of Indonesia, Liberia and the UK and widely quoted in the aid industry, the word "universality" is used repeatedly, indicating that all countries, North

and South, should be answerable to the global post-2015 goals (United Nations, 2013). While a worldwide extension of Foucault's governmentality is evident in the report's suggested targets, drawing more and more people into norms such as pre-school education and paid employees' work, time will tell whether truly universal and egalitarian discourses will extend to publics all over the world.

Some economists too argue for changes in practice, requiring a change of discourse. Amartya Sen, for example, simply urges that we should pursue directly the ends that we desire, for example freedom (Sen, 1999). Economist Angus Deaton has argued for more aid spending in donor countries, for example on medical research, buying drugs in advance, and changing trade rules. He advocates more piecemeal initiatives, providing what the customer wants, the customer being poor people. (Deaton, 2013)

Development Education specialists and some aid agencies try to put the politics back into the discourse, in Western schools, at any rate. Andreotti discusses soft citizenship (in which people can address deficiencies by giving) and critical citizenship (in which people are responsible before others and try to change harmful power structures) (Scriven, 2012).

The general public too would like to see changes in official aid. According to the European Commission's 'Eurobarometer', the populations of the European Union's new member states (who recently received aid) say that they would like to deprioritise spending on corruption, human rights and the negative effects of large business. Instead they prioritise agriculture, food security, economic growth and health. Most Europeans, especially in the original 15 member states, believe that "emerging economies" should stop receiving aid. Six out of ten Europeans think that aid should be increased, but most think it should be mostly for humanitarian situations caused by conflict or natural disasters. (TNS Opinion & Social, 2012)

However, rather than follow public wishes, institutional donors prefer to trust their own judgement and try to convince their publics. Since 1999, DFID has commissioned an annual *Public Attitudes Towards Development* report. The 2010 report states that its purpose is to "measure the UK public's awareness and understanding of development, and their awareness and support for DFID's work, to help inform future communications activities of the sector and DFID's work," (TNS UK Ltd. COI on behalf of Department for International Development, 2010: 2). The report advises DFID how to guide the U.K. public's attitudes. For example:

There is an increased belief that the UK Government could do more to tackle corruption. However, communications specifically in relation to this may only serve to heighten the perception that corruption is an issue. Therefore, focus should be placed on increasing awareness of and reinforcing the positive image of aid reaching those in need. (ibid: 6)

DFID sometimes has an uphill battle in persuading the public of the value of its work:

More than half of respondents (53%) agreed that most financial aid to poor countries is wasted, less than a quarter (22%) disagreed and a further 19% held a neutral opinion. (ibid: 28)

As former donors re-enter the world of donorship, they can do things differently. Kenneth Ross proposes a “relational approach to development”. Tracing the path from Livingstone’s anti-slavery campaign in Africa through colonisation and advocacy by Scots on behalf of Malawi, to today’s poverty and aid, he hopes that the many personal contacts between the two countries that the Scottish Government has fostered in the early 21st Century will replace the harmful relations resulting from traditional aid. (Ross, 2013) We might call this approach solidarity. However, this poses a dilemma. Scotland, a small re-emerging donor (since its church used to give significantly) prioritises good relations with Malawi, but justifies them as support for Malawi’s development, part-funded by Scottish government aid, which is currently governed by discourses of donorship and intentional development.

4.1.7. Drivers of aid

The sincere attempts to reverse a persistent and allegedly harmful discourse prompt a fuller examination of why governments and people give.

In modern official donorship, the first reason may have been competition over ideologies. Truman, in his inauguration speech of 20 January 1949:

launched the idea of development in order to provide a comforting vision of a world order where the US would naturally rank first. The rising influence of the Soviet Union – the first country which had industrialized outside of capitalism – forced him to come up with a vision that would engage the loyalty of the decolonizing countries in order to sustain his struggle against communism. For over 40 years, development has been a weapon in the competition between political systems. (Sachs, 1992: 2)

Similarly, speaking of shock therapy such as that imposed on Russia in the 1990s, former World Bank economist William Easterly talks of language which implied one-upmanship over a former world power (Easterly, 2006).

Viewed chronologically and across countries, the 5 drivers of development and official aid in the twentieth century can be seen as: socialism, the Non-Aligned Movement, the oil price rises of the 1970s, UN South-South cooperation and EU expansion. These are underpinned by more human emotions, however. While socialist donorship contained an internal contradiction in that countries are supposedly equal and yet some wanted to help others, Vietnam tried to overcome this by describing the help as “from the heart”. In the West, the strength of development discourse is now such that EU members have to give aid, and so new EU members have restarted, but not necessarily purely altruistically. Poland, for example, denies its previous socialist donorship and takes pride in donating to former Soviet countries, displaying itself as superior. On the other hand, many emerging development actors are motivated by scepticism of current aid structures. (Mawdsley, 2012) Donorship is thus inspired by a mix of altruism and pride tied up with each country’s own experience, reactions to world events and compliance with club rules.

From an international relations perspective, Western governments give aid for diplomatic, development, commercial, humanitarian relief and cultural reasons (Lancaster, 2007). All could be called self-interested except probably humanitarian relief. Self-interest is even more evident when considering the jobs and investment that aid provides in donor countries, whose governments would rather give than allow free trade and free movement of people, which would really alleviate Africa’s poverty (Rimmer, 2003). However, donors contend that jobs can be promoted in donor countries in conjunction with meaningful aid. An economic simulation of the effects of EU aid on giving and receiving countries from 2014 to 2020 concludes that EU aid benefits poor countries, the world and the EU (Holland and Willem te Velde, 2012).

Such win-win images and models of helping another to develop more than oneself not only justify the aid, but create a noble image of the donor. Self-image is a powerful motivator for donor countries, prompting some critics to complain that aid to Africa has increased because aid is about the donor, not the recipient:

One begins to suspect that terms like ‘civil society’, ‘grass-roots organizations’, ‘participation’ and ‘ownership’ are invoked less as

meaningful and operationalised development concepts than as a sign of one's membership of the 'development club'. (Williams, 2002: 152)

To counter such attitudes, some recent aspirational talk amongst churchpeople in Scotland, as the country defines its revived relationship with Malawi, is of a relational approach to international development (Ross, 2014), while some people in nearby Ireland compare Ireland to Africa¹³. The drivers here are solidarity and altruism.

From an anthropological perspective, many analysts refer to Marcel Mauss's anthropological monograph *The Gift*, which showed that gifts which cannot be reciprocated are given as displays of status, and establish a feeling of debt in the recipient, thus wounding the recipient. Human morality in any society strives to "do away with the unconscious and injurious patronage of the rich almsgiver." (Mauss, 1950: 83-84) Whether deliberately or not, the donor intends that their role in the relationship should be one of donor only, and not recipient in turn. "Refusing requital puts the act of giving outside any mutual ties... According to Marcel Mauss that is what is wrong with the free gift. A gift that does nothing to enhance solidarity is a contradiction." (Douglas, in Mauss, 1950: ix)

Applying this to international aid, many scholars consider the relations inherent in Northern donors giving to Southern recipients to be unequal and disrespectful. In *Postcolonialism and Development*, Cheryl McEwan explains aid from Northern to Southern countries as unreciprocated gifts which thereby break the normal social rules of the gift and wound the recipient (McEwan, 2009). With regard to those countries which are either returning to giving or starting to give, Mawdsley looks at how recent South-South donorship is discursively constructed as more respectful, between more equal partners, each side explicitly intending to gain benefit from the deal. This affords recipient countries more self-respect, even if the reality is that the donor (perhaps China, India, Russia or Brazil) is often much more powerful than the recipient. (Mawdsley, 2011) Indeed, Gray (2011) posits that Russia may wish to join the international donor community, and its institutions such as the OECD DAC, precisely to prove that it is no longer a recipient, having been wounded by the experience.

I temper such views with awareness that recipients have the power to manipulate donors. In particular, African countries had scope to do this during the Cold War, when they could play one superpower off against another, threatening to take more aid from one if the other did not give more.

¹³ Author's observation, for example on roadside memorial to Irish and African famine victims.

With regard to voluntary, unofficial aid, in general members of the public prefer to help a named, individual child than help her country or know the statistics surrounding her. However, even such altruistic motivations take their toll on aid agencies' policies, since as a result, aid agencies pursue effective fundraising techniques rather than social justice. (Wilson and Brown, 2009) The effect on the public is circular, since these techniques focus on developing in the potential donor a sense of "intimacy at a distance" (Horton and Wohl, 1956), aiming to make the potential donor feel good so that they will give, rather than angry so that they seek political change. This too results in non-reciprocal relationships, in which a small number of distant sufferers are used to evoke feelings of intimacy amongst NGOs' audiences in the north (Orgad and Seu, 2014).

Thus motivations for giving are varied. For all that Amartya Sen argues that we should be clear about what we want to achieve and aim directly for it, it seems difficult to expose, even to ourselves, our motivations for giving.

4.2. Analyses of media discourses on Africa and aid

Most analyses of media discourses of aid and Africa have concerned appeals for emergency response, not development. Nevertheless, these detailed analyses of news coverage of emergencies and of Africa reveal the same depoliticised and binary discourse as is found in the approaches to development discussed above.

Critical Discourse Analysis applied by Stijn Joye to discourse of emergencies in the media news in the Netherlands, testing Lilie Chouliaraki's 2006 model of analysing media representations of distant suffering through three regimes of pity and corresponding discourses of news: adventure, emergency and ecstatic. Joye showed that as a news topic comes geographically closer to its audience, it moves from the first to the last of these. This happened with news coverage of the SARS disease, which started in Asia and moved closer to the Netherlands. In the process, the distant Other grows closer and more worthy of our compassion. Joye adds a fourth category, 'neglected news', and proposes that rejection of others by silencing them may be important in establishing our own identity, the Western Self. News coverage of international crises such as SARS maintains the division of the world into "us" and "them", between rich and poor countries, between danger and safety. (Joye, 2010) After all, as we saw in Section 2.2.9., the media works to maintain the status quo (Hall, 1982, quoted in Scannell, 1998).

Applying quantitative analysis to relate media coverage to the public's reaction, Krisa Jenkins found that the public, and in turn government, appear to be influenced to give simply by quantity of coverage. The Development Data Challenge in the UK tracked the influence of media coverage on the amount of funding for natural disasters, looking at the Indian Ocean Tsunami (2004), the Haiti Earthquake (2010), the Pakistan Floods (2010) the Japan Earthquake (2011) and the East Africa Drought (2011). The more minutes of media coverage, the more funding an emergency received, from all sources. (Jenkins, 2012)

Application of qualitative content analysis by Olivier Driessens, Stijn Joye and Daniel Biltereyst to two mediated charity events after the earthquake in Haiti in 2010 explored the modern phenomenon of merging fundraising and entertainment in charitainment. Mediated charity events are “media events that focus through a particular lens on compassion and philanthropy, reaching out to a large-scale audience through (possibly different) media (products).” (Driessens et al., 2012: 711) In this mediatisation of aid and development, aid agencies use celebrities in television fundraising programmes for disaster relief, which are media events. The involvement of celebrities increases the amount of funds raised, but contributes to a shallow presentation, in which the disaster is treated as natural and devoid of politics. Celebrities' involvement is used to make the disaster about us, the viewer, the donor, rather than about the distant other. (Driessens et al., 2012)

Another piece of discourse analytical research, by Anne Vestergaard, combined institutional analysis with multimodal text analysis of humanitarian appeal advertisements in a Danish newspaper from the 1970s to 1990s. Starting from the concept that the identity of a humanitarian organisation is constituted by the relations between the organisation, the people it aims to help and its donors, she followed Chouliaraki's Analytics of Mediation. In this, the process of mediation (“a relationship of mutual constitution between practices of mediated communication and identity (Chouliaraki & Morsing (2009))”) is considered to be created by ‘hypermediacy’ and ‘immediacy’. An analysis of ‘hypermediacy’ shows how the technology of the media works to influence the encounter between ‘beneficiary’ and potential donor. Her analysis consisted of mapping discourses used in newspaper advertisements and relating this on a timeline to the geographical distribution of ‘beneficiaries’. An analysis of immediacy aims to assess precisely how appeals establish a connection between ‘beneficiary’ and potential donor. She conducted a multimodal analysis, in particular

looking at constructions of agency and affinity to overcome distance between ‘beneficiary’ and potential donor. She compared advertisements from the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s and 2000s, and showed that humanitarian organisations, dependent on large donors, have lost their role of informing the public, increasingly try to show an empowered beneficiary, and now tell a tale of mutual benefit for donor and beneficiary alike. (Vestergaard, 2013)

Chouliaraki calls these “post-humanitarian” styles of appealing, which engage the public in “playful consumerism”, inviting people to do good to feel good. Analysing the media and web-based campaigns of two transnational organisations, Chouliaraki employs critical discussion and draws on Boltanski’s (2000) view of the deligitimisation of humanitarian communications in particular with regard to politics and the ‘crisis of pity’, whereby the current discourse of pity is incapable of arousing grand emotions such as guilt, indignation, sympathy or gratitude which would lead to calls for public action. Discussing three 2006-07 appeals of Amnesty International and the World Food Programme, Chouliaraki detects a “move from emotion-oriented to post-humanitarian styles of appealing that privilege low-intensity emotions and short-term forms of agency.” (P. 108) While this style addresses previous criticisms of a politics of pity based on grand emotions, it has also

suppressed the articulation of ethical discourse on public action. This has important implications for humanitarian organizations’ practices, calling for a closer examination of their strategic communication choices. The main implication is that, rather than challenging the historical patterns of injustice inherent in the moral economy of scarcity, which these organizations have so accurately diagnosed, the post-humanitarian style may be reinforcing them. Out of an interest to renew the legitimacy of humanitarian calls to action, such appeals may be feeding back into a dominant Western culture, where the de-emotionalization of the suffering of distant others goes hand-in-hand with the over-emotionalization of our safe everyday life. (Chouliaraki, 2010: 124)

In *The Ironic Spectator – Solidarity in the Age of Post-Humanitarianism*, Chouliaraki follows Foucault’s advice to examine historical practices as discursive creations with “performative effects of power”. She examines agencies’ appeals, use of celebrities, rock concerts and news reporting in the Cold War and from 2005. She again posits that media and humanitarian agencies have moved from informing the public, leaving us to be “ironic spectators” in a post-humanitarian society. Giving is about ourselves. Perhaps in response to compassion fatigue, but also when the expansion of humanitarian work

has coincided with the end of the Cold War and an explosion of new media, humanitarian agencies now prompt us to think about how good we will feel if we give, and the media gives us more personal information about how aid workers and celebrities feel, rather than political analysis of root causes. In discarding the theatricality of reporting on poverty and disasters, and in reducing those suffering to mirrors of ourselves rather than the suffering of distant others, agencies have moved from an ethics of pity to one of irony. The paradox of humanitarianism, that the inhumane market should be tempered by morality, as Adam Smith urged, and that aid agencies thrive on the suffering of those they aim to help, has contributed to replace the solidarities of salvation and revolution by “simply managing the present, in a non-heroic pursuit of pleasures for the self.” (ibid: 14) The new morality is anti-political, in viewing rights-holders as individuals with entitlements, just as northern publics are encouraged to think of themselves in relation to these individuals and as pleasure-seekers. Humanitarianism has become “technologized”, as donating becomes a form of self-expression without a normative morality as its base. (Chouliaraki, 2013)

Certainly many of today’s fundraising advertisements do not appear to attempt to arouse calls for political solutions which could better solve problems in the medium to long term. While yet defending the role of humanitarianism in building solidarity between north and south, Chouliaraki’s proposed solution is a return to theatricality in agencies’ external communications. By this she means communications which are openly about the distant other, which aim for objectivity and are founded on a sense of justice:

If, following my hypothesis, humanitarian communication today capitalizes on late modernity’s capacity for thoughtful contemplation of the human condition only in order to collapse the other onto the self, then, I argue, we must now insist on reclaiming the objectivity of the theatre – and, with it, the irreducible otherness of distant suffering that exists beyond us and makes a demand not in the name of an authentic self but in the name of justice... [This book] is... an equally strong note of caution against the increasing instrumentalization of the humanitarian field and the neoliberal hegemony of its morality of solidarity. Such caution is not meant to advocate a return to the grand narratives of solidarity, an impossible argument today, but seeks to rethink the relationship between humanitarianism and politics. (Chouliaraki, 2013: 22-24)

With regard to media representations particularly of Africa, political scientist Graham Harrison found that ironically, the involvement of politicians can depoliticise a

campaign. He based his discussion on an acknowledgment that British discourse frames Africa as needing British help, and on William Gamson's (1995) concepts of three frames of injustice, agency and identity. In this concept, the injustice frame is the moral driver, the agency frame is the feasibility of the political campaign, and the identity frame establishes a feeling of collective effort against a political entity. Harrison found that despite the best efforts of some campaigners, the 2005 Make Poverty History campaign was taken over by Blair, Brown, Geldof and the media, conflated with Africa and deprived of its main social justice message. Africa was thus associated, as usual in Britain, with fundraising, poverty and charity. (Harrison, 2010)

In another analysis of the effect of media coverage on political decision-making concerning Africa, Suzanne Franks used economist Amartya Sen's framework of the inverse relationship between famine and democracy. Sen's theory is that the greater the democracy of a country and the freer its press, the less likely it is to experience famine. Analysing the effect of media coverage of the 1984-5 Ethiopian famine on political decision-making, Franks found that Africa was presented in other countries, in particular the UK, as having serious problems to which there are simple solutions, and public demands for politicians to implement these simple solutions may have caused more harm than good, being based on inaccurate analysis. (Franks, 2013) Franks does not disprove Sen's theory, as the countries with the free press (donor countries) have not experienced famine for a long time, but neither does she prove it, as the 1984 famine case study of Ethiopia did not have a free press. Instead, she makes the point that a free press in a democratic country is not guaranteed to prevent or alleviate a famine in others.

Julia Gallagher drew similar conclusions from examining reported speeches and public interviews by UK politicians. In her analysis, to which I refer in Chapters 1 and 7, she concluded that UK public discourse idealises and simplifies Africa, seeing it as apolitical and able to be helped by Britain, putting Britain in a good light and drawing together British actors who want to help this needy, "empty" continent (Gallagher, 2009). It is notable that the Scottish Government, representing one part of the UK, rather aspires towards relational development, as mentioned above, in Section 4.1.6..

Still concerning U.K. media, we find Heather Brookes' analysis of portrayal of Africa (except South Africa) as it appeared in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* in June 1990. Brookes used critical discourse analysis to examine racism in the media. She used Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (1985) and Fairclough's concepts

of social constructionist discourse which maintains power (1989). She supplemented this with Kress's notion of discourse as "systematically organized modes of talking" (1989), which maintain the ideology of their society (Thomson, 1984). In particular, she examined how purported racism was "textually enacted" (Fairclough, 1992). The resulting systematic textual analysis involved analysing the number and percentage of articles on each African country, the subjects of the articles, headlines and metaphors, participants and processes, themes and thematisation, pronouns, discrediting devices, the roles and actions of participants, and quotations.

Brookes examined 50 articles in the *Daily Telegraph* and 83 in the *Guardian*, all published in the same month. Categorising headlines into propositions and macropropositions, Brookes found that the top 15 macropropositions were negative. Civil war, civil conflict, aid, human rights, politics, crime and disaster made up 92% and 96% of all news about Africa in the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Guardian* respectively. Words in headlines revolved around three pairs of concepts: violence and peace, repression and democracy, and helplessness and help. In "naturalized reformulations", loans and weapons were often called aid, governments were often called regimes, and all conflicts could be called tribal. The commonest metaphors for Africa were heart of darkness, witchcraft, parasite, uncontrollable flood or tide, uncontrollable disease or fire, and leaders as animals, beggars, criminals, gangsters and sycophantic suitors.

The Western military, on the other hand, was a rescue service, and Western participants were consistently portrayed as agents or doers, either as the grammatical subject, or through an adjective preceding a noun with implied agency, or in passive constructions or nominalisations such as 'G8 Aid rules revised' or 'Joint aid appeal'. In such instances, readers are presumed to draw on previous representations to supply the typical participants of western agent and African recipient. African agency was often hidden in secondary clauses (such as "Americans leave as Liberians talk"), but Africans were agents in violence, repression, arguing and requests for help. In peace processes, African agency was attenuated or omitted through grammatical construction. Africans were affected participants when suffering at the hands of other Africans, receiving verbal wrangling from other Africans and receiving verbal processes from Western agents.

African leaders were more likely than Western leaders to be named, while Western states were more likely to be called by their country name rather than their

politicians, making African state actions appear personally motivated and controlled, with little national support for their leader. The most common items in thematic position in headlines were Western participants, then the military, then African civilians as victims. Western participants were thus portrayed as central and legitimate players in Africa, while Africa and Africans were portrayed as pervasively violent, and their politics as revolving around personal power struggles of extreme violence and savagery. The West emerged as superior, occupying the moral high ground, reluctantly shouldering the burden of helping Africa against its own corrupt leaders.

The above discursive strategies of agency, metaphor and themes were underpinned by strategies of sourcing. Content and photographs came from mainly Western sources, with African sources validated by Western ones. Verbal processes and scare quotes discredited African sources while their omission endorsed Western sources. Ultimately, the discourse on Africa was a continuation of colonial discourse: “From the Ancient writings of Herodotus, Diodorus and Pliny (Mudimbe, 1988) to Rider Haggard and the modern daily newspaper, it’s the same old story.” (Brookes, 1995: 488)

Brookes could be questioned for the wisdom of omitting South Africa from her investigation, and for the wisdom of assuming racism before her examination and therefore finding what she sought. Nevertheless, her findings are sound, and consistent with those of other scholars.

Mawdsley too found that British newspapers sanitise the Western record in Africa particularly when relating the current impact of China in Africa. Using critical geopolitics, which illuminates the role of discourse in establishing and maintaining hegemonies, Mawdsley reviewed 230 newspaper articles from 2000 to 2007 with significant content on China and Africa, and found a tendency to portray Africans as victims or villains, and a sanitised account of the role of western actors that is not always to be found in other reporting on the West’s impact in Africa (Mawdsley, 2008). Brookes and Mawdsley both attribute this consistent discourse to continuity of European discourse, fundraising in the modern consumerist world, and racism.

Political scientist Laura Seay, in *How Not To Write About Africa*, attributes shallow, stereotyping, bad quality Western news coverage of Africa to operational matters: Western media sending too few journalists to Africa, limited use of local reporters (except by the BBC), language barriers, repeated use of the same sources, and double standards, for example showing photographs of rape victims and partially

justifying naming a child rape victim (Seay, 2012).

Regarding media instigated by aid agencies, they would do well to question their assumptions about what makes the public give. Defying the received wisdom behind celebrity television fundraising, Martin Scott, having researched reactions of people in the UK to both news coverage and non-news factual reporting, found that documentary-type programmes produce a more philanthropic and nuanced approach to the suffering of distant others, particularly amongst older, female viewers. Categorising responses using Boltanski's 1999 "topics of suffering" (pamphleteering, philanthropy, sublimation) and Boltanski's 1999 additional classes of response (indifference and solitary enjoyment), Scott finds that while television news often confuses, documentaries are more likely to induce feelings of philanthropy and help to produce the "cosmopolitan spectator". (Scott, 2014)

Analysis on Soviet discourse on Africa and international development has been minimal. While I assess Soviet writing on Africa and development outside the media in Chapter 5, I conclude this section by looking at three scholars who have examined post-Soviet media discourse on Africa and aid: Usacheva, Boltovskaja and Gray.

According to political and communications scientist Veronica Usacheva, with the collapse of the USSR, the formerly positive image of Africans in the mass media was replaced by one in which "Africans in Russian mass media of the last decade of XX century were mainly drug-dealers, refugees, illegal immigrants, prisoners." (Usacheva, 2006: 120) Usacheva, Head of Department for International and Public Relations at the Institute for African Studies and Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Civilisational and Regional Studies, both in the Russian Academy of Sciences, reviewed mentions of Africa and African countries over a 9-month period from 2000 to 2001 on NTV and over a five-year period from 1996 to 2000 in 10 magazines and newspapers with a democratic slant. Her objectives were to see whether accusations of racism levelled at the Russian mass media for their reporting on Africans in Russia held true for their reporting on Africa, and to clarify the mass media's role in creating an image of other races. She found that the presentation of Africa was indeed racist. On television, Africa was presented as having very few individual leaders, although in newspapers, there was deeper analysis of Africa's politics, economies and histories. Much was presented in terms of race, with whites presented as good, anti-white racism by blacks presented as a big risk, and some Africans bemoaning the early departure of colonialists. South Africa was the most commonly mentioned African country. It was presented on TV in the

same ways that other countries were presented, but in the print media a more complicated picture was painted of it. The impression was given that democratic elections had led to government by a culturally undeveloped black majority, which, being communist, was bound to cause social and economic collapse. South Africa was thus interpreted in the light of recent Russian experiences. Content about South Africa too related to Russia's situation, and concerned democratic and economic reform, multiparty elections, the secret services, rising crime, the rise of left-wing radicalism, and Chechnya alongside Kwazulu Natal and the Anglo-Boer war. South Africa was the only African country which was compared in the media with Russia, and when something happened in Russia, its mirror was noted in South Africa. For example, when Yeltsin was said to be about to be succeeded by "crown prince" Nemtsov, one magazine reported that Mbeki was assigned as Mandela's successor.

Usacheva saw this representation as a mix of old stereotypes borrowed from Western media and existing negative Russian attitudes. She concluded that the Russian media presents the West as ideal and uses an image of chaotic and savage Africa to boost Russia's self-image, with South Africa as a "gleam of hope":

When public opinion in Russia... identified the position of Russia as the "other" culture in relation to Western culture, Africa in the Russian mass media received the role of "other" culture in relation to Russian culture. The image of Russia became a connecting link in the chain "Western World-Africa" allowing an emphasis on the "civilized character" and "developed nature" of Russian society. As a result, the following argumentation has appeared: "while Russia barter raw materials for hi-technologies with the West, to Africa Russia sells its own technologies, which are competitive but cheaper than Western ones. While Russians go West to study, Africans look for cheaper but good quality education in Russia". By means of such contrasts Russia joins the "civilized countries". And this image of Africa in the Russian mass media helps to realize this purpose. (Usacheva, 2003: 9-10)

Sociologist Svetlana Boltovskaya reviewed media reports of Africans in Russia, looking mainly at factual content. From January to October 2005, an antiracist centre in Russia called Sova registered 233 injured and 19 murdered black people, while in 2006 alone there were Russian media reports of 14 black people killed. (Boltovskaja, 2006: 133) Boltovskaja thus takes racism as a major theme.

However, the sheer numbers of Africans in Russia have meant that Russian media also includes more positive images of Africa and Africans. By 2006, 100,000 people of African origin were living in Russia, from all 53 states of Africa and the

Caribbean, including diplomats, students, immigrants married to Russian citizens and refugees. About 40,000 African-Russians were living in or outside Russia. (Boltovskaja, 2006: 133) Boltovskaja has also reviewed media discourse in Russia which is run by Africans. For example, the first non-state Russian language portal, www.africana.ru, was established in 2000, and new associations and magazines on Africa were established at about the same time, including the Association of African Students, the African Association in Russia, the African Unity movement, Métis foundation, magazines *My Africa* and *New Africa*, a web newspaper *One World*, and a web project *Madagascar*. This media discourse on Africa emanating from Russia is non-racist.

Social anthropologist Patty Gray has concentrated on media discourse on international development. Her review of media coverage as part of the DFID-funded “Non-DAC states and the role of public perspectives” uncovered the following topics and content:

- 2005: Sparse reports – mostly press releases
- 2006: Russia’s cancellation of Third World debt / Russia paying its own debt; consolidation of terminology
- 2007: “Russia as a donor” increasingly a theme
- 2008: Food crisis becomes a theme, but less about general aid to poorer countries (probable effect of financial crisis)
- 2009: Russia demonstrates its financial stability by announcing assistance to countries affected by the crisis.
- 2010: Russia announces it will provide hundreds of millions of dollars in aid, while DFID and other agencies will stop providing to Russia
- 2011: Analytical articles rather than press releases; but no clear sense of direction for Russia’s aid programme (Gray, 2011b: 27)

These social scientists have done useful work at the structural level of discourse analysis, analysing frequency of mentions of Africa and aid in post-Soviet Russia, and frequency of salient themes within these. I look more deeply at the Soviet period which led up to this period and relate it to the post-Soviet period, through a linguistic analysis of Soviet media and analysis of Russia’s and the USSR’s relations with Africa and aid, in the contexts of the evolution of aid and development.

4.3. View from Africa

Much discourse on Africa is stereotyping. Website *Africa Is A Country* reviewed covers of books about Africa, and found 36 well known novels, each with an acacia tree or

sunset on it, regardless of author or themes.¹⁴ Africa is entangled in discourse with nature, neediness and backwardness, needing northern help to escape its eternal condition. This can be summed up by the first two paragraphs of Kenyan writer Binyavanga Wainaina's parody of Western and Northern depictions of Africa, *How To Write About Africa*:

Always use the word 'Africa' or 'Darkness' or 'Safari' in your title. Subtitles may include the words 'Zanzibar', 'Masai', 'Zulu', 'Zambezi', 'Congo', 'Nile', 'Big', 'Sky', 'Shadow', 'Drum', 'Sun' or 'Bygone'. Also useful are words such as 'Guerrillas', 'Timeless', 'Primordial' and 'Tribal'. Note that 'People' means Africans who are not black, while 'The People' means black Africans.

Never have a picture of a well-adjusted African on the cover of your book, or in it, unless that African has won the Nobel Prize. An AK-47, prominent ribs, naked breasts: use these. If you must include an African, make sure you get one in Masai or Zulu or Dogon dress. (Wainaina, 2005)

In the next chapter I show that Russian and Soviet relationships and encounters with Africa, which they had not colonised, did not wholly prevent such stereotyping.

¹⁴ http://africasacountry.com/the-dangers-of-a-single-book-cover-the-acacia-tree-meme-and-african-literature/?_ga=1.116786374.1306974551.1379967779

PART II – ANALYSIS OF SECONDARY AND PRIMARY MATERIALS

Chapter 5. Russian and Soviet relationships with Africa and aid

Their starting point is different and their courses are not the same; yet each of them seems marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe (Alexis de Toqueville, 1835, in *Democracy in America*, New York, 1945, vol. 1, p. 434, on the United States and Tsarist Russia, quoted in Natufe, 2011: 31).

Introduction

This chapter is original analysis of Russia's, the USSR's and post-Soviet Russia's relationships with aid and Africa. Using secondary literature, I analyse how Russia has seen Africa over the last three centuries, and I conduct preliminary primary research on co-texts of recent discourse.

In **Section 5.1.**, I show that Russia's growing knowledge of Africa in the eighteenth century, when more Russians gained knowledge about Africa and Africans, included both respect towards some Africans and an image of exotic Africa, with some Africans admitted to high society, and others being black servants, as in the West. Nevertheless, some sympathy with enslaved Africans and comparisons with Russians emerged. The discourse was thus varied and contradictory.

In **Section 5.2.**, I show Russia's more complex understanding of Africa in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the contradictions of the eighteenth century intensified, with Africans accepted in all levels of society, in spite of alleged inferiority. Africa continued to be a destination of religion and exploration, and was still perceived as exotic. In Russian discourse, African people, transported to North America, assumed a strengthened role of both genuine objects of comparison with Russians and a safe topic through which to advocate indirectly for an end to Russian serfdom. Friendship and solidarity did not preclude self-interest, however, as Africa's geopolitical status saw it moved conceptually into the East, and it became increasingly an object of competition between Western Europe and Russia. Regarding Ethiopia, Russia positioned itself with Africa and against Western Europe.

I analyse Russia's view of Africa from the early USSR until the end of WWII in **Section 5.3.** Perhaps inevitably as Soviet rulers came to know African politicians first hand, tensions in the official discourse grew and contradictions were addressed, though not resolved. Africans proved to be as complex as anyone else, their middle classes oppressed due to race, and with national feelings. Official discourse showing Africans as political individuals with agency was now widespread, through far-reaching

government media amongst a largely literate public. This public discourse included knowledge of black entertainers and genuine friendship towards blacks who lived in the USSR. This took place, however, alongside a condescending but presumably well-meaning view of Africans in art, and periods of portraying less political agency in Africa whenever the USSR needed allies amongst other imperialists. While genuinely accepted into Soviet society, black people and Africa were used for political purposes, to show Soviet morality opposed to Western immorality.

In **Section 5.4.** I analyse the view after WWII, a long period in which the view was relatively uniform. Now, official and counter-cultural discourses parted ways. The official discourse lauded African friendship and political struggles but with implications of Africa's neediness and oppression; it promoted an intellectual view of African agency while succumbing to racism. The counter-cultural discourse was both resentful of and affectionate towards Africans in its midst. Both discourses were fairly simple, even if the official discourse displayed the dual character of Newspeak, noted in Section 3.4.2.. While the discourses split into official and counter-cultural, each simplified and solidified. However, while both spoke of differences between the USSR and Africa, they assumed the same political and human aspirations amongst Africans.

In the age of modern aid, examined in **Section 5.5.**, Russian authorities are politely cooperative with but somewhat elusive to the aid-giving North, preferring to work with the South, not part of either, and professing some affinity with each. The official discourse includes wisdom about aid, presumably informed by having been a recipient, and some pride about not wishing to be a recipient. It is also informed by Russia's and the West's different histories with Africa and with aid, and contains some possible cynicism or at least a different view and openness on the purposes of aid. It presents a win-win outcome for Russia as donor, distinguishing it from Western discourse which places more explicit emphasis on morality of giving and charity, although the UK has recently emphasised self-interest more. Perhaps it is no surprise that Russia itself still has a Ministry of Economic Development and a Ministry of Labour and Social Development. The Russian public is likewise in two minds: sympathetic towards Africa and aid, out of both a desire for status and a desire to help, but including a good helping of racism and partial information about Africa.

Citizens of any country have incomplete knowledge of other countries. **Section 5.6.** briefly describes present-day Russia's incomplete knowledge of Africa and aid.

5.1. Growing knowledge in the eighteenth century of an exotic continent

Starting one thousand years ago, initial knowledge in Russia of Africa and Africans came from those few Russians who travelled to north Africa for trade and religion, who doubtless reported their findings to acquaintances upon return to Russia.

From the eighteenth century, as relations developed with sub-Saharan Africa, more Russians gained first- and second-hand knowledge of Africa and Africans. Most famously for Russians, the Russian national poet Pushkin's great-grandfather, Hannibal, was African, probably Ethiopian or Cameroonian, brought to Russia in about 1700, and favoured by the reforming Tsar Peter the Great (Peter I). Hannibal became a wealthy, estate-owning military engineer, his family assimilated into Russian high society. Pushkin's part-African origins remain general knowledge for Russians today, but in his time, Hannibal was presumably mainly known to the elite in Russia. Nevertheless, he must have set an example of high achievement in Russian society by an African.

Hannibal started in Russia as one of the black servants employed by the Russian aristocracy, following the West European fashion. Those with access to wealthy houses could thus see both black African servants and paintings of them. While black servants were depicted in paintings as subservient to white masters, Hannibal was not the only one to receive education and rise in society. Another was Nancy Prince, who was both literate and enterprising, leaving written records of historical events and starting for-profit and charitable initiatives, including an orphanage. (Blakely, 1986) An African who aided Russian children, she was active in society and visible to some Russians.

As Russians began to travel in greater numbers to Sub-Saharan Africa in the eighteenth century, there came increasing knowledge for those in Russia with access to maps and books and the ability to read them, and for those who mixed in high society. The first map of Africa published in Russia appeared in 1713, and the first detailed book with a description of Africa in Russian, *Geography* by Johann Hubner, was published in 1719. These portrayed Sub-Saharan Africa as both a part-colonised land of exotic kingdoms, and the door for Russia to India and Russia's Far East, since sailing round Africa was easier than travelling to India or the Far East overland.

Just as some Africans in Russia had agency, some African countries, such as Ethiopia, were depicted in Russia as having agency. The German Duke of Saxe-Gotha had pointed out the mutual interests of Abyssinia and Russia in the seventeenth century, encouraging them to join an anti-Turkish alliance. When Ethiopia approached Russia about this in the eighteenth century (Blakely, 1986), this may have confirmed to

Russians with an interest in international affairs the ideas of African agency and alliances with Africa.

As the century progressed, and Western Europe colonised Africa, Russia remained curious about Africa. Catherine II's 1776 expedition around Africa exposed those with an interest in subjects such as botany and linguistics to first- or second-hand information about Africa. In 1778, an early Kievan monk's travel writing was published. In 1793, the first Russian-language book on South Africa was published (Davidson and Filatova, 2007), and in 1790-91, the polymath Lomonosov's *Comparative dictionary of all languages and dialects in alphabetical order* (SPb., 1790-1791) was published, with data on 33 African languages. (Zhel'tov, 2012)

Some Russians boasted of the absence of Russian colonialism in Africa. For example, in 1798 a Russian cellist spent a year in Cape Town and wrote of his unfavourable impressions of brutal colonialists mistreating Africans, and Yurii Lisianski, who later captained one of the first Russian voyages around the world, wrote similarly (Davidson and Filatova, 2007: 201-218). However, Russia was not faultless. Russia differed from the West in that it had no need to import African slaves, since it had its own Russian slaves, serfs, and in *A Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow*, Alexander Radishchev compared Russian serfdom to African slavery (Blakely, 1986). The Russian intelligentsia thus knew Africa for colonialism and slavery.

5.2. A more complex picture in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

Nineteenth century art, publications and foreign news were still accessible to only a few, given poverty, inequality and the low level of literacy in Russia. Nevertheless, nineteenth century publications tell us the discourses that were spread amongst the literate, educated, elite and powerful in Russia.

Russian art continued to include black servants, but also Africans of high class and agency. Pushkin, for example, fictionalised his great-grandfather in *The Negro of Peter The Great*, in which Hannibal married a Russian of high birth. Proud of his black ancestry, Pushkin kept a statuette of a black boy on his desk, a gift from a friend.

As Russia consolidated its colonisation of the Caucasus, some Russians who travelled there became aware of hundreds of blacks whose families had lived for generations in the Black Sea region. While such families could no longer be said to be African, it is likely that their population had been boosted by more recent importation of

black slaves. The broader Russian public, however, was not aware of these people until the twentieth century. (Blakely, 1986)

The number of publications on Africa increased. Pofirii Uspensky's article *Russia's Role in the Destiny of Ethiopia* concerned Ethiopia as the gateway to spreading Orthodox Christianity in Africa. Other publications concerned geographical explorations: A.S. Norov's recounting of travels in Egypt and Nibia in 1834-35, the doctor A.A. Rafalovich's travels to the Nile Delta in 1846-48, and Colonel Egor Kovalevsky's travels to the southern Nile at the request of the Egyptian ruler Muhammad Ali. (Blakely, 1986) The novelist Ivan Goncharov travelled in Africa and mentioned it in his writings. The poet Nikolai Gumilev travelled to Africa, particularly Ethiopia, nearly every year, and mentioned Africa in his works. Academic interest in Africa was evidenced by the teaching of old Ethiopian (Ge'ez) in Kharkov University from 1829, with the teacher, Dorn, moving to start teaching in St. Petersburg. Other scholars too specialised in Ethiopian languages, and Russia developed expertise in Egyptology, resulting in the opening of a university department in 1918. (Zheltov, 2012) In 1888 a *Beginner's Abyssinian-Russian Dictionary* was published in St. Petersburg (Patman, 1990: 29).

At this time of political agitation in Russia, political empathy with Africans increased amongst intellectuals. Prominent Russians continued to rail against Western enslavement of Africans in North America, and some tentatively used this to argue that Russians should not be treated as badly as Africans. Only in exile, however, did Turgenev compare serfdom to slavery and Herzen quantify the comparison:

At the moment when all England was displaying profound active sympathy for the slaves in the Southern states of North America, incited thereto by the great work of Mrs. Beecher Stowe, no one seemed to remember that nearer to England, across the Baltic, is an entire population not of 3,000,000 but of 20,000,000! (Herzen, quoted in Blakely, 1986: 32)

Chernyshevsky implied such comparisons through publishing articles against Western enslavement of Africans at a time when the Tsar was reforming serfdom, when the reading public could not fail to notice similarities. The plight of African slaves in the West was a topic of lively debate in Russia, with both sides asserting that nobody should be enslaved, but only one side asserting that Russians were not. (Blakely, 1986)

As in the West, however, even such agreement that Africans should not be enslaved co-existed with an assumption that blacks were inferior to whites. This was in

spite of the fact that in late nineteenth century Russia and the early USSR, it was clear that blacks, whether emanating via America or direct from Africa, could make good livings in Russia, particularly from the entertainment business. Entrepreneur George Thomas, actor Ira Aldridge, and American commercial agent Richard Greener were amongst famous black Americans in late Tsarist Russia. (Blakely, 1986)

In another contradiction to intellectual sympathy with African slaves, as noted in Section 2.1.1., the Russian elite felt pressure to join other colonising powers, or at least stop European powers from gaining more colonies. While Europe colonised Africa, Russia had been colonising to its south and east, and internally, through serfdom and the peasant commune (Etkind, 2011). Andrej Belyj's 1911 travel text, "African Diary" exposed a defensive narrative of Russia being the equal of world-colonising Western Europe (Barta, 2008: 8). Published only in the 1990s, its importance is not what it told nineteenth century readers but what it tells us now of Africa's role in early twentieth century Russia as an object to reflect world powers' greatness.

Others, however, continued to see Africa as a place of exploration, friendship and solidarity. Alexander Bulatovich, Nikolay Leontiev and Leonid Artamonov were all military advisers to the Ethiopian Emperor and explorers. Leontiev organised the delivery of arms and supplies to the Ethiopian Emperor to resist Italian colonisation. Gumilev brought back artefacts for the Kunst Kamera Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in St. Petersburg, part of the Russian Academy of Sciences. This museum contained artefacts from Russian explorer Junker who spent 1876 and 1892 in Africa, French navy captain Garraud, governor of Gabon from 1871-3, Czech explorer Emile Holub who spent 1872-9 in South Africa, and Russian doctor Kokhanovsky who worked in the diplomatic mission in Ethiopia from 1910-13. Russia had collaborated with other Europeans in growing joint knowledge about Africa.

5.3. Early USSR to end of WWII – Africans with political agency

In the early USSR, in spite of the obvious rupture between the old Russian leadership and new Soviet leadership and their accompanying ideologies, there was apparent continuity in some discourse on Africa. This was seen, for example, in official discourse of opposing other countries' colonialism, and solidarity with those they colonised. The apparent reasons underlying this official discourse, however, had changed from largely (but not only) self-interest to largely (but not only) professed principles of equality and respect. As literacy and mass communications increased in scale, this discourse was

spread to a larger proportion of society.

Zheltoy, Head of St. Petersburg University's Department of African Studies, sees continuity in the evangelical zeal of pre-Soviets and Soviets in Africa, and their need to be familiar with African culture, but also limited interaction with only elites:

The search in Soviet times for allies in the class struggle against imperialism and the propaganda of Marxist-Leninist ideology was like a reflection of the missionary approach to African studies (rather than seeking to bring the missionaries' "word of God" to the local population), which also requires knowledge of local languages. However, often very superficial interaction with African realities (mainly communications with different layers of the local elite) sometimes led to the appearance of superficial, highly ideological, biased publications. (Zheltoy, 2012: 4)

In trying consciously to overturn the old dominant ideology of the world, the young socialist country grappled publicly with matters of principle and tactics, such as whether to prioritise communism, nationalism, anti-racism or revolution in Africa. Lenin thought that class struggle was more important than national struggle, but had to defend the USSR: while he wished to advance communism in Africa, he also wanted the colonial West to be weakened through struggle with African nationalist movements. At the Second Congress of the Comintern (Communist International, the alliance of communist parties formed in 1919) in 1920, Lenin declared that revolution in Europe depended on prior revolution in the colonies, rather than the reverse. (Matusevich, 2003) Thus Africa was discursively positioned in the revolutionary vanguard before Europe. While the African revolution was intended to be aided by Europe, and the aim may have been Soviet self-interest, this nevertheless accorded Africa considerable agency in official Soviet discourse, which now reached much of the population.

Realpolitik prevailed, however, and in the early 1920s, the Soviet government reduced official rhetoric about colonies overthrowing their masters, as it wanted loans from Great Britain (Matusevich, 2003). Academic curiosity about Africa was developed, combined with the development of Soviet cultural institutions. In 1927, the Kunst Kamera Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography opened an Africa hall, showing to the public the curiosities donated over the centuries, including masks and more familiar agricultural implements. New exhibits were added, such as of Nikolai Leontiev, who had spent 1895 to 1901 in Ethiopia. In 1934-35 scholars of St. Petersburg university began to teach Amharic, Swahili and Hausa, all of which possessed written forms before colonialists had arrived, and so were conducive to study

through old texts, in the classical fashion favoured by Russian academics. The first students of these languages graduated in 1939. In 1944-45 the Eastern Faculty was founded, including the Department of African Studies and Ancient Egyptology, started by Egyptologist Dmitry Alekseevich Olderogiy. In the 1950s the university department became the Department of African Studies (кафедра африканистики), its present name. (Department of African Studies, 2014) Zheltov attributes its interest in ethnography to Russia's tradition of describing the peoples of its own colonies, the Caucasus, Central Asia, Siberia and the Far East (Zheltov, 2012). Perhaps this partially explains why the Eastern Faculty was so named, institutionalising the somewhat odd grouping of Africa and Asia as “Eastern”.

Unlike the political role accorded to Africans in early Soviet discourse, but perhaps in keeping with such exotic studies, some official artistic discourse in the early USSR contrasted barbarism in Africa with Soviet model behaviour. In Kornei Chukovsky's poem for children, *Barmaley*, a Russian boy and girl play with wild animals in Africa but are caught by the cannibal Barmaley, whom they turn into a model citizen and take back to Leningrad (Chukovsky, 1925). Barmaley may not be African, as he merely “runs about Africa” and was illustrated with swarthy but not dark skin. Moreover, most of the wild African animals turn out to be friendly. Nevertheless, in the poem, Africa is a location of barbaric behaviour and of animals. Presumably Soviet artistic authorities did not see this as stereotyping Africa or insulting Africans, whom they were seeking to educate and liberate. They perhaps saw the emphasis on the exotic as natural and fun, and Barmaley's redemption as detached from his association with Africa. The poem could even be seen as an allegory for colonialism, as moral Russia saved innocent Africa from outside enemies, but under that interpretation, Africans would be represented as animals, since the only people in the poem are Barmaley, his cronies and the Russian saviours.

Kornei Chukovsky and Samuil Marshak were the two most famous Soviet children's writers. Their works were highly popular and repeatedly published in large print runs (Kelly, 2007). Marshak too wrote a well-known poem referring to Africa. *Mister Twister*, written in 1933 and revised in 1952, concerns a rich American who comes on holiday with his family to Leningrad and refuses to stay in a hotel with a black person as his neighbour, but is thwarted by good Soviet hotel staff who unite to force him to recant and stay with his family in that very hotel, with people of many races from many countries. Both *Barmaley* and *Mister Twister* contain humour, rhyme

and attractive illustrations, and lend themselves to repetition, such that the refrain of *Mister Twister* “is known by heart to practically every Soviet citizen.” (van de Water, 1997: 86) *Mister Twister* is more explicitly political than *Barmaley*: “The original text of *Mister Twister*, the poem, had only one official purpose: pointing out the evil, idle, and immoral behavior of capitalist degenerates as opposed to the noble, industrious, and moral behavior of the superior Soviet citizens.” (van de Water, 1997: 91) Indeed *Mister Twister* needed the permission of Livinov, Stalin’s Minister of Foreign Affairs, before publication, in case it damaged international relations (van de Water, 1997). Perhaps unsurprisingly, of Marshak and Chukovsky, Marshak was the one more favoured by Stalin (Kelly, 2007). The *Mister Twister* message echoed Mayakovsky’s earlier poem about a mistreated black man in Havana, *Black and White* (Mayakovsky, 1925), written as a result of Mayakovsky’s travels to Cuba and the USA that year. The message was repeated in the film *Circus* (Aleksandrov, 1936). In these works of art, it is often unclear whether the black protagonist is African, American or Cuban, their race being more important than their country. Thus discourses on the black race and Africa were closely entangled throughout early Soviet discourse in the arts. Africa, Africans and African-Americans were all used to illustrate the high moral standing of Soviet citizens and low moral standing of westerners. Africa and race both served a rhetorical purpose.

Black Americans were also used interchangeably with black Africans in more direct political activities. Black Americans were initially simply more available to the USSR than were Africans, and so, as the Soviet government sought to support blacks struggling for racial equality, it found partners initially amongst Jamaican and American blacks who came to study or work in the USSR, hoping for a less racist society. In the 1920s and 1930s, the USSR welcomed and publicly feted black people such as Jamaican Claude McKay and Americans Otto Huiswood, William Patterson, Harry Haywood and George Padmore. By and large, these black Americans seem to have found what they were looking for. Journalist Homer Smith, for example, was one of many black Americans who left the racist USA for an allegedly non-racist USSR, and wrote of a refreshing respect for black people in the USSR, with members of the public behaving generously towards him. It appears that the USSR of the 1930s was indeed less racist than the USA, where racism was institutionalised. Black Americans who came to live in the USSR to escape the Great Depression experienced more racism from their white compatriots than from Soviet citizens. (Tzouliadis, 2008)

The USSR promoted black political activism, as part of African liberation. From

1928 to 1934, Padmore edited the newspaper *Negro Worker*, of the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers. He attracted Jomo Kenyatta to the Communist Party, wrote articles for the *Moscow Daily*, had an office in the Kremlin, had a place on the Red Square May Day stand in 1930, and was elected to the Moscow Soviet along with Stalin. This was all very public, part of official discourse. As African liberation movements strengthened, and the USSR continued Tsarist Russia's tactic of destabilising Western imperialism in Africa, the USSR even used these African movements to attempt to overthrow capitalism in Europe itself. While the Soviet government continued to accept both the importance of nationalism to Africans and the fact that African revolutionary leaders tended to be middle class, educated in European culture, the official discourse kept quiet about this. Comintern's 1930 Hamburg Conference of Negro Workers included Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, E.F. Small of Gambia and I.T.A. Wallace-Johnson of Sierra Leone. Such public appearances at events instigated by the USSR again showed African political activism and agency to the Soviet public. (Blakely, 1986)

Allison Blakely explains apparent continuities in discourse from Tsarist times:

As a new "developing" nation, the Soviet Union could identify closely with other nations of the world that are categorized in that way. Such identification was mutual to some extent. Negroes saw the new Soviet state, especially during its first decade, as a bright, dynamic, democratic challenge to the oppressive status quo and, therefore, a champion of all oppressed peoples. The Soviet Union continues to draw upon the strength of that image as it continues to seek even today significant influence in black Africa. However valid, this image should not be allowed to obscure the more basic underlying causes for the persistent Russian interest in black Africa. These are geopolitical and, therefore, apply equally well for tsarist and Soviet Russia. The global strength and security of this land-and-ice-locked giant simply dictate a need for ties with black Africa. The convergence of European imperialism in Africa, the color problem, and Soviet ideology fuel a diplomatic strategy which would likely be employed by any Russian state. (Blakely, 1986: 167)

This view is complemented by Zheltov, who sees that the USSR's relations with Africa differed from the West's, as the USSR sought ideological influence, not profit or natural resources. As we saw in Section 2.1.2., this is also Arne Westad's view.

Nevertheless, as WWII approached, Padmore was accused of emphasising race over class, and in 1934, the CPSU expelled him, perhaps in reality due to his anti-imperialist stance against the West, when the Soviet government was more conciliatory

to the West. During WWII, in its sheer effort to survive, the USSR softened its simplistic political discourse about the evil West exploiting good Africa. In its place, it allowed or encouraged perpetuation of a different simplistic discourse on Africa, as the highly popular “Barmaley” cartoon of 1941 still portrayed barbarism, exoticism, animals and lack of people in Africa. The cartoon perhaps helped to depoliticise the image of struggling Africans when the political agency of Africans in Soviet discourse was toned down to appease Western allies. Indeed, with its non-black, swarthy-skinned Barmaley, it could be said to relegate the African out of Africa.

5.4. Post-war USSR – Africa similar to USSR and emulating its development

The post-War USSR returned swiftly to discursively positioning Africa as a potential ally against a common enemy, the West. The West’s return to enemy status was presented as due to changes in leadership in post-war UK and USA, Roosevelt and Churchill being succeeded by less sympathetic leaders, rather than due to Soviet actions in Eastern Europe. The USSR again offered political support to Africa, publicly nurturing African elites and the African oppressed, urging them to rise and resist colonial authorities and move towards socialism, increasing the strength of the socialist side in the Cold War. Again, this started with a courting of black Americans. Black American actor Paul Robeson was celebrated in the USSR for his defence of black rights and discrimination at home from the US government for his Soviet sympathies. In the 1950s he won the Stalin Peace Prize, a mountain was named after him, Khrushchev received him personally, and he was made honorary professor of the Moscow Conservatory. Meantime, writings of Soviet black authors such as James Patterson were published, and Soviet officialdom found black stars such as McKay and Rudd.

In the 1950s, as African liberation movements strengthened and African countries began to gain independence, they became more accessible to Soviet envoys, and made the USSR more accessible to Africans. In 1954, Ivan Potekhin, director of the Africa Institute at Leningrad University, and Olderogge published *People of Africa*, an ethnographic study with Marxist interpretations of African history. (Blakely, 1986) This was a clear discursive statement of African agency, complexity and fullness of humanity. In 1960, called the Year of Africa in the USSR as it was in the West, the People’s Friendship University was founded in Moscow. It was renamed the Patrice Lumumba University in 1961, after the Congolese leader assassinated that year.

By 1966 the USSR had diplomatic ties with 25 African countries, and with accelerated decolonisation in Africa, Soviets were sent to help with the development of

Africa. For example, a young Kira Anatolyevna Rogova and her husband were amongst 300 Soviets in Ghana from 1964-65, she teaching Russian, he helping with technical aspects of building, alongside both Western and Soviet technical experts. This brought back more direct experience of Africa to the USSR, plus feelings of solidarity and excitement. It also brought personal experience of mixing with prominent Westerners, such as Irishman Conor Cruise O'Brien, vice-chancellor of Ghana University. Some Westerners whom the Soviets encountered were pro-Soviet, such as Thomas Hodgkin, director of the Institute of African Studies in the University of Ghana from 1962-65. (Rogova, 2014) Thus some Soviets learned directly of non-Soviet, Western opposition to colonialism, helping them to understand the nuances of colonialism and confirming for them that the USSR was not alone in opposing it. The Soviet media also told the Soviet public that the USSR was giving aid to Africa.

By 1966 there were 4,000 African students in the USSR. From 1960, racism appeared, perhaps due to these numbers, jealousy from Soviet citizens with more constrained living circumstances than the visiting Africans', and culture clash. In spite of, or perhaps because of this, Marshak's *Mister Twister* was made into a cartoon in 1963, illustrating how Soviet citizens abhorred American racism. The Soviet government proudly declared its generosity towards Africans, omitting to tell their public that some students were self-funding, and many were resident in the USSR at considerable personal cost. African students began to have other unhappy experiences, and objected to being used by the Soviet government as propaganda tools. The Soviet government objected to African students introducing young Soviet citizens to "decadent" jazz music. (Blakely, 1986) Thus Soviet aid to Africa was visible to Soviet citizens, who saw Africans on their streets. By 1981, the USSR had educated 100,000 African students, and awarded Ph.Ds. to 700 (Zhel'tov, 2012).

However, although institutional racism was ostensibly absent, Soviet media emphasised oppressed Africans and de-emphasised achievements by Africans, conditioning the Soviet public towards pity rather than respect of Africans (Blakely, 1986). Such insidious unconscious racism was contradicted by statements that many newly independent African countries were following a "socialist path of development", and deliberate impressions of an educated continent, with Russian translations of at least 54 South African novelists, playwrights and poets (Davidson, 1994b: 105). Only 18 of these writers were black and only 2 were coloured, while the 34 whites were prominent in campaigning against apartheid.

In the 1970s, two classic books were published, on Russia's eighteenth and nineteenth century relations with southern Africa. *The Image of a Faraway Country* (Davidson and Makrushin, 1975) and *The Call of Distant Seas* (Davidson and Makrushin, 1979) informed Soviet citizens of Russia's benign attitude towards Africa. They are thus typical of their Soviet time and purpose, conveying an exotic continent, friendly with Russia, romantic, historical, obfuscating the present-day political realities of Soviet-African relations and yet by implication illustrating the naturalness of Soviet-African friendship. Characters from *Barmaley* featured in new cartoons in 1973 and 1985, emphasising the good Soviet influence on Africa. In 1973, Barmaley and his fellow-pirates were white, and in 1985, they were again swarthy, in both instances redeemed by the good Russian doctor. Again, Africa was the location for non-Africans to conduct their conflicts and adventures. A 1970 cartoon *The Little Cutter* contrasted the lives of a Soviet boy and girl, with school, hospital and newspapers, with those of African counterparts living in Chunga Changa, who had none of these, but munched coconut and ate bananas all day.¹⁵

The official discourse of the USSR helping an exotic continent containing either innocent people with backward economies or no people at all, influenced unofficial discourse on Africa. In Soviet popular culture, Africa took on another meaning, as racism expressed in private was a way of expressing dissent from the Soviet system (Usacheva, 2006: 120). Africa was perceived ambiguously by Soviet citizens: it was foreign and yet similar to the official image of the USSR in its fight for liberation; its people were anti-authoritarian in their lifestyle and yet the object of official marches demanding freedom of Africans; its students in the USSR were liable to protest for personal rights or a change of Soviet foreign policy and yet Soviet citizens did not have the liberty for which these students were supposedly being educated. Soviet dissidents identified with Africans whose freedom of speech was curtailed and with Martin Luther King, and Africa featured prominently in Soviet counter-culture. In 1983, underground rock star Boris Grebenshchikov issued an album *Radio Africa*, in the 1980s countercultural hero Sergey Bugayev adopted the nickname "Afrika", and countercultural society listened to Bob Marley, kept photographs of black jazz players and recited the African poems of anti-communist poet Nikolai Gumilev, executed by Bolsheviks. The concept of "Africa" was thus contradictory culturally and politically and was "potentially subversive for the Soviet status quo." (Matusevich, 2006: 119)

¹⁵ http://www.dailymotion.com/video/xn528v_a-small-cutter-1970-katerok_shortfilms

Independent singer-songwriter Vladimir Vysotsky's nonsense song "What happened in Africa" (Что случилось в Африке) kept Africa in the public consciousness.

As all these varied elements of Africa combined, development was not a unique defining feature of Africa. The above selection of official discourse on Africa conveyed that development in Africa was socialist, and that other elements of Africa's construction were equally important: race, culture, liberation, neediness, backwardness and exoticism. Zasursky's handbook for African countries to emulate Soviet media development, described in Section 3.4.3., advocated deliberate efforts to develop the mass media along socialist lines, working with the UN, in spite of the West, and in friendship with the USSR. The process of media development described was to be driven by leaders, implemented by media professionals and supported by the population. (Zasursky et al., 1979) The high level of detail and the sector chosen to develop (the media) bring to mind the importance which the media held for Lenin and Marx, as described in Section 1.4.1. Published in the same decade as Davidson's historical books on an exotic Africa, the combined impression of this scant development literature was that Africa could develop if it took the natural but deliberate route of following the example of its friend, Russia and the USSR. Aid was not part of this construction.

5.5. Post-USSR Russia - still similar to Africa, still facing all ways

5.5.1. A unique discourse on Africa

Comparisons of Africa and Russia in Soviet times continued into post-Soviet discourse. For example, Zheltov notes Russia's and Africa's similar economic problems, both dependent on commodities and with poor social development. He notes that the 2007 Index of Economic Freedom of Canada's Fraser Institute placed Russia 83rd out of 141 countries, with Kenya, Uganda, Namibia and Ghana ahead of Russia (Zheltov, 2012: 3), while both Russia and Africa struggle to find their place in globalisation and, "Modern Russia is sometimes called "Africa of the north"." (ibid: 8) Sergei Brin, Russian founder of Google, described Russia as "Nigeria with snow, controlled by a bunch of cowboys" (Gereben, 2011: 28), thus branding them similarly corrupt. Such comparisons are not intended to compliment Russia and by extension do not compliment Africa. They are in the same mould as Communist politician Zyuganov's 2014 claim that "all the world's scoundrels still cannot forgive Stalin that in 19 years from the collapsed empire, in a half-African condition, he turned our country into one of the first global superpowers."

(March, 2015: 103) Alexei Vasiliev, Director of the Institute for African Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, makes less loaded comparisons, pointing out that Africa and Russia compete to supply mineral resources to the world, with Russia lagging behind in oil reserves and production (Vasiliev, 2011).

Apollon Davidson, esteemed Russian Africanist and member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, listed political similarities between South Africa and Russia:

- “...collapse of their official ideologies, namely apartheid ... and communism ...
- Both are striving towards a democratic society...
- Both states were repressive ... and committed many crimes against their citizens...
- Both countries are seeking a way out of their isolation in the international arena...
- Both states experience economic difficulties, some of which are of a comparable nature.
- ... burdensome legacy of complicated nationality problems....” (Davidson, 1994a: 2)

From outside Russia too, academics have written of economic and political similarities between Russia and Africa, for example Nigeria, in both negative respects (Matusevich, 2003) and positive respects (Agubamah, 2014: 167).

However, just as apparent continuity of discourse from Tsarist Russia to the USSR occurred above the rupture of ideology, so too does this continued theme of similarity. For example, *The Fastest Billion*, a book which reads like an investment brochure, expounds the dynamism and potential of Africa for future wealth and investment (Robertson, 2012). Written by Russian-founded Renaissance Capital analysts and academics, it contains a more upbeat discourse of similarities between Russia and Africa.

Many Russians today believe that Russia’s non-colonial and non-exploitative past in Africa has endowed Russia with social capital. For example, in 2012, the Russian President’s representative attending the 100th anniversary celebrations of South Africa’s ANC, was reported as saying:

Russia is returning to Africa... Russia was never a colonizing power in Africa... Russian troops never fought against Africans on African soil. On the contrary, we supported the liberation movements, including Frelimo, and we are very proud of the fact that the AK-47 rifle, the famous Kalashnikov, is on the Mozambican flag... Russian businesses want to invest in Africa... Mozambique, as one of the most stable African

economies, is our natural choice for the development of our bilateral cooperation.¹⁶

Zheltoev too harks back to pre-Soviet discourse of solidarity and cooperation, of the type quoted in the USSR, perhaps equally aspirational rather than real. Zheltoev recommends this alleged pre-Soviet approach to Africa for today's Africanists and diplomats:

I would like to quote from the memorandum of the Russian Imperial Minister Resident in Abyssinia K.N.Lishina on June 12, 1902 ...: "Operation by us of the wealth of the Equator province without the legal right to do so could have some material success, but it would be a terrible blow to our moral influence on Abyssinia. In addition, the Imperial Government, led by principles of legality and justice, cannot tolerate violations of these principles by the Company under its patronage." (Zheltoev, 2012: 13)

Perhaps similarly looking back to a supposedly better time and missing out troubled times that followed, the exhibition in Kunst Kamera put together in 2007 has much commentary on pre-colonial Africa, passing mention of colonisation, and nothing about decolonisation (Kunstkamera, 2007). Here, in a museum visited by foreigners, the move away from Soviet discourse has included leaving behind anti-Western rhetoric.

Much of this discourse of similarity speaks of Africa as a place of striving and yet opportunity and business partners rather than aid recipients. It also continues the Soviet tradition of using Africa as a benchmark against which Russia compares itself.

5.5.2. Racism

Unfortunately, racism is a major part of Russia's relationship with Africa. There are many racist incidents in modern Russia. Indeed, the topic of race openly permeates many representations of Africa in Russia, including media reports on racist violence in Russia. For example, in 2013, Russian MP Irina Rodnina caused controversy by posting a racist doctored photograph of President Obama on Twitter, associating him with a monkey.¹⁷ In 2014, an image of a Russian magazine editor sitting on a chair sculpted to depict a semi-naked black woman sparked outrage abroad, but was obviously judged by the editor as acceptable to publish. The bad publicity prompted the online magazine to

¹⁶ <http://allafrica.com/stories/201201100242.html>

¹⁷ <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/16/russia-obama-banana-racism-debate>

crop the part of the photograph showing most of the chair.¹⁸ Russian internet portrayals of Africa include sympathetic videos concerning hunger, but many are followed by racist comments, as are similar English-language videos.

In popular music too, a stereotyped Africa is presented. In 2009, Belorussian pop group BeZ bileta issued a song in Russian called *Africa*, and in 2010 another Belorussian pop group, Lyapis Trubetskoy, issued another song in Russian called *Africa*. While the former is scant on words, the latter refers to war, race, tears, the listener's responsibility and the singer's hanging.¹⁹

5.5.3. Reluctant aid recipient engaging in international development

Russian discourse shows resistance to both its recipient status and the modern aid model, which may partly explain why Russia's discourse on Africa is in many respects separate from its discourse on aid.

Early 21st century official US rhetoric clearly positioned Russia as still a recipient of Western aid. President Putin responded assertively in 2011 to US political aid: "We are not against foreign observers monitoring our election process," Putin said. "But when they begin motivating some organizations inside the country which claim to be domestic but in fact are funded from abroad... this is unacceptable."²⁰ One piece of research formed a negative conclusion of Western aid to civil society, from talking to Russian aid recipient organisations:

The version of civil society that has been brought into being by western design - the third sector - is far from what Russian activists desired and what donor agencies promised. Despite its claims to allow a grassroots to flourish, the third sector is a professionalised realm of NGOs, inaccessible to most local groups and compromised by its links to a neoliberal vision of development. (Hemment, 2004)

Indeed, the 2007 Development Assistance Concept mentioned in Section 1.2.6. is a mix of statement of good practice and commentary on the world aid system and on Russia. This 2007 Concept and the 2014 Concept are in Annex 4. The 2007 Concept states that one purpose of giving aid will be self-interest, with the first sentence in the introductory section stating that Russia's aid will be "to facilitate socioeconomic development of

¹⁸ <http://buro247.ru/culture/expert/intervyu-buro-24-7-dasha-zhukova.html> and http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/01/20/dasha-zhukova-black-woman-chair-buro-247-editorial_n_4633544.html

¹⁹ <http://megalyrics.ru/lyric/ляпис-трубецкой/африка.htm>

²⁰ <http://en.ria.ru/society/20111215/170257975.html>

recipient countries, help resolve crisis situations caused by natural disasters and/or international conflicts, and strengthen Russia's international position and credibility.” (Government of the Russian Federation, 2007: 2) The Concept thus implied that Russia lacked sufficient “international position and credibility” (p. 3) and that a principal valid purpose of aid is to increase donors' standing. This may display astute and unusual self-awareness and understanding of Mauss's Gift Theory.

The Concept describes how countries belonging to the OECD DAC give aid to reduce risks of instability, insecurity, disease, migration and environmental disasters (p. 3). In other words, according to the Concept, this is another way in which Western aid is self-interested. It is notable that Russia prefaces its own aid policy with a description of OECD members' aims, as if they, rather than poverty, are the reason for the Concept.

Only after explaining that development is essential to the “modern collective security system” does the Concept turn to describe poverty which aid can try to alleviate. Poverty is thus deprioritised as a target of the policy. Calling Russia a “superpower”, the Concept belies this title by again stating Russia's need for “international position and credibility”, and states the desired outcomes of aid to be to:

strengthen Russia's international position and credibility; stabilize socioeconomic and political situation in the partner countries; establish a belt of good neighborliness; prevent the occurrence of potential focal points of tension and conflict, primarily in regions neighboring the Russian Federation; and ultimately create a favorable external environment for Russia's own development. (ibid: 5)

All but one of these are either self-interested or assume mutual benefit.

The Concept's first goal is: “To influence global processes with a view to establishing a stable, fair and democratic world order based on the universally acknowledged international law and partnership relations between countries.” (p. 6) In placing fairness and democracy above poverty elimination, the next goal, the Concept implies that an unfair world order is the key problem to be tackled, and without it poverty elimination cannot occur. Reminiscent of older, Soviet statements, this is a statement that the current world order is not fair.

The final goal includes to “promote an unbiased attitude to the Russian Federation in the international community.” (p. 6) While including every developing region in the world in its priorities, the CIS is marked out for attention as being in Russia's interests to work with. This is similar to other Western donors, which also tend

to work with former colonies and countries which use their language.

Delivery options include direct budget support to recipient governments, other implementing agencies (including charities and Russian NGOs), and multinational agencies, which would result in Russia becoming highly visible amongst donors.

Somewhat against the spirit of the principle of untied aid, matters to be measured over a 3-year period include: “contribution to the development of bilateral political and other interactions between recipient countries and Russia,” (p. 13) and, “maintaining relations with such countries.” (p. 13)

It could be argued that Russia is bringing into the open what Western countries try to downplay, that a significant point of aid for the donor is self-interest. Or it may be that this is how Russia wishes its own aid to be. The emphasis on self-interested donorship led by the West may be seen as inaccurate or an insight to aid to which Western donors are blind or to which they do not wish to admit. Sometimes, though, the wisdom of recipient turned donor is less barbed: “Besides, the process carries certain inherent – sometimes substantial – risks of “nurturing” corruption, noneligible use of allocated funds, and even the conservation of “parasitical” and inefficient public administration.” (p. 6)

Compared to a similar Western official document of this time, such as the UK Government’s *White Paper Eliminating World Poverty: Building Our Common Future*, the Russian Concept is either remarkably open or emanates from a very different mindset. It is true that the UK White Paper emphasises duty to tackle global poverty even during a recession, “because it is morally right. But also because our prosperity, security and health are increasingly inseparable from events far beyond our borders” (Department for International Development, 2009: 5). Nevertheless, it contains just as much about the security of people in poor countries, and its main emphases are poverty reduction, international cooperation and the Millennium Development Goals. However, the UK’s 2015 ODA strategy, *UK Aid: Tackling Global Challenges in the National Interest* (Department for International Development and Treasury, 2015), presented by the UK’s Treasury and DFID, bears similarities to the Russian 2007 Concept. The two documents come from different directions, though, as the Russian Concept sought to justify an entry to the international aid world, while the UK strategy sought to reform an existing aid structure to defend it against perceived public hostility.

Proper interpretation of the Russian Concept demands consideration of its probably intended audiences: the West, to be convinced of Russia’s commitment to aid

and reminded of Russia's superpower standing, and the Russian public, which may doubt that it is ready to give significant aid but may wish that status. Since it was published in both English and Russian, both audiences were probably intended, along with recipient countries. In spite of the Concept's self-interest, but in keeping with the very fact of its existence, Gray points out that the discursive practices of the two ministries suggested to host the proposed new Russian Agency for International Development show the extent to which each has donned Western "masks":

Thus one component of the Russian government shows evidence of more successful socialization into DAC-like norms while another does not, although both have been targeted by the same UN and World Bank programmes. MinFin spokespeople are learning to put on the altruistic anti-poverty mask, while MFA spokespeople are aiming for 'parity' – and both are ways of mirroring the DAC and EU policy... This particular moment in Russia is comparable to analogous moments of other countries, when the institutional infrastructure of their foreign aid programmes were emergent and similarly unsettled (Simon 1953). What is unique here is only the particular cultural context, as well as the historical configuration: twentieth-century trends in foreign aid meeting the current moment of ostensibly 'emerging' donors. (Gray, 2013: 17)

The 2014 Concept is similarly self-interested, and I do not analyse it here, but include both Concepts in Annex 4. The UK's self-interested 2015 ODA Strategy could be said to have caught up with the sentiments of Russia's 2007 Concept, in spite of the enduring Western rhetoric of Western donors leading Russia in good donorship.

Resistance to the Western model is also seen in recent Russian academic papers. A succinct survey of progress made on achieving the Millennium Development Goals published in the Russian Academy of Sciences 2010 – 2013 journal of African Studies in Russia manages to comment on achievements in Africa and international commitments to give aid without referring to whether the achievements have been helped by aid, or whether Russia has commitments or has met them (Matsenko, 2012). While the article is short, perhaps Russia does not like to admit that it has not participated significantly in aid. Papers from Moscow's Higher School of Economics look towards a stronger BRICS taking its rightful place in world governance, operating in a new economic world order, constraining the USA's activities, facilitating settlement of conflicts in the world, helping resolve developing countries' problems and facilitating sustainable development, using South Africa as a window to Africa, and with China as the BRICS' natural leader (Higher School of Economics, 2011: 1-5).

Governance, diplomacy and peacekeeping are prioritised over aid.

However, Russia is distinct in several ways from the BRICS: it sees itself as a northern power rather than engaging in South-South Cooperation. It wishes to show its strength through helping the weak, rather than aligning itself with aid recipients. And it has aligned with the OECD through adopting several commitments to good practice in international development. (Brezhneva and Ukhova, 2013)

On the other hand, Russia has kept a foot in all camps. The 2011 project funded by DFID and managed by the World Bank in Russia included development of a textbook in Russian, led by IDS at the University of Sussex, about international development cooperation. Translating Western discourse into Russian, the book divides donors into “traditional” and “new donors”. Its glossary translates English international development terms into Russian. It gives a history of development. (World Bank, 2012) It appears to teach development as the World Bank sees it, even to the extent of ignoring that many “new” donors, including Russia, are re-emerging, and of course oblivious to the UK’s 2015 ODA Strategy to come, which would display similarities in self-interestedness with Russia’s 2007 and 2014 concepts.

5.5.4. Public opinion on aid

In general, the Russian population does not score highly for giving. Charities Aid Foundation’s annual survey of “how much people around the world have been able or willing to help their fellow man and woman, through the donation of money, volunteering of time, and proffering of help to those they do not know” (Charities Aid Foundation, 2012: 4), ranked Russia 127th out of 146 countries. Australia came first, the USA fifth, Indonesia seventh, the U.K. eighth, and Liberia 11th. Rich or poor is not the sole deciding factor in the propensity of a country’s population to give.

However, the 2011 DFID-funded project managed by the World Bank in Russia included a public attitudes survey which showed 75% support for Russia being a donor²¹. Conducted by public opinion research organisation Levada, the survey found that respondents wished to support especially emergency and humanitarian aid, neighbouring poor countries from the former Soviet bloc and countries posing a threat to global security, which of course may not be the poorest. While 63% of respondents “gave the highest priority to moral responsibility to reduce extreme poverty,” the most popular goals of Russia’s development assistance were “extending the circle of

²¹ <http://go.worldbank.org/065D7N4V70>

countries friendly to Russia (31 percent); reducing the threat of terrorism and drug trafficking between Russia and neighboring countries (30 percent); and increasing Russia's influence and prestige in the world (30 percent)." Respondents favoured supporting education, including educating foreign students in Russia, healthcare development, construction of industrial facilities, and subsidised food. They also favoured collaboration with multilateral and more established donors, but knew little of the government's present and planned aid. (World Bank, 2011a) Desired goals were thus broadly in keeping with those in the government's Concept, and showed national memory, as favoured sectors for support are all sectors which the USSR supported.

The accompanying presentation on the World Bank website on Levada's in-depth interviews implies a strong feeling of equality both between Russia and other donors and between Russia and recipients, as the three reasons for giving are that "Russia should be on par with other developed nations", "This is human/ Christian way", and "If we aid – we will be aided." As in the 2010 DFID-funded UK public opinion survey, an awareness of potential corruption was displayed, but in the Russian case respondents proposed solutions: either Russia building infrastructure itself or Russia donating through international organisations. Interestingly this shows both trust in the USSR's model of donors implementing and then handing over the keys, and trust in international organisations which gave aid to Russia. Perhaps due to the ignominy of having received aid, the population now wants Russia's aid to others to be visible. Pride in Russia's image and self-interest are more prominent than in the UK public opinion survey. There is nostalgia for Russia's past excellence in healthcare and education, in which it still has specialists who could be of use to others. Most respondents obtain their information from TV, and there see EMERCOM, Russia's emergency agency, responding in disasters. The internet is their second source. (World Bank, 2011c: 7) Strangely, the reports note that Russia knows that it needs to build public support for international development aid. However, 75% appears high for any country.

The DFID-funded "Non-DAC states and the role of public perspectives", overseen by Emma Mawdsley, was an evaluation of debates in the public sphere of re-emerging donors. The investigation of Russia, led by anthropologist Patty Gray, looked at what joining the OECD donors means for Russians culturally and socially, and what the effect will be on traditional development discourse, in which North helps South and West helps East. Gray found that countries like to join donors rather than remain receivers. So-called emerging donors are spoken down to in spite of the fact that many

have long been donors, but not the same type of donors. In exiting from the West-East aid flow and joining the North-South aid flow, Russia is both affirming and challenging assumptions about the direction of development aid. However, Africa is the iconic recipient, and although Russia intends to give largely to CIS countries, it emits messages of helping Africa, for example through the MDGs. Some Russians are earnestly setting about showing that Russia can give aid correctly, but as Western/Northern donors paid for a recent conference in Russia about Russia becoming a donor, this may show that these donors display more enthusiasm for Russia being the right kind of donor than the Russian government does. (Gray, 2011a) Gray advises the Russian government to develop its aid strategy, to inform its public (Gray, 2011c: 4).

Despite the internal tensions and contradictions in this discourse on aid, the public discourse on aid now seems to be at one with the official discourse on aid. Russia would like to participate in aid for reasons mainly of self-interest and pride, and Africa should be a recipient, after CIS countries. However, alongside this discourse of officialdom and public support for donorship, racism continues. Africans and people of African descent experience sometimes violent racism in Russia (Quist-Adade, 2007), (Allina-Pisano and Allina-Pisano, 2007). Such violence includes an infamous Moscow student hostel fire in 2003 which killed 36 African and Asian students, and of which a full investigation was allegedly not conducted, and the many murders of Africans in Russia (Boltovskaja, 2010) mentioned in Section 4.2..

5.6. Today's partial knowledge

With post-Soviet freedoms and the internet, information about Africa has proliferated. Russians holiday in Egypt and Kenya, African footballers play in world-famous and Russian teams and are reported in the Russian media, the internet delivers a vast array of information on Africa, and trade and investment plus returning diplomats, teachers, doctors, nurses and engineers contribute to knowledge of Africa in Russia. However, such information is, of course, partial: Russians do not holiday in all African countries, tourists rarely understand politics of their holiday destination, people are selective in the internet sites which they view, and numbers of Russians who work in Africa and return to Russia are small. At the same time, public information about Russia's donorship lags behind. Perhaps Russia is experiencing "premature donorship" (Balázs Szent-Iványi) a term describing the Hungarian, Czech, Polish and Slovak governments donating quietly to other countries before their populations feel that they have moved beyond needing

aid themselves.²² Or perhaps the Russian government is not committed to espousing the Western aid model, of which it has round experience. Linguistic analysis in Chapter 6 helps us to understand how this situation arose and Russia's unique point of view.

²² http://www.globalisationanddevelopment.com/2013/03/the-visegrad-4-emerging-development.html?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+blogspot%2FIDSGlobalDev+%28Globalisation+and+Development%29

Chapter 6. Discourse Analysis: *Pravda's* Africa, Aid and Development

"You know the sound of two hands clapping; tell me, what is the sound of one hand?" (Ekaku, Eighteenth Century)

Introduction

My structural analysis in **Section 6.1.** consists of: an overview of the diversity of genres and authors in the corpus; an analysis of the frequency, distribution and prominence of mentions of Africa; main topic analysis of the whole corpus (looking at just one main topic per article); and analysis of all the major topics in a sample of the corpus. As we saw in Section 2.2.10., topic analysis (also called macrostructure analysis, macro-analysis or content analysis) is vital to media analysis.

In **Section 6.2.** I explain the findings of the discourse analysis, based on my theoretical framework presented in Chapter 2. As I explained in Chapter 3, having first analysed context in all foregoing chapters, I here analyse the discursive strategies used in the corpus and the detailed realisations of these strategies. I present the main findings from this analysis in 5 periods of the USSR and the period after. Following my theoretical framework, based on numerous works, including by Wodak et al (Wodak et al., 1999, 2009), Teun van Dijk (van Dijk, 1998a), van Leeuwen (van Leeuwen, 2008), Fairclough (Fairclough, 1989), and other works by these authors and others, my analysis is shaped by my research questions and data. The corpus material led to my analysing themes of agency, aid and development, two camps in Africa, a unified continent, hierarchies and freedom struggles, race, work, voices of Africa, Africa Liberation Day and clothes, on all of which I elaborate particularly in the longest period, the post-Stalinist Cold War, in Section 6.2.4.. My discussion of these findings is woven throughout Section 6.2., and summarised at the end of each subsection. In **Section 6.3.**, I summarise intertextual and interdiscursive elements. My conclusion is woven into and included in the final chapter, Chapter 7.

41 of the texts analysed are in Annex 2. I present pdfs of all 262 pages on an accompanying CD.

6.1. Findings of structural analysis of the *Pravda* Corpus

In Chapter 3, I explained that while I broadly follow the methodology of Reisigl and Wodak, my selection of texts was facilitated by my structural analysis, whose methodology is similar to Jäger and Maier's. I described the methodology of my structural analysis in Section 3.3.3..

6.1.1. Corpus diversity – genres and authors

Teachers and authors of Soviet journalism advocated and described a diversity of genre: “newspaper language... diverse in its genres and in its general material...” (Kostomarov, 1971: 256). The articles in my corpus are of a variety of genre: editorials, opinion pieces, news reports, features, interviews, full speeches, and sports and travel pieces. Since *Pravda* was a newspaper, all were presented as based on news. Regardless of the superficial diversity of genres in my data, I treat it as unified discourse, because these genres were not entirely distinct from each other, in purpose and style.

As I noted in Section 1.4.1., the explicit purposes of Soviet media were to spread ideology, organise people and educate them through deliberately partial presentation. And I noted in Sections 2.2.5., 2.2.10 and 2.2.12. that while all media is ideologically-based discourse, Soviet media, of whatever genre, was openly ideological. This resulted in a near ubiquitous presence of overt opinion and partiality, which meant that the lines could be somewhat blurred between, for example, opinion pieces and reporting, or between opinion pieces and features.

With regard to style, there was significant similarity across genres. As I noted in Section 3.4.3., Soviet journalism students learned three styles of newspaper article (informational, analytical and artistic-expressive), which shared uniform requirements: a logical structure with argument and conclusion, theme, aim and hypothesis (Rogova, 2014). If these requirements might be equally applied to a feature, interview or news report as to an editorial or opinion piece, this too contributed to some similarities across genres: the point was to make a convincing case. I pointed out in Section 3.4.3. that *Pravda's* style evolved from revolutionary to totalitarian over the course of the 1920s and 1930s, and by the end of the 1950s had become ritualised, repetitive and simpler, with predictable tropes such as glorification of Stalin and then the Soviet people, and obligatory mentions of Marx, Lenin and an enemy (Poppel, 2007). As I noted in Section 3.4.2., according to Yurchak, the public and authorities generally expressed what they thought until Stalin's death in 1953, after which the language became performative and

ritualised, with people saying what was expected of them. As this increasing uniformity of style and predictability of content applied across all genres, my analysis is not broken down by genre, but by periods, to answer my research questions better.

The most frequent contributor named was TASS: 175 (38%) of the 464 articles were attributed to the Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union (TASS). The next most frequent category of author was *Pravda's* Own (or Special) Correspondents: 71 articles (15%) were attributed to named *Pravda* authors, usually in African countries. In addition to these, some articles were attributed to the same named authors, before or after they were named as *Pravda's* Own Correspondents. The third most frequent category of author was unnamed: 59 articles (13%) were presented with no author or news agency named alongside them. Next came newspaper *Jeune Afrique*, named in 5 articles (1%) as the “author”, and cited in many others, as I show later in this chapter. Other named authors contributed from 1 to 3 articles each, and were a mix of famous leaders, less famous leaders, and experts in their field. The type of author affected the style and content of the articles. In general, the most emotional language occurred in headlines and in articles by *Pravda's* Own Correspondents, unnamed authors, *Jeune Afrique* and other individual authors, as they used more metaphors, exclamations and short sentences than TASS. The longer articles were by *Pravda's* Own Correspondents and experts, while leaders' speeches were often the longest articles of all, being frequently printed in full.

6.1.2. Frequency and distribution of Africa mentions; corpus representativeness

I described my methodology of sampling in Sections 3.3.2, and 3.3.3., where I explained that I conducted searches in 2012 and 2013, from these searches made my corpus, and conducted another search in 2015, which yielded many more articles mentioning Africa.

To show the representativeness of my corpus, in Table 6.1.2. below I compare my corpus with all relevant pages found in my 2015 search, which may be all relevant pages of the period. The table below shows in the two left columns peak years in my *Pravda* corpus, meaning years with more than 4 issues containing the root Африк- (африк-). The reader can compare these with the percentage of all occurrences of Африк- in *Pravda* found in 2015, from *Pravda's* inception to 2009, shown in the two right-hand columns. (The table shows only years in which the corpus contained four or

more pages and years in which at least 2% of the pages from the 2015 search occurred, and therefore shows only the most prolific years, which were from 1943 to 1986.)

Table 6.1.2.

CORPUS FROM 2012 AND 2013 EAST VIEW SEARCHES: Years in which ≥ 4 pages of <i>Pravda</i> in the corpus with occurrence of the root Африк-/африк- (most prolific years in bold)	CORPUS FROM 2012 AND 2013 EAST VIEW SEARCHES: Number of pages in the corpus in the year, including articles with occurrence of the root Африк-/африк- (most prolific years in bold)	2015 EAST VIEW SEARCH: %-age of total 22,688 pages with ≥ 1 article with occurrence of the root Африк-/африк- (1912-2014), showing years with over 2% of total pages (most prolific years in bold)	2015 EAST VIEW SEARCH : Rankings of top 10 years
1943	8	0.7%	
1958	7	2.2%	
1960	10	2.8% (642 pages)	1st
1961	6	2.7% (621 pages)	3 rd
1962	9	2.2%	
1963	5	2.3%	
1964	6	2.8% (627 pages)	2 nd
1965	8	2.6% (585 pages)	5th
1966	6	2.4%	
1967	6	2.5% (564 pages)	8 th
1968	5	1.9%	
1969	5	1.9%	
1970	8	2.2%	
1971	6	1.9%	
1972	8	1.8%	
1973	7	2.5% (573 pages)	7 th
1974	7	1.7%	
1975	5	1.8%	
1976		2.4% (549 pages)	10 th
1977		2.5% (578 pages)	6 th
1978		2.7% (615 pages)	4 th
1979	9	2.1%	
1980	13	2.1%	
1981		2.4%	
1982	5	2.2%	
1983	5	2.1%	
1984	5	2.0%	
1985	6	2.4% (553 pages)	9 th
1986		2.3%	

Thus most coverage of Africa ran from 1958 to 1986, with little difference in broad

period between the corpus and the 2015 East View search. During this period, according to the 2015 search, a total of 14,801 pages of *Pravda* mentioned Africa, giving an average of 529 pages per year, or 1.4 pages per day. If we include the lead-in to 1958 and the tailing off from 1986, and consider the 52 years from 1940 to 1991, when each year carried at least 227 relevant pages, the total 19,920 relevant pages of *Pravda* represented on average 383 relevant pages per year, an average of 1 page every day which mentioned Africa. The individual years in which *Pravda* had most pages mentioning the continent of Africa were, in descending order, 1960, 1964, 1961, 1978, 1965, 1977, 1973, 1967, 1985 and 1976. Thus, the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s predominated, while the post-Soviet period to 2009 did not repeat this level of coverage. The corpus is broadly representative of the total occurrences of Africa within *Pravda*, and includes samples from the lead-in and tail-off periods.

With regard to intensity of coverage in one page, within the corpus, 50% of its 262 pages contained only 1 article mentioning Африк or африк, and 35% had 2 articles. Pages containing 3 to 7 relevant articles occurred in 1941, 1943, 1955, 1957, 1958, all of 1960 to 1971, 1975, 1979, 1980, 1982, all of 1984 to 1988, 1992 and 2005. In intensity of coverage, the 1960s and 1980s predominated.

My *Pravda* corpus ranges from 1925, with an innocuous mention of an African type of oats, to a July 2011 article about problematic population growth in Africa. After 1925, the next issue in the corpus is from 1934. Therefore, all but one of the corpus was published between 1934 and 2011.

6.1.3. Prominence of mentions of Africa

An analysis of the prominence of mentions of Africa tells us the degree of importance which Africa held for *Pravda* and the USSR during different periods. While frequency (analysed above) is one measure, my other measurements of prominence are: proximity to page 1 (considering appearance on page 1 as conveying most prominence, and appearance further back in the issue conveying decreasing prominence); illustration by photograph, cartoon or map; and degree of prominence of the item's author.

11% of the 234 corpus pages from the Soviet period occurred on page 1, 12% on page 3, 30% on page 4 and 36% on page 5. Pages 4 and 5 were at different times the foreign pages. The first page in the corpus in which Africa appeared on page 1 was in 1960, and in this year, 3 pages in the corpus are front pages, constituting 33% of the 1960 pages. Thereafter, until the end of the USSR, occurrences on page 1 were fairly

evenly spread over the years. Thus, especially from the 1960s, Africa was fairly often in a prominent position in the newspaper in Soviet times. Only 1 of the 28 post-Soviet pages in the corpus was a front page.

The principal illustration of articles was photographs, and sometimes the photographs constituted most of an item's area. The 1934 article carried a photograph, but the next article with a photograph was in 1958. From 1958 until the end of the Soviet period, 39 of the 191 pages, 20%, included photographs relating to Africa. This form of prominence, however, was more frequently deployed in the post-Soviet period, with 10 of the 28 post-Soviet pages, 36%, including photographs relating to Africa.

The corpus only contained nine cartoons relating to Africa, and they too became most frequent from the late 1950s. They appeared in 1943, 1957, 1962, 1966, 1967, 1968, two in 1973, and 1986. Maps illustrated articles in 1937, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1980 and 1983, and thus appeared mainly in the run-up to and during WWII, when physical location of battles and armies in Africa was important to the USSR's security. There were thus no cartoons or maps in the post-Soviet part of the *Pravda* corpus.

Taken together, 24% (56) of the 234 corpus pages from the Soviet period and 36% of the 28 post-Soviet pages contained some form of illustration of Africa, whether map, cartoon or photograph. Such prominence was most concentrated from the late 1950s, and the Soviet period used cartoons to convey its message where the post-Soviet period used more photographs.

Another type of prominence concerned the author or subject. Most lengthy quotes of famous or important authors and speakers were during the 1960s. Very often their full speech was reproduced in *Pravda*. Examples include:

- 1943 – speech by British War Minister, page 4,
- 1955 – speech by Zhou Enlai at conference of countries of Asia & Africa, p. 6,
- 1960 – speech by Brezhnev, page 2,
- 1961 –speech by Bashir Ben Abbes, page 1,
- 1961 – speech by President Sukarno, page 5,
- 1961 –meeting of Kwame Nkrumah with Soviet leaders, page 1,
- 1964 – speeches by President Nasser and Khrushchev, page 2,
- 1966 –interview with Francisco Camano, page 1,
- 1970 –Vice-President of Zambia speaks out, page 1,
- 1980 –article by Brezhnev, page 1,

1991 – press conference by Gorbachev, page 4,
1991 – interview with Gadhafi, page 5.

While some of these authors may have gained some prominence through being on the front page of *Pravda*, others such as Brezhnev may have brought prominence to the concept of Africa through their words being on the front page. Being authoritative figures, they may also have conferred evidentiality (van Dijk, 2010) on the page, as their opinion about a belief could convert it into knowledge in the reader.

Taking all the above together, we can see that Africa came to prominence in *Pravda* during WWII, and then particularly from the late 1950s, culminating in particularly frequent and intense coverage from 1960 and throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.

6.1.4. Topic analysis – main topics of all relevant articles in the corpus

The main topics, those with which Africa was associated, or around which Africa was constructed in the 262 pages, are shown in Table 6.1.4. The table shows occurrences of the main topic only, in each article in the corpus, plus the presence of the topic “development” in the corpus before it became a main topic in any article. It shows that new main topics arose every few years, and that once introduced, they tended to recur.

Dotted lines around years indicate those when ownership changed. Years in italics are those when *Pravda* was not owned by the Communist Party, separating ownership into three distinct phases: by the CPSU, by private owners, and by the CPRF. I explained the differences between the CPSU and the post-Soviet CPRF in Section 1.4.2.. When *Pravda* was owned by the CPSU, it was united with the government; while owned by the CPRF, *Pravda*’s political views have differed from the government’s on many matters.

[illegible]

We see that Africa was from the beginning discussed mainly in the contexts of war, culture and colonialism, with intermittent references to its wildlife and culture. Colonialism was raised continuously, albeit in different contexts: as colonialism by the West from 1936 until the 1960s, as coming to an end from the 1960s, as neo-colonialism from the 1970s, and post-colonialism from 1979. Race was a constant main topic from just after WWII until the late 1980s. At around the same time, just after WWII, denial of workers' rights and capitalism were discussed with reference to Africa. Africa taking charge became a key topic from the mid-1950s until 1990. African press reports arose from the early 1960s. From the 1970s, China was frequently mentioned as a threat. It was not until the 1980s that poverty and development became main topics in articles about Africa, although development had been present in articles about Africa since 1949, sometimes in phrases which emphasised freedom, such as "independent development", which I shall discuss in the next section. Thus during the Soviet years, the main topics were fairly consistent with each other: overwhelmingly negative, but negative about the oppressors rather than about oppressed Africa.

After the collapse of the USSR, the key topics changed. During the early post-Soviet years, while in private for-profit ownership, *Pravda* discussed Africa in association with both post-socialism and the less overtly political topics of football, tourism and history, while introducing topics which involved features of or actions by Africa itself: population growth, trade and Islam. After *Pravda* returned to the ownership of the communist party, this time of the CPRF, the key topics were mixed: they included, as in Soviet times, the overtly political, in socialism, development and neocolonialism; and they included, as in early post-Soviet times, a continuation of topics involving criticism of Africa and its actions: pirates, drugs and population growth. As I shall show in Section 6.2.7., the post-Soviet construction of Africa accorded it increased agency and increased responsibility for its actions.

6.1.5. Topic analysis – multi-topic analysis of a sample

I referred in Section 2.2.10. to the importance of topic analysis, including van Dijk's assertion that it is particularly important to analyse topics in media analysis, since the media influences particularly through its choice of topics, the "semantic macrostructures" which it uses to set the agenda. While the previous section describes the distribution of the main topics only, one per article, over the whole corpus, this section discusses the occurrence of several main topics in 22 select pages of my corpus.

In Table 6.1.5.b, I show these topics by year. For each year shown, I analysed one page, except 1955, 1971 and 1973, for which I analysed two; I explained in Section 3.3.3., how I chose this discrete sample. Within each column or year, identical shading indicates topics which were mentioned together. Cells with writing also indicate topics which were mentioned together. The table presents an apparently complex picture, but this complexity belies an underlying simple message. Let us take, for example, one of the apparently most complex years, 1980. The 1980 topics can be fairly simply divided into two groups of associations: those associated with Western countries (international tension, world domination, neocolonialism and military equipment); and those associated with the USSR (women, children, world peace, people's democracies, African countries, non-interference, equality, development and socialism). If we do the same for the full sample of 22 pages, we arrive at the following associations of topics with the West and with the USSR, in Table 6.1.5.a.:

Table 6.1.5.a Dichotomy of a bad West and a good USSR	
Western governments and racist African regimes are associated with:	Imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, world domination, oppression, fascism, racism, deception, war-mongering, military equipment, military aid, anti-Sovietism, anti-developmental capitalism, international tension.
USSR, Western publics, non-racist African regimes, African people, African governments and peoples are associated with:	Colonised countries and peoples, victimhood, colonialism-induced poverty, world peace, people's democracies, good Soviet aid, women, children, non-interference, equality, and pro-development socialism.

There are several points to note here. One is a veneer of complexity, masking simplicity. *Pravda* attributes a range of ills to the West, and as we shall see in the discourse analysis, devotes some detailed and technical explanations to analysing some of these ills. But the result is always the same: a simple dichotomy of a bad West and a good USSR. Relentlessly, throughout the corpus, *Pravda* associated the USSR and most Africans with positive topics, while it associated the West with negative topics, including racist African regimes.

A second point to note here is that this observation represents van Dijk's Ideological Square, to which I referred in Section 2.2.10: "1 Emphasize our good properties/actions 2 Emphasize their bad properties/actions 3 Mitigate our bad properties/actions 4 Mitigate their good properties/actions." The choice of topics with which *Pravda* associated the West and the USSR respectively emphasised the good qualities of the USSR and the bad qualities of the West, thus fulfilling the first two sides

of the square. In addition, *Pravda* omitted to associate the USSR with its own immoral actions or relationships, or to associate the West with its moral achievements or relationships, thus fulfilling the third and fourth sides of the square. In this square, Africa was part of the Soviet “we”, except for its racist regimes, which were part of the Western “they”.

Another matter of note is that through these topics, as *Pravda* portrayed Africa in relation to these two sides in the Cold War, it used Africa to construct the two sides. Through these topics, *Pravda* educated its readers about the West and about the USSR more than about Africa itself. Africa was present as a victim of the West and an object of the USSR’s virtuous initiatives and lofty goals. Again, we shall see more of this in the discourse analysis of texts.

Finally, this multi-topic analysis of 22 pages shows in outline the evolution of the construction of Africa. *Pravda* started by associating Africa with colonialism, imperialism, war and oppression. Then *Pravda* added indirect associations with dictatorship and fascism, as imperialism was associated with these. To these were added another indirect association, attacking the USSR, since that was associated with colonialism and imperialism. Then poverty and exploitation were added to the direct associations with Africa. Finally, neocolonialism was added to the list of matters directly associated with Africa. Thus Africa came to be directly associated with colonialism, imperialism, war, oppression, poverty, exploitation and neocolonialism, and indirectly associated with dictatorship, fascism and attacking the USSR. Just as we saw in the single topic analysis above (of the main topic in each article in the corpus), Soviet *Pravda* associated Africa with negative topics which were not of Africa’s making, whether these topics were directly or indirectly associated with Africa.

6.1.5.b Multi-topics	1934	1940	1946	1951	1955	1957	1960	1964	1970	1971	1973	1974	78	1980	1981	90	93	99
War, internation. tension																		
Imperialism, world domination																		
(Neo)colonialism												Af.ctris,un dv.						
Women, children																		
Western countries				D'cep t.						Rac.,fasc., col.					D'vpng ctries			
North or East Africa																		
Fascism																		
Attacking the USSR																		
USSR																		
Colonised countries																		
World peace																		
(In)dependence/freedom of nations					W. aid													
Poverty, exploitation, slavery, discrimination											Sup-press				Dev.ctries.			
Popular movements & their suppression											Expl-oit							
People's democracies, communism/socialism																		
Falsehood/deception				USA														
Military equipment																		
American/Western aid					Depe-nden.													
Underdevepment.												Col., Af.ctries.						

Capitalism																		
Development, countries	developing													Socialism, Afr.ctries	W,pov,slave, trade			
United Nations									USSR,Af.c trs									
Humanitarianism																		
African countries/economies																		
Soviet aid																		
Education/Soviet expertise																		
Friendship, cooperation, struggle																		
Israel 1970, Yemen 1971, Iran 1993																		
Western monopolies or trade																		
International development																		
Racism																		
Human rights or landownership																		
OAU (1971), EEC (1973)																		
Equality or inequality																		
Non-interference																		
Interference																		
New international economic order																		
Sport, religion, wildlife																		
Population growth																		
No. groups of topics	1	1	2	3	6	2	2	2	1	5	3	3	1	6	3	1	1	1

Within each column or year, identical shading indicates topics mentioned together. Cells with writing also indicate topics mentioned together.

Example of how to interpret shading and writing: In 1951, there were 3 groups of topics: 1) Western countries, North Africa, colonised countries and suppression of popular movements; 2) People's democracies and world peace; 3) The USA and deception.

6.1.6. Summary of structural analysis

Pravda mainly presented Africa and international development in articles by news agency TASS, and from 1957, by *Pravda's* own named correspondents too, mainly based in Africa. Africa was presented in a range of genres, with a range of styles.

Significant mentions of Africa in *Pravda* started in 1934, and although Africa was frequently mentioned during WWII, the most frequent coverage of Africa was between 1958 and 1986, when on average 1.4 pages per day mentioned Africa. 50% of the 262 pages in the corpus contained more than 1 article mentioning Africa, with pages containing 3 to 7 relevant articles occurring during WWII, at the start of the non-aligned movement, during the years when African countries were gaining independence, and then sporadically in the post-Soviet period. The 1960s, 1970s and 1980s contained most mentions of Africa, and coverage dropped off in the post-Soviet period.

Africa was fairly prominent in *Pravda*, when it was mentioned. Devices of prominence included maps, cartoons, photographs and prominent authors. Maps appeared in the run-up to and during WWII. From 1958 until the end of the Soviet period, 20% of the corpus included photographs relating to Africa. From 1960, Africa appeared every so often on the front page in the corpus. Particularly in the 1960s, some items consisted of articles and speeches by senior authors and speakers. Maps were used again in the 1980s. 24% of corpus articles from the Soviet period and 36% of post-Soviet pages contained some form of illustration. In the post-Soviet part of the corpus, coverage of Africa was less prominent, as only 1 of the 28 pages was a front page, and there were no maps or cartoons, but 36% of pages included photographs relating to Africa. Only Soviet *Pravda* used cartoons to construct Africa.

Over the years represented by the corpus, Africa was mentioned in association with war, imperialism, colonialism, culture, wildlife, race, oppression, fighting for itself, journalism, being threatened, poverty and development, most of which were problems said to be emanating from the West. Africa was directly associated with colonialism, imperialism, war, oppression, poverty, exploitation and neocolonialism, and indirectly presented as at the mercy of such evils as dictatorship, fascism and attacking the USSR. Africa was thus portrayed in relation to the two sides in the Cold War, and served to construct these two sides, with articles conveying the USSR as good and the West as bad. Africa was associated with its own agency from the 1950s, when it was said to be taking charge. After the USSR collapsed, *Pravda* associated Africa with

post-socialism, some less political topics and negative aspects emanating from Africa itself, as *Pravda* portrayed Africa with more individuality, responsibility and agency.

6.2. Findings of discourse analysis of the *Pravda* Corpus

I structure this section chronologically, in five Soviet periods which emerged in previous chapters: the period until the USSR joined the Second World War, WWII itself, the Post-War and Cold War periods until the death of Stalin, the post-Stalin Cold War, and Perestroika and Glasnost. This is followed by a section on post-Soviet *Pravda*.

I numbered pages in my corpus from C1 to C262, and relevant articles within them (those mentioning Africa) with a letter (a, b, c, etc.), where the page contained more than one relevant article (using my judgment as to what constituted separate articles). All pages in the corpus, in pdf format, are attached to this thesis on a CD. Relevant texts from 41 pages of the corpus are in Annex 2, with my translations into English. Extracts quoted and numbered in this chapter (from those 41 pages and others) are repeated in Annex 3 in the same order as in this chapter and with the same numbers, with English translations. In this chapter, I introduce each extract with its extract number, and I refer to each extract with its corpus page number and article letter.

6.2.1. Early period until USSR joined WWII (1917-1941)

The 1925 article (C1) which mentions African oats concerns scientific developments in agriculture. Africa is portrayed as the site of biologically distinct plants. The corpus then contains one article each year from 1934-1941, plus a second article in 1940 (C9). The 1935 article (C3) concerns African clothing, and in describing it as *повязка на бедрах* (“a bandage on the hips”), establishes Africans as different from Russians. All other articles in this period referred to the imminent and then ongoing war, presenting Italy, Germany, France and Britain as aggressive colonialists. The 1934 article (C2), the first in the corpus with substantive reference to Africa, clearly established war as imperialist, and the subsequent articles continued this and also related war more explicitly to European colonialism. Africa was presented as the location of these ills, which emanated from elsewhere. Here I look at C2 in detail, and also at C9.

I explained in Section 2.2.2. that multimodality in newspapers includes layout, texts, headlines, photographs and cartoons, and that newspaper analysis can include analysis of such matters as positioning and salience of items on the page, and meaning conveyed through texts, photographs, cartoons and layout. I explained in Chapters 2 and 3 that I include analysis of texts, photographs and cartoons in my discourse analysis,

and I explained in Section 3.3.3. and in Section 6.1.3. above that presence of a photograph or cartoon was one element of prominence which I considered in my structural analysis. I also introduced in Section 1.3.2. and Section 2.2.2. van Leeuwen and Kress's analysis of how the position of items on a page convey the Given on the left, the New on the right, the Ideal at the top and the Real at the bottom.



I now apply this to C2 (1934), a piece of multimodal communication in a page-length column. Under a gloomy headline, Роковой день приближается (“The Fateful Day Approaches”), the column contains extracts from German archives of 20 years previously, plus an explanatory paragraph. Under the headline is a drawing of birds flying up into a cloudy sky, reinforcing the sombre and threatening mood. Applying van Leeuwen’s and Kress’s multimodal analysis, we see that as the column is on the right of the page, it is positioned as New information for the reader (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1998). Thus we are invited to see this historical information as having new relevance. Moreover, as the birds move from left to right, they are moving through time, from a known, Given situation into an unknown, New one. Being at the top of the column, they represent the Ideal or “generalised essence of the information”, while the photograph at the bottom of the column, which concerns Africa, is the Real, containing more specific and down to earth information. (van Leeuwen, 2005: 205)



This photograph, this depiction of the Real, is also, according to *Pravda*, from 1914. Although *Pravda* states the sources of the recontextualised texts in the column as being either “German Documents”, “Austrian Red Book” or the memoirs of Field Marshall Conrad, it does not state the source of the photograph or the photographer. The photograph contains dark-skinned men, presumably Africans, whom *Pravda* presents as soldiers, since they are dressed alike, some are playing drums or wind instruments, and the captions mention war and troops. An early view of African men for *Pravda* readers thus shows them all to be the same. Men in the foreground are dressed more casually and walking more casually, and, if we remember my explanation of the subject in Section 2.2.7., explaining Althusser’s theory of interpellation, may be interpellated as colonials, also similar to each other, but with the power to walk as they like. In Althusser’s theory of interpellation, the subject submits to the prevailing hegemony, and so I suggest that the colonials are interpellated in their roles, controlling the situation, therefore overseeing the roles which everyone is playing, and accepting their role as natural. On the other hand, applying postcolonial theory, in particular Scott’s theory of hidden transcripts, which I explained in Section 2.1.3., we cannot assume that the soldiers submit to this hegemony. They may be aware of their situation, but unable to speak back. On the right are women and children, walking out of line, and also dressed more casually. (I shall return near the end of this chapter, in Section 6.2.6., to *Pravda*’s portrayal of Africans’ clothing, over the whole corpus.) The women and children too may be aware of their oppression, resisting the hegemony but unable to speak back.

Everyone in the photograph is walking from right to left, a direction which makes the viewer uneasy, accustomed as we are to viewing left to right movement, as in writing. The soldiers on the left are the Given, while the public or their families on the right are the New, those about whom we had not thought until now (van Leeuwen, 2005). Applying van Leeuwen’s analysis of racism in photography, the soldiers and public are distant from us, and we are invited to feel closer to the colonials, as they are closer to us. The photographer is above the soldiers, the public and the colonials, and so we look down on them all, both literally and figuratively. Nobody in the photograph meets our gaze. Thus *Pravda* has chosen a photograph which “others” both Africans and colonials, but most of all the Africans, as the chosen photograph activates strategies of distancing, disempowerment and objectivisation, while presenting African soldiers’ families as unfamiliar to us and the most distant. (van Leeuwen, 2008: 141)

Subheadings in the column include Кто кого перехитрит? (“Who’s kidding who?”) and a knowing quote from Lenin - “НАДО ОБЪЯСНИТЬ ЛЮДЯМ РЕАЛЬНУЮ ОБСТАНОВКУ ТОГО, КАК ВЕЛИКА ТАЙНА, В КОТОРОЙ ВОЙНА РОЖДАЕТСЯ.” (Ленин). (““WE MUST EXPLAIN TO PEOPLE THE REAL BACKGROUND ABOUT HOW BIG THE SECRET IS IN WHICH WAR IS BORN.” Lenin”) These convey to the reader that *Pravda*, and hence the reader, have wisdom with which they can see through the West’s allegedly wily, bellicose intentions. All extracts from German archives are in the present tense, adding a sense of imminent danger to the overall impression of gloom and untrustworthiness.

The photograph’s two captions are Фотодокументы мировой империалистической войны (“Photodocumentation of the World Imperialistic War”) and Мобилизация французских колониальных войск в Северной Африке (“Mobilisation of French colonial troops in North Africa”). We can deduce that the first, upper caption is *Pravda*’s words, since it refers to the photograph as “photodocumentation” and uses the Russian name for the First World War. We might deduce too that the second, lower caption is also *Pravda*’s words, as we are not told otherwise. But as we are not told the source of the photograph, we do not know how *Pravda* knew that these were French troops being mobilised in North Africa during the First World War. The captions introduce the photograph as indisputable evidence, and denationalise the Africans, as French colonial troops. We do not know from which country the north Africans are, although countries are important, as the word “French” is used. Although cited as “documentation”, the text invites us to trust *Pravda*’s interpretation unquestioningly, as *Pravda* does not state the source or evidence that the photograph is of what *Pravda* says it is.

Discursive strategies thus included the use of history to illustrate the present (topos of history) and evidentiality through reference to the sage Lenin and photographs (topos of authority). Both increased the reader’s feeling of knowledge about war and the West, and in this known world, Africa was shown as passive, manipulated by others and in a sense barely present. This early association of Africa with colonialism, war and oppression ironically depersonalised the very victims of this oppression with whom the captions invited sympathy, taking away their nationality, making the men uniformed soldiers, and making them all more distant from us than those who colonise them. Such ambiguity and internal contradictions are reminiscent of those which we saw in my structural analysis, in which Africa’s apparent agency was belied by its apparent

victimhood at the mercy of the West and suffering from ills caused by the West. In this case, if the picture never lies, then *Pravda* identifies with colonisers more than the colonised, and sees Africans as homogenised and passive. While displaying some sympathy with oppressed Africans through captions, *Pravda* does not invite them to speak back. The homogenisation of Africans continued into the late Soviet period, and I analyse it in more detail in Section 6.2.4.3., using Wodak et al's 1999 framework of analysis of construction of a country.

In 1940's C9, *Pravda* mentioned both north and east Africa, still with no countries, but with many placenames in direct quotes from Italian news agency Stephany and UK agency Reuters:

1.

В Северной Африке наша авиация бомбардировала Фука, Маатен Багуш, лагерные бережи в Месса-Матрух и в Эл-Даба, авиационные базы Эль Хамман (к западу от Александрии), Хельвач (к югу от Каира) и морские базы Александрии... Авиация противника атаковала наши войска, ранив несколько человек. Неприятельские самолеты совершили также нападение на военные госпитали в районе Бакбак, где было ранено 8 человек.

В Восточной Африке одному из наших разведывательных отрядов удалось напасть врасплох и обратить в бегство механизированные части противника близ Либоп (Кения).

Наша авиация бомбардировала портовые сооружения Азена, группу грузовиков близ Локитанга (Кения) и в Гарасе... Авиация противника атаковала Акта, Гура, Деклассре и Массая без всяких результатов, Кассалу, где ранен один человек, а также Асмару, где ранено три человека и причинены незначительные повреждения. (C9a)

For whatever reason, in extract 1 *Pravda* chose not to explain in which countries many of these places were located. The Italian source explained Kenya as the country of Libpo and Lokitanga, perhaps because Kenya was in the British sphere of influence, and Italian readers might not be familiar with placenames there. *Pravda* did not specify for its readers the countries of places in Sudan (Kassala), Egypt (Matruh, Alexandria and Cairo) or Eritrea (Massawa and Gura). Thus *Pravda* named places in north and east Africa which were associated with ports, battles and military bases, but did not name countries or other places. In this way, *Pravda* showed that the important elements of Africa were those which related to the war as described by Europeans, and disregarded the ways in which Africans may have constructed their geographical spaces.

Within this period of the corpus, the word "development" in the sense of a population's economic, social or cultural progress was used only of Czechoslovakia, in

an article unrelated to Africa (C6, 1938).

Summary: Africa was represented as different from Russia and then merely a location of other people's war and colonialism, not important on its own terms. *Pravda* either presupposed readers' knowledge of the countries which made up Africa, or did not see the breakdown of Africa into countries as important. *Pravda* accorded Africa little agency, and ambiguity and internal contradictions were evident in the discourse, with *Pravda* expressing sympathy for colonised Africans as it depersonalised and denationalised them. There was thus a lack of local coherence within articles. "Development" was not a widespread topic in the corpus, and where it appeared, it was not associated with Africa.

6.2.2. USSR in WWII (1941-1945)

This period in the corpus consists of one article in 1942, eight in 1943, two in 1944 and one in 1945. While the 1942 article (C11) still berates European colonialism as it recounts the entry of British-American troops to Tunis, thereafter Africa is presented mainly as the location of war and of the allied armies' headquarters. The main topic in all except the last article (C22) is war, from the taking of Tripoli (and the end of Italy's African empire), via military activities in Tunisia, allied victories in north Africa, French military activities in Algeria, the British advance from north Africa into Italy, a high-level US-British-Vietnamese meeting in north Africa to strategise against Japan, and bombing from north Africa into occupied France. In this period, I examine particularly C16, and also refer to C12 and some others more briefly.

While Africa was still presented as merely the location of other people's war, one 1943 article (C12c) quotes a Western imperial power speaking of European empire in Africa. It associates Italy and hence its imperialism with war, dictatorship and fascism: Всякий, посещавший Италию до войны, помнит лозунги, которыми фашисты покрывали стены: "Муссолини всегда прав". ("Anyone who visited Italy before the war will remember the slogans with which the fascists covered their walls: "Mussolini is always right".") However, it quotes the imperialist UK's War Minister thanking the USSR for helping to end one European country's empire in Africa:

2.

Как передаёт английское министерство информации, в связи со взятием Триполи по радио выступил с заявлением военный министр

Григг, который сказал: “Взятие Триполи практически является завершением уничтожения итальянской империи в Африке... В прошлые месяцы мы были преисполнены восхищением и благодарностью к Красной Армии за её великолепные дела... (C12c)

In later articles in the corpus, *Pravda* frequently uses the topos of self-incrimination, but article C12c does not. Neither does it take the opportunity to generalise about European empires in Africa from the particular example of the fascist Italian empire in Africa: it does not use a particularising synecdoche of species for genus, in which one European empire in Africa illustrates them all. Instead, the selection of this quote from the UK minister mitigates British imperialism as it places Britain and the USSR on one side in the war, leaving Africa still as merely its location.

The war-time construction of Africa in C16 from 1943 presents an apparently mixed picture of Africa, but a unitary role for it in allegedly supporting the Allied side, including French colonialists. For the first time in the corpus, an African politician, Prime Minister Smuts of South Africa is named, and is quoted in example 3 as speaking on the side of the Allies, in which the Soviet army is said to play a critical role:

3.

Выступление Смэтса по радио

ЛОНДОН, 31 мая. (ТАСС). Премьер-министр Южно-Африканского Союза Смэтс в речи по радио, обращенной к народам Европы, заявил: «... Армии, которые прогнали врага от Каира до Триполи и берегов Туниса и прошли от Алжира до огромных гаваней Бизерты и Туниса...»

Указав, что оборонительные линии противника растянуты вдоль обширного морского побережья Европы, в то время как основная масса его войск занята на русском фронте, Смэтс сказал, «Растерявшийся враг со страхом следит за нами. У наших врагов есть основания опасаться...» (C16b)

In extract 3, African placenames connected with war are still relevant to *Pravda*. Now, however, *Pravda* mentions individual African countries too, and the African leader not only speaks, but he speaks of “we”, when talking of the armies which have driven the enemy from the big ports of north Africa, and from this we know that South Africa is on the same side as the USSR. Thus, during the war, *Pravda* accorded the status of ally to a white leader of an African country, but did not point out his race nor his racism. In the same way that the photograph in C2 brought colonials closer to *Pravda* readers than it brought North Africans, *Pravda* here brought the white racist leader closer to *Pravda* readers than the black South Africans with whom *Pravda* at other times would profess

sympathy. In 1943, *Pravda* overlooked racism.

Similarly, in extract 4, when General de Gaulle refers to французские владения (“French possessions”), readers must guess that he is talking of North Africa, no African is named or quoted directly, and *Pravda*’s syntax portrays Algerian passivity, in spite of General de Gaulle’s allegation that they granted him a warm welcome:

4.

Де Голль заявил, что он тронут горячим приемом, оказанным ему населением Алжира. «Я рассматриваю,— сказал он,— этот приём, как выражение высших патриотических чувств.» (C16a)

In extract 4., De Gaulle, not the population of Algeria, is the grammatical subject of the first sentence, and the “patriotic feelings” are depersonalised, with only an implication that they are of the Algerian population. Readers must deduce that this is patriotism towards a French colony and perhaps towards the French colonising power. As in C12, *Pravda* does not invite us to question this European ownership of part of Africa, and does not facilitate any speaking back by the Algerian population. Moreover, this Algerian population appears only in a quote of de Gaulle in a report from “Algerian agency France-Afrique”, reported by TASS and finally published in *Pravda*, and so the Africans are at several removes from the reader. Nomination strategies too background Africans, as French military leaders are referred to by name, and they negotiate in and about Africa, but no African is said to participate, other than to welcome the French leader. Most people who are said to speak are European, perhaps including the “special correspondent of Reuters news agency in Algeria”, who reports on de Gaulle’s visit. As African country Algeria and port Tunis are named, Africa does appear as a real place, but not belonging to its population, which is amorphous and in which one cannot distinguish individuals. This brings to mind the 1925 poem *Barmaley*, which I analysed in Section 5.3., in which the main characters in Africa are foreigners who come to Africa to conduct their business of piracy or playful exploration. As I noted in Section 5.3, it was made into a cartoon in 1941, and so was of about the time of C16.

The perspectivisation strategies in C16 are thus mixed: Africa is described mainly from the French or Allied viewpoint, but also from that of the South African leader, albeit through TASS in London. There is no sense that Africans object to their colonisation, and indeed the word “colony” is not used. Africa is a location for French and Allied troops to conduct war, for France to possess, and with a passive population, except for the white South African Prime Minister. African countries are sometimes

named, but C16c and C16d refer to military operations simply in Alexandra and North Africa, with no reference to countries. Africa is also a place of disease: in C16e, the most emotional C16 article, quoting German гитлеровская газета (“Hitler newspaper”) *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Pravda* refers to “африканская” болезнь Роммеля (“Rommel’s “African disease”). Rommel probably had amoebic dysentery, which is not unique to Africa, but in calling it an “African” disease, *Pravda* constructs Africa as a place of mysterious, unique diseases.

Thus C16 posits that South Africa is on the same side as the USSR in this war, Algerians have no opinion or a positive opinion about being a French possession, Africans are distant from us, Africa has unique diseases, and Africa is where other countries perform their war, with no protest from Africans and some participation by South Africa. All 8 pages from 1943 display global coherence in accepting Africa as primarily a location of war and mainly a passive supporter of the Allies.

There was not much change in 1944, when *Pravda* reported that a French-African news agency had reported that the French navy was successfully transporting troops (C21a). Finally, though, in February 1945, in an article reporting concern in the Indian Central Legislative Assembly about ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa (C22), *Pravda* granted Africa an unprecedented degree of agency, saying that it was fighting imperialism. The war had not ended, but already the main topic was no longer war, but now racism.

In this period, use of the words развитие (“development”) and развитый (“developed”), concerning economic, social and cultural development of an area or population, were applied only to Russia: Stalingrad (1943, C13) and the city of Tambov (1944, C21). Development was thus presented as a valid socialist endeavour.

Summary: At the very start of the war, *Pravda* used the African situation to state some wariness of the USSR’s allies, and at the very end of the War, *Pravda* used the African situation again as pretext for hostile rhetoric against the West. *Pravda* thus articulated the Western Other through its construction of Africa. During most of the war, however, while Africa was merely a location of war, *Pravda* considerably reduced its negative rhetoric about the West and colonialism, and presented an apparently passive Africa or even an Africa in which many of the population welcomed their colonial masters who would defeat fascism. Thus *Pravda* changed its depiction of Africa to fit its relationship with the West. *Pravda* continued to associate colonialism in Africa with war and

oppression, but as the war was between the Allied colonising powers and fascist colonising powers, the ideological square temporarily concerned not a dichotomy of colonisers and racists versus colonised, but of Allies versus fascists, with the colonised barely present. *Pravda* now displayed a different coherence in its narrative of events in Africa, one unique to this period. Development, meantime, was a topic in the corpus, but only with regard to Russia.

6.2.3. Post-War and Cold War until Stalin's death (1945 to 1953)

For this period too, the corpus from C23 to C32 contains at least one page per year, with two each in 1946, 1951 and 1952. Each page contained one relevant article, except one page from 1951, which had two. The main topic of each article was now colonialism, except the last one (C32), in which the main topic was workers' rights. The main stance of all articles was belligerent, in the first article concentrating on resisting the threat to the freedom of colonial peoples, and thereafter concerning fighting imperialism. Africa was initially portrayed as a passive victim, defended by good people everywhere and in need of defence, as in the headline of a 1946 report by TASS of a rally in New York (C23), Митинг в Нью-Йорке в защиту колониальных народов ("Rally in New York in Support of Colonial Peoples"). However, in 1951 (C29) and 1952 (C32), in reports from the World Council of Peace in Vienna and the World Federation of Trade Unions in Vienna respectively, Africa was portrayed as more active: in 1951, northern Africa was said to be defending its peace, and in 1952, Africa was said to be united with the working class everywhere against imperialists who were strengthening their regime of terror and hunger. I analyse here particularly C23, C24, C28 and C29.

First I make a general observation, that all relevant articles in this period are, or at least contain, recontextualisations: of speeches, press articles and a letter. While this is not unusual for news reporting, especially foreign news reporting, the effect was to construct Africa and its colonisation as mainly topics of discussion rather than Africa being a location of events and activity. Indeed, it may have overlain a presupposition that little else was happening in Africa, perhaps because there was a lack of knowledge about what was happening there. TASS sources for the articles were in New York and Vienna. African sources Gabriel d'Arboussier (C28) and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Algeria, Bashir Haj Ali (C30), spoke in Poland and by phone respectively. *Pravda* and TASS did not yet have correspondents in Africa.

The meetings were as follows. Seven of the eleven articles are reports of meetings, of which all but one took place outside Africa. They were: the 1946 rally in New York in defence of colonial peoples (C23); the 1946 refusal of the South African delegation to comply with decisions of the UN's General Assembly (C24); the 1947 adoption by the South African Parliament of a resolution laying claim to South-West Africa (modern-day Namibia) (C25); the 1948 opposition of colonial powers in the UN's General Assembly to plans for OPEC to assume guardianship over south-west Africa (C26); the 1950 speech of Senegalese-French politician Gabriel D'Arboussier at the Second World Congress of the Supporters of Peace in Warsaw (C28); a message from the third session of the All-China Committee of the People's Political Consultative Council to the Second Session of the World Council of Peace in Vienna in 1951 (C29); and a report from the 1952 World Federation of Trade Unions meeting in Vienna (C32). African politics was shown happening outside Africa and in racist South Africa (C25).

The recontextualised press articles and letter were as follows. 1949's C27 was triggered by articles in the London Times and the American Herald, which wrote of Africa as Континент завтрашнего дня ("the Continent of Tomorrow") and a place of experimentation in exploitation of resources. 1951's C30 refers to Western press articles: based on a phone call with the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Algeria, in Paris, it starts with his readings of recent French press articles about the freedom movement in north Africa, and moves onto his description of events on the ground there. 1952's C31 is the full text of a letter by Pakistan's permanent representative to the UN, addressed to the President of the Security Council, drawing attention to the growing freedom movement in north Africa.

Supplementing these recontextualisations of texts from meetings or press articles, the articles from 1949 (C27), 1951 (C29) and 1952 (C31) contained in addition original news from other knowledgeable sources. Again, the sources in this period were outside Africa. Not only was Africa not speaking back, it was barely speaking at all through *Pravda*. While meetings and press articles were presumably the easiest sources for *Pravda* to gain access to at this time before widespread travel and technology enabled easier direct reporting of events, this intensive recontextualisation was also part of a discursive strategy of showing how the fight against colonialism and imperialism was taking place peacefully and verbally in high-level international forums and amongst experts. The UN was presented as being on the anti-colonial, anti-racist, Soviet side, thereby portraying the Soviet side, including Africa, as the majority, validated by a

supreme world authority. These recontextualisations also portrayed *Pravda* cleverly seeing through allegedly deceptive Western press articles, as in C27 and C30.

I turn now to examine the sampled individual articles. The first article in this period C23 of 1946, contains examples of several discursive strategies which recur in this period (extract 5). Firstly, it mingles topics of attacking the USSR, war, oppression, fascism, and colonialism and imperialism in Africa. It also uses multiple topoi. Again using the topos of history, it presents Western authorities as inconsistent in their anti-imperialism but consistent in their tendency to support реакционеры (“reactionaries”) and starve прогрессивные элементы (“progressive elements”), while Africa is again effectively absent from reported speech about imperialism in its territory:

5.

Деласей в своей речи отметил, что Рузвельт, Уилки и Хэлл, призывая народы мира к борьбе против фашизма, заявляли, что с империализмом должно быть покончено раз и навсегда. Однако всего лишь через год после окончания войны английское и американское правительства, возобновили свою старую империалистическую политику. После первой мировой войны Черчилль с помощью армий 14 стран организовал интервенцию в Советский Союз, а Гувер использовал американскую помощь для снабжения продовольствием армий Юденича. Сегодня Гувер снова стремится снабжать продовольствием реакционеров и морить голодом прогрессивные элементы... (C23)

In extract 5, the topoi of detail and numbers convey large scale, both of Western governments’ animosity towards the USSR and of citizens’ support for the Soviet stance, as the article states the number 14 above and also that 15,000 people attended the meeting, and names many speakers. Using the topoi of numbers and burden, the article indicates that something must be done to relieve colonial peoples. *Pravda* quotes the meeting’s resolution, including military metaphor of victory in relation to poverty: победа над существующим в настоящее время во всем мире голодом, нуждой и эксплуатацией (“triumph over the current existing worldwide hunger, poverty and exploitation”). C23 also links the topoi of burden and duty in the depiction of the West and the USSR, conveying that the latter must relieve worldwide hunger and the burdens of не имеющие самостоятельности народы и слабые нации (“non-independent peoples and weak nations”), some of these people and nations being African:

6.

Только на базе такого единства целей и действий, которое привело к победе над фашизмом, Соединенные Штаты и Англия могут работать совместно с Советским Союзом, а не против него, для того, чтобы в интересах обеспечения прочного мира одержать победу над существующим в настоящее время во всем мире голодом, нуждой и эксплуатацией не имеющих самостоятельности народов и слабых наций. (C23)

The burdens are not referred to in extract 6 as specifically African, and indeed the last sentence is ambiguous as to whether the burdens are во всем мире (“worldwide”) or experienced only by “non-independent peoples and weak nations”. Either way, this passage categorises Africa together with other social agents as “weak nations”, while representing the USSR as a model for Africa and dutiful combatant against Africa’s burdens. Indeed, not only was the USSR credited with supporting colonised countries, it was even included in the category of former colonised country itself:

7.

Робсон заявил, что Советский Союз показал, как в течение одного поколения можно покончить с колониальной системой, и нет ничего удивительного, что империалисты кричат: «Остановите Россию!». (C23)

However, if extract 7 contained an implicit description of pre-Soviet Russia as a seat of Empire, the article mitigated any identification of the same landmass as a Soviet Empire. Instead the actor descriptions, such as народы мира (“peoples of the world”) and прогрессивные элементы (“progressive elements”), discursively unite the Soviet government, Soviet citizens and Africans. Indeed, in keeping with the USSR’s colonial tendencies, referred to in Chapter 2, a grouping even larger than the former Russian Empire was constructed here, united by a professed desire for an improved society.

Nomination strategies concerning Africa were as follows. C23 refers to Africa as an amorphous whole, alongside Asia and individual countries of Europe and Central America, as if Asia and Africa were countries. However, subsequent articles in this period of the corpus mention individual countries: South Africa in 1946 (C24), South-West Africa in 1947 (C25), then, in 1949’s C27, a variety of countries and indeed cities, now named alongside their countries. In C24 and C25, South Africa was named respectively as defying a UN decision and claiming South-West Africa, and was thus clearly distinguished in this period (as at the end of the previous period) as racist, aligned with the West and immoral. In 1950 (C28), the African politician Gabriel D’Arboussier spoke of Французская Черная Африка (“French Black Africa”) and

Черная Африка (“Black Africa”), distinguishing little between countries, but the next three articles mentioned countries in north Africa in particular. Only C23 and 1952’s C32, on the World Federation of Trade Unions, mentioned Africa without countries. From 1945 (C22) in the corpus, it was common for *Pravda* to name African countries.

Nevertheless, Africa still barely spoke for itself through *Pravda*. In C24, in 1946, *Pravda* selected Ukrainian, Belorussian, Polish, Yugoslavian and Venezuelan delegates to the UN General Assembly to speak on behalf of southern Africans, and named the Ukrainian, Belorussian, USA and South African delegates. *Pravda* did not include in its report any speeches by those who it said represented the коренное население (“indigenous population”), although it criticised the South African Union’s lack of consultation with them:

8.

члены комитета доказали, что пресловутая «консультация» с населением Юго-Западной Африки, которой козыряет правительство Южно-Африканского Союза, является грубой фальсификацией, что на территории Юго-Западной Африки царит режим грубого произвола и дискриминации. За присоединение к Южно-Африканскому Союзу высказались лишь представители европейцев, которые составляют лишь 5,7 проц. населения Юго-Западной Африки, да вожди племён, которые, как подчеркивали члены комитета, являются лишь чиновниками, отстаивающими интересы администрирующей страны. Мнения самого коренного населения Юго-Западной Африки никто не спрашивал. (C24)

Indeed, the African whom *Pravda* chose to name in extract 8, фельдмаршал Смэтс (“Field Marshall Smuts”), is represented as being on the side of the Europeans, since both argue for inclusion of South West Africa in the South African Union. *Pravda* quotes without question a statement that these Europeans are part of the population of South West Africa, and dismisses the вожди племён (“leaders of the tribes”), as “only” civil servants, somehow unrepresentative of the indigenous population. *Pravda* does not indicate who might have asked the opinions of the indigenous population, how they might have done so, or whether they have any representatives. Thus *Pravda* indicates that there is an indigenous population, but appears to have little access to it, and does not facilitate its speaking back. On the other hand, *Pravda* quotes the Ukrainian delegate as having access to other details in South West Africa, as it quotes his statement of the impact of South African rule in South West Africa in greater detail:

9.

Делегат Украины А. Войда указал, что на этой территории осуществляется политика так называемого «цветного барьера» и дискриминации с целью получения дешёвой рабочей силы. Туземцы лишены возможности получать образование. До 90 проц. туземного населения больны туберкулезом, цынгой, венерическими и другими болезнями. Это население живет в так называемых резервациях, на наихудших землях. В этих поселениях, обнесённых колючей проволокой и охраняемых полицией, царят запустение, грязь, нищета. Они напоминают фашистские концентрационные лагеря. Такой же режим расовой дискриминации применяется к коренному населению самого Южно-Африканского Союза. (C24)

Here in extract 9, *Pravda* reports condescending language from a socialist bloc delegate: the word туземцы (indigenous people, literally “people from there”) has overtones of uncivilised, backward people, and the South African population is represented as diseased and dirty, particularly subject to sexually transmitted венерическая (venereal) disease. As in C16 of 1943, C24’s construction stereotypes Africans in an uncomplimentary manner. The topoi of numbers and detail, plus a vivid simile of fascist racism, “They remind us of fascist concentration camps”, emphasise the depraved conditions in which South Africans are alleged to live, and hence allege depravity of the people themselves, albeit imposed upon them.

Alongside such stereotyping by even socialist individuals, *Pravda* and TASS began to select named African politicians and commentators to discuss Africa. This occurred as seen above in 1946 (C24), 1950 (C28) and 1951 (C30). The same Field Marshall Smuts who in C16 was presented as an ally was by 1946 presented as a racist enemy in C24. In C28, *Pravda* finally showed north Africans speaking for themselves, as it printed the full text of French-Senegalese Gabriel d’Arboussier and included the article based on the phone call with Bashir Haj Ali of Algeria, in a page of speeches from the Second World Congress of Supporters of Peace. Such quotes and nominations justified *Pravda*’s stance and lent it authenticity, as Africans were heard “speaking back”. Thus *Pravda* exercised topoi of authority and evidentiality through allocating African leaders the role of authoritative voices. Extracts from d’Arboussier’s speech illustrate how these African voices of authority also constructed African victimhood and struggle of countries united by colonial pasts and presents:

10.

Для нас, колониальных народов, проблема войны и мира является всегда актуальной, так как мы жертвы завоевательных войн, войн

несправедливых, которые обрекали и обрекают нас уже в течение долгих лет на гнет колониальной эксплуатации, уничтожая наша культурные ценности, наши нравы, нашу цивилизацию, мешая проявлению наших талантов и лишая нас основных свобод. Будучи жертвами этих разбойничьих империалистических войн, варварства и постоянного унижения, мы имеем все основания ненавидеть войну и бороться против нее изо всех сил и всеми способами, которыми мы располагаем. (C28)

In extract 10, however, along with the construction of victimhood was now a construction of a cultured continent, with cultural values, morals and civilisation. Africa was now presented as an active place, which struggled, and whose people expressed opinions and feelings. The construction was now fuller, as *Pravda* wrote of a populated continent, but as Africa's voice in *Pravda* only ever contributed to the bellicose West-East ideological square and voiced mainly Soviet views, the picture remained less than whole. *Pravda* expressed the same view of the West and colonialism, whether through an African, Soviet or any other voice. In fact, C28 contains full texts of speeches by five political leaders from around the world, all putting a view similar to *Pravda's*. This brings to mind table 6.1.5.a, showing the dichotomy in *Pravda* of a bad West and a good USSR. When *Pravda* gave voice to Africans, it did so to convey this same dichotomy. *Pravda* used Africa as a rhetorical proxy for the USSR, a tool in the Cold War. C28 is also an example of the point made in 6.1.1., that leaders' speeches were frequently printed in full, which, following van Leeuwen's categorisation (van Leeuwen, 2008), allocates them roles of important and wise allies of the USSR.

Through *Pravda's* recontextualisation of texts from high-level meetings, the ideological square was frequently activated through mitigating (in fact omitting) the USSR's militarism and emphasising its use of meetings, speeches and argument, while emphasising the West's militarism and mitigating its reasoned participation in talk-based interventions such as meetings. Thus, while *Pravda* continually referred to high-level meetings concerning Africa, held by or attended by the USSR and its allies, it depicted their opponents as practising military interventions and police violence. In the 1951 message from China, for example, Western militarism is juxtaposed with the socialist world's verbal support of a victimised Africa:

11.

Третья сессия Всекитайского комитета народного политического консультативного совета направила председателю Бюро Всемирного Совета Мира Фредерику Жолио-Кюри и участникам второй сессии

Всемирного Совета Мира в Вене следующее послание:...

В колониальных и зависимых странах – Вьетнаме, Малайе, Филиппинах, Марокко – при полной поддержке американского правительства в широком масштабе осуществляются массовые убийства и подавление народного движения. На Среднем Востоке правящие клики Америки, Англии и Франции посягают на суверенные права Ирана, Египта и Ирака, пытаясь опутать весь Средний Восток паутиной своих военных планов.

Эти факты показывают, что поджигатели войны – враги всеобщего мира – пытаются ввергнуть народы Азии и Северной Африки, Европы и Америки в бездну войны. (C29b)

In the first paragraph of extract 11, China's activities appear very peaceful. Indeed the word мир ("peace") is mentioned twice, and the emphasis is on political institutions which consult and talk to each other, one народный ("of the People"), and therefore appearing democratic. The second paragraph, however, carries more violent language. It mentions specific African countries, Morocco and Egypt, plus North Africa as a whole, as victims of the US, UK and French governments. These north African countries are колониальные и зависимые ("colonial and dependent"), their political movements are victims of массовые убийства и подавление ("massacres and suppression"), and Western powers посягают ("infringe") their суверенные права ("sovereign rights"). Egypt risks being caught паутиной своих военных планов ("in a web of military plans"), this metaphor implying that Egypt is a mere fly and victim of the spider West, and that North Africa is passive and a weak insect, moreover not wholly present since the fly is merely implied. As Lakoff and Johnson argue, "The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 5), and this ontological metaphor conveys the concept of the West's machinations as an embodied object, a planned, sinister, inescapable trap in which Africa is entangled. Moreover, not only their people but also those of Europe and America, risk being plunged в бездну войны ("into an abyss of war"), this metaphor too conveying inescapability. The impression is that Western governments are violent, and bad for their own people as well as those of "dependent" countries. Africa's construction as weak emphasises the West's cruelty.

Alongside this emphasis of socialist policies based on meetings, speeches, declarations and messages, and descriptions of poverty such as in C24a and b, *Pravda* expanded its development discourse, and from 1950, introduced the topic of economic aid. As already noted, the words развитие ("development") and развитый ("developed") concerning economic, social and cultural improvement in an area or

population had already occurred in the pre-war and war periods, concerning Czechoslovakia (1938, C6), Stalingrad (1943, C13) and Russian city Tambov (1944, C21). In this post-war period, this use occurred concerning France (1946, C23), USA, China (1946, C24), Germany (1947, C25), and then Africa (1949, C27): Центральная и Южная Африка, эта зона, наиболее развитая в промышленном отношении (“Central and South Africa. This zone, more industrially developed”) (C27). The words were then used to refer again to Czechoslovakia (1951, C29), and then to many countries, including African ones (1952, C31). However, mentions of development were not yet the main topic of the article, nor the main predication of Africa.

We saw in extract 6. above from C23 of 1946 that *Pravda* used a military metaphor of победу над существующим в настоящее время во всем мире голодом, нуждой и эксплуатацией не имеющих самостоятельности народов и слабых наций (“victory over worldwide hunger, poverty and exploitation of non-independent peoples and weak nations”). In conveying the concepts of poverty reduction and cessation of suffering through the metaphor of battle, *Pravda* masked other, more peaceful aspects of development in Africa, illustrating that, “The very systematicity that allows us to comprehend one aspect of a concept in terms of another... will necessarily hide other aspects of the concept.” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 10)

In C24 of 1946, *Pravda* did present other aspects of the process of development in Africa, as it followed its description of poverty in South West Africa with suggestions of how to rectify this, through addressing people’s lack of rights:

12.

Комитет требует от всех наций, чтобы «идеология народа господ была искоренена в Южной Африке, чтобы был положен конец системе, в силу которой права народа попираются незначительным меньшинством, чтобы не было больше отдельной системы законности и морали для неевропейцев и другой системы, предназначенной для народа господ»... «Эта комиссия с полным основанием могла бы поставить вопрос о передаче той или иной территории другому государству, способному честно и добросовестно выполнить взятые обязательства, соответствующие положениям и духу устава Объединенных наций»... украинская делегация не может согласиться с явно противоречивым и неправильным толкованием термина «непосредственно заинтересованные страны», данным делегатом США Даллесом. Даллес считает, что непосредственно заинтересованными странами являются только те, которые имели мандаты Лиги наций, и США. Это не соответствует уставу ЮНО. (C24)

In extract 12, *Pravda* opposed неевропейцы (“non-Europeans”) to народ господ (“the

ruling people”). In raising racism, rights, countries governing other territories, and the UN, and doing so straight after a depiction of poverty, *Pravda* was suggesting that poverty could be tackled by addressing lack of rights, racism and colonialism and using the UN as arbiter. *Pravda* did not explicitly call this development, but as it explained these measures as means to combat poverty, we see the beginnings of a theme of independent development. By 1950, *Pravda* connected political freedom and development more explicitly, in Gabriel d’Arboussier’s referral to общественное и экономическое развитие (“social and economic development”):

13.

И действительно, политическое освобождение, расцвет наших культурных возможностей и общественное и экономическое развитие, к которым мы так стремимся, могут быть осуществлены лишь в мирных условиях. (C28)

Hence in extract 13, development was presented as relatively complex and political, as it could be free or unfree. D’Arboussier’s speech referred to свободно развиваться (“develop freely”), in a list of proposals approved by his Делегация Черной Французской Африки (“Delegation of Black French Africa”):

14.

Господин президент, господа!

Делегация Черной Французской Африки, состоящая из двадцати человек, передает Второму Всемирному конгрессу сторонников мира восторженный привет от народов, которые она здесь представляет. **(Бурные аплодисменты)**...

В заключение наша делегация хочет сказать, что она одобряет и поддерживает предложения различных лиц:...

6. Об осуществлении плана экономической помощи Объединенных Наций экономически слабым странам на условиях, позволяющих колониальным странам свободно развиваться. (C28)

The final words of extract 14, a proposal to allow colonial countries to develop freely implied that normally they were obliged to develop in a way which was not of their choosing. As we shall see, the West forcing a particular model of economic development on Africa became an increasing theme in *Pravda*. Here d’Arboussier was quoted as making a conceptual link between all three elements, of aid, economic development and freedom. In this instance, помощь (“aid”) was not vilified, presumably because it emanated from the UN, not from the West.

Summary: In this period Africa was portrayed as increasingly vocal in its rightful and peaceful struggles against oppression, more and more aligned with the socialist camp, and supported by the USSR and all other right-thinking countries. Africa was increasingly individualised, in both countries and leaders, who voiced Soviet opinions, and were selected as rhetorical proxies for the USSR. In this capacity, they criticised the West for violence against Africa and colonialism, praised the USSR for support of African peoples, praised the UN for fairness, and constructed an Africa at the mercy of the West and receiving Soviet support. The South African Union was the exception, active and unrighteous, as bad as the European powers and the USA in wishing to colonise other African countries and in racism. *Pravda* portrayed a UN allegedly on the side of the USSR, the righteous and oppressed, and implied that socialist countries and their allies, who attended meetings and produced resolutions, albeit outside Africa, could contain this evil of South Africa and other colonisers. Thus, in the ideological square, the UN and Africa were positioned as “us”, with the Soviet camp. The schematic structure of articles emphasised *Pravda*’s points: those whose speeches were printed in full and nominated were important social actors, allocated active roles of wise friend of the USSR and expert authority. (van Leeuwen, 2008) *Pravda* employed more topoi than previously: of authority, burden, history and numbers. *Pravda*’s metaphors conveyed Africa as trapped by the West, and development as a battle, while recontextualisations of speeches at the UN presented a more political route to development. All these rhetorical devices (individualisation of Africans and African countries, rhetorical proxies for the USSR, the ideological square which pitted the West and its allies against the USSR and its allies, multiple topoi, metaphors of Africa’s entrapment and belligerent development, and recontextualisations of socialist verbal support for development), constructed a victimised Africa needing Soviet support. Use of the words “development” and “developed” continued, including concerning Africa, to whom they referred from 1949, as Africa was represented through its oppression, passive victimhood, lack of independence and lack of freedom of how to develop.

6.2.4. Post-Stalin Cold War (1953 to 1984)

174 pages of the corpus, containing 314 articles, fall into this long period. My analysis so far shows that it should be treated as one. My structural analysis in Section 6.1. showed that Africa’s representation in the corpus changed from 1957 and then changed little until Perestroika: there were named *Pravda* correspondents in Africa from 1957;

the most frequent coverage of Africa was between 1958 and 1986; articles began to be accompanied by photographs, with 20% of relevant articles from 1958 until the end of the USSR containing photographs; and coverage of Africa on the front page every so often started in 1960. This preliminary analysis indicates that this period with much material merits being treated as one period. In addition, my analysis in Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 5 tended towards the conclusion that the USSR's media style (Sections 1.4.1., 3.4.2. and 3.4.3.), attitude to the West and cooperation with Africa (Sections 1.2.4., 2.1.2. and 5.4.) changed little during this period. In Section 1.2.4., I pointed out that African countries took advantage of the Cold War, taking or threatening to take Soviet aid in order to gain more from the West, while the Cold War was fought as a proxy war on Africa's territory, including through aid, in a tripartite relationship of the West, Africa and the USSR. In Section 1.4.1., I described how a wide-reaching Soviet media in this period suffered from ritualism, campaignism and ossified style, and came to be mistrusted and misunderstood by its audience by the end of this period. In Section 2.1.2., I described how the USSR's policy in Africa could be described as quasi-colonial, as it spread socialist ideology, defended socialist client states, and encouraged a Soviet-led socialist empire against a western capitalist empire. In 3.4.2., I described how Soviet newspeak reigned in this period, while in 3.4.3., I described how this language of a one-party press changed little during this post-Stalinist period, until Glasnost and Perestroika. In Section 5.4., I told how this period brought Soviet embassies and aid workers in Africa, and African students in the USSR, while official discourse incited pity towards oppressed Africans, as it spoke of friendship with Africans and their political struggles.

My analysis too shows that *Pravda's* discourse changed little during these years. As my corpus contains a larger quantity of material for this period than for others, I break my analysis into analytical themes. I refer to all 31 pages which I analysed in detail (sampled as described in Sections 3.3.5. and 3.3.6.), plus other pages from the first (C33) to the last but one (C205).

6.2.4.1. African agency (post-Stalin Cold War)

I consider portrayal of agency through analysing topics, schematic structure, content, grammatical subjects, detail and vagueness.

Bearing in mind the importance of topics, or agenda-setting, I examine first topics in which Africa might be assigned an active or passive role. The *main topics* in

Table 6.1.4. reflect that *Pravda* portrayed Africa in this period as an agent with some initiative from 1955 to 1999, as follows: 1955 to 1968 (Africa taking charge), 1968 to 1984 (racism in southern Africa and art), 1974 to 1984 (Africa in charge or taking charge), and development (1979 to 1999). These are shown in bold below. However, other, more numerous main topics indicated rather something caused from abroad taking place in Africa.

Colonialism	1953 to 1972
Asia and Africa taking charge	1955 to 1961, recurrences in 1979, 1984
Capitalism	1957, 1962, 1969 and 1973
Africa taking charge	1959 to 1968
Africa in charge	1974 to 1983
Colonialism = war	1959 to 1967
Peace	1962
International relations	1962
End of colonialism	1963 to 1980
Racism in the USA	1963
Capitalism = colonialism	1966, 1973 and 1984
Zionism	1967, 1970 and 1971
Racism in southern Africa	1968 to 1984
Workers' rights	1968
Art	1970, 1972 and 1979
Neocolonialism	1970 to 1980
Wildlife	1971
War	1971 and 1984
Colonialism = racism	1971
China harmful to Africa	1971-78
After colonialism	1979 to 1984
Development (as the main topic)	1979 to 1999
Poverty	1981
Israel's economy	1982

Thus the presentation of some level of African initiative through topics started in the year of the Bandung Conference, and according to topics alone, Africa was portrayed as somewhat but not wholly active right up to 1999, taking laudable actions except for racism in South Africa. Such topical agency also manifested itself in *schematic structure*, mainly through citation of speeches by Africans, as, for example, in 1961's (C61) speech by Moroccan leader Ben Abbes. However, most topics (those not in bold above) did not demonstrate African agency, but rather show Africa as victim and patient, of colonialism, capitalism and international relations.

Content analysis too shows that the depiction of African agency was initially restricted. In C33b of 1953, while d'Arboussier is said to give a speech, we are given no more details, and it is a member of the French communist party, not an African, who is

named as author of the page's main article about Africa, occupying two fifths of a page. This article mainly concerns the activities and impacts of French colonisers in Africa and efforts of various French parties, rather than Africans, to end colonialism. While the article repeatedly describes Africans as fighting colonialism, it gives no examples of this, and thus *Pravda* sustains the description on a general plain, deploying a strategy of generalisation with regard to African agency. In C37a of 1955, *Pravda* says that Prime Minister Nasser of Egypt gave a speech, at the Bandung conference, but again gives no more detail. In C38 of 1956, *Pravda* says that На путь независимого развития встали Судан, Тунис и Марокко ("Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco have started on a path of independent development"), and again gives no further detail. Finally, in C40 of 1957, *Pravda* gives more examples of agency, stating in C40a that Egyptian newspapers have been publishing articles about the anniversary of Bandung, the Egyptian ambassador has attended an event in Moscow, Egypt has started an Egyptian-Asian Solidarity Committee and is preparing to host a Conference of Solidarity of the peoples of the countries of Asia and Africa. In C40b, Africa is depicted as having tourist organisations and companies. From now on, African agency appears more commonplace.

African agency was also seen increasingly in the declension and subject position of the noun Африка. For example, in the first page in this period which I examined in detail, 1955's C35, the word Африка occurs once, in the accusative, в Африку, as the place where the USA is placing its weapons. This may be contrasted with the last page in this period which I analysed in detail, C197 of 1983, in which 6 of the 10 phrases containing "Африка" are the subject of the sentence, including the headline, АФРИКА БОРЕТСЯ И СТРОИТ ("AFRICA IS FIGHTING AND BUILDING"). Although subject position is not always an indication of agency (since one may be subject of a sentence about one's subjugation or even death), I shall next consider how the tool of case contributed to Africa appearing more active, since, "Agency and responsibility for actions may ... be emphasised or de-emphasised, for example by active or passive sentences, explicit or implicit subjects..." (van Dijk, 1998a: 203)

I take as an example C60a, of 1960, the year when many African countries became independent. First, I categorise grammatical subjects as related thematically to the USSR, the capitalist West and Africa, all subjects in the nominative case:

- The USSR – 11 grammatical subjects:

- SU1. The Soviet public (Советская общественность горячо приветствует),
- SU2. Khrushchev (Н. С. Хрущев внес на рассмотрение Генеральной Ассамблеи),
- SU3. Khrushchev's charter (Эта великая хартия свободы вскрыла перед всей

- миром),
- SU4. Khrushchev's declaration (Декларация была встречена),
- SU5. The USSR's initiative (Инициатива Советского Союза представляет собой историческую веху),
- SU6. The Soviet draft declaration (Советский проект декларации послужит хорошей основой),
- SU7. The All-Union Central Soviet of Trade Unions (сегодня выступает ВЦСПС от имени 55 миллионов членов профсоюзов СССР),
- SU8. The Soviet Committee for the Solidarity of Asian and African countries (Советский комитет солидарности стран Азии и Африки клеймит позором),
- SU9. Meetings in the USSR (По всей Советской стране проходят митинги),
- SU10. Soviet workers (трудящиеся нашей страны выражают солидарность),
- SU11. The sympathies and support of workers of the world (Симпатии и поддержка трудящихся всего мира — на стороне народов),

- The West – 21 grammatical subjects:

- W1. Colonialism (Колониализм—это пиратство,
- W2. Colonialism – (колониализм — это волк в овечьей шкуре),
- W3. Colonialism (Колониализм, — заявил представитель Марокко, — представляет собой постоянную угрозу миру)
- W4. The abstention benches (Скамьи “воздержавшихся” стали, по сути дела, скамьей подсудимых.),
- W5. American imperialism (Это американский империализм, который является главным оплотом мировой реакции и международным жандармом),
- W6. American colonialism (чтобы познакомиться с американским колониализмом: он предстал пред ними в гнусном облике организатора преступлений в Конго),
- W7. English imperialism (Рядом с американским империализмом — английский империализм — душитель народов Кении, Ньясаленда, Родезии и других африканских стран),
- W8. French imperialism (французский империализм — ведущий безнадежную грязную войну в Алжире и убивший славного африканского трибуна Феликса Мумбе),
- W9. Belgian imperialism (бельгийский империализм, до конца разоблачивший себя в Конго.),
- W10. Australian stranglers (Рядом с империалистами США на скамье подсудимых — австралийские душители Новой Гвинеи),
- W11. Portuguese colonisers (португальские колонизаторы в Анголе и Мозамбике),
- W12. General Franco's regime (режим генерала Франко),
- W13. American henchmen (американские прихвостни из Доминиканской Республики.),
- W14. Members of NATO, SEATO and CENTO (На скамье подсудимых — участники агрессивных военных блоков—НАТО, СЕАТО, СЕНТО — те, чьи действия представляют угрозу),
- W15. The colonisers (колонизаторы неистовствуют),
- W16. The letter of the American Ku Klux Klan (Чего стоит, например, письмо американских куклуксклановцев, разосланное представителям азиатских и африканских стран в ООН, содержащее прямые угрозы физической расправы над ними?)

- W17. The USA's efforts (Чего стоят попытки США и их партнеров протащить в Совет Безопасности одного из самых лютых врагов африканских народов),
- W18. Outrages of imperialists (Бесчинства империалистов в Конго, Алжире, Лаосе подняли невиданную волну народного гнева.),
- W19. and W20. Colonisers' fury and colonisers (Неистовство колонизаторов показывает, что они не даруют свободы народам колоний),
- W20. Cannons, bombs and dollars (Ни пушки, ни бомбы, ни доллары не помогут колонизаторам.), and
- W21. Colonialism's last hour (Бьет последний час колониализма!).

- Africa – 8 grammatical subjects:

- A1. Peaceful nations (миролюбивые народы одержали крупную победу),
- A2. Historic process (это великий исторический процесс, происходящий со все возрастающей и необратимой силой),
- A3. The ensuing discussion (in which mainly African representatives are said to engage - Эта дискуссия вылилась и беспощадный суд народов над колониализмом),
- A4. Representatives of 70 countries (в которой приняли участие представители более семидесяти государств),
- A5. Speeches of presidents and prime ministers of many Asian and African countries (В памяти каждого из нас — яркие выступления президента Ганы Кваме Нкрума, президента Гвинеи Секу Туре, президента ОАР Насера, президента Индонезии Сукарно, премьер-министра Индии Неру, премьер-министра Кубы Фиделя Кастро, представителей многих других стран Азии и Африки),
- A6. The representative of Mali (представитель молодой африканской республики Мали говорил на пленарном заседании Генеральной Ассамблеи),
- A7. We (meaning representatives of Asian & African countries - Вот почему мы благодарны Советскому Союзу),
- A8. Nigerian newspaper *West African Pilot* (“Мы утверждаем, — пишет нигерийская газета “Уэст африкэн пайлот”).

The West is more frequently agent than Africa or the USSR are, with 21 Western subjects and only 11 Soviet subjects and 8 African subjects. As the West is associated with undesirable features such as imperialism, colonialism, a military bloc (NATO), violence and outrages, its dominance as subject makes it appear considerably frightening, powerful and active, compared to a more passive Africa. It is only when putting Soviet and African subjects together that they nearly equal the number of Western subjects, such that Africa and the USSR need each other in their side of the ideological square, to balance the Western side. Thus even when African countries were gaining independence, and even as *Pravda* granted them more agency, it enfolded them into the Soviet side and showed their agency as less than that of the West and of the USSR. By 1960, Africa's agency was shown as greater than before, but still less than that of the West or the USSR.

The first three sentences of C60a also illustrate this relative lack of agency:

15.

В борьбе против варварского колониализма миролюбивые народы одержали крупную победу: Генеральная Ассамблея Организации Объединенных Наций приняла Декларацию о предоставлении независимости колониальным странам и народам, проект которой был внесен 43 странами Азии и Африки.

Советская общественность горячо приветствует этот важный итог «великой дискуссии», которая развернулась в стенах ООН по инициативе делегации Советского Союза.

В сентябре этого года глава Советского правительства Н. С. Хрущев внес на рассмотрение Генеральной Ассамблеи Декларацию о предоставлении независимости колониальным странам и народам. (C60a)

Sentence one of extract 15 first grants agency to unidentified “peaceful nations” and the UN General Assembly, followed by a clause in which 43 countries of Asia and Africa are said to have acted, but the passive participle short form in проект которой был внесен 43 странами Азии и Африки (“the draft of which was submitted by 43 countries of Asia and Africa”) de-emphasises African agency, while the *toto pro pars* and metonymy (place for person) of “43 countries” makes it unclear who really submitted the document. The second sentence posits the Soviet public as actor, in a wishful statement that Советская общественность горячо приветствует этот важный итог (“The Soviet public warmly welcomes this important result”), which would be very hard to verify, especially so soon after the Declaration’s adoption. This is followed by a clause in which the Soviet delegation to the UN is presented as the actor. The third sentence finally tells us that Khrushchev was the actor. The USSR is thus revealed as the actor as the article progresses, and Africa’s agency remains weak until the seventh paragraph, when a representative of Mali is said to speak in the UN Assembly.

In C60a both the USSR’s revealed strong agency and Africa’s relatively weak agency are presented as moral reactions to immoral provocation from outside Africa. The *level of detail* varies to back up this argumentation concerning Africa’s type of agency. For example, there is over-completeness of detail about Western crimes and Soviet and African moral reactions:

16.

яркие выступления президента Ганы Кваме Нкрума, президента Гвинеи Секу Туре, президента ОАР Насера, президента Индонезии Сукарно, премьер-министра Индии Неру, премьер-министра Кубы Фиделя Кастро, представителей многих других стран Азии и Африки

делегатов социалистических стран... организатора преступлений в Конго... французский империализм — ведущий безнадежную грязную войну в Алжире и убивший славного африканского трибуна Феликса Мумье, бельгийский империализм, до конца разоблачивший себя в Конго... письмо американских куклуксклановцев, разосланное представителям азиатских и африканских стран в ООН, содержащее прямые угрозы физической расправы над ними... А разве не ярким примером неистовства колонизаторов служат статьи «Нью-Йорк таймс» и других реакционных американских газет, подстрекающие банды Мобуту к новым преступлениям или клеветующие на миролюбивые страны?... С протестом против бесчинств банд Мобуту и их покровителей в Конго сегодня выступает ВЦСПС от имени 55 миллионов членов профсоюзов СССР. (C60a)

Thus in extract 16 righteous African speakers at the UN are named and listed, while a Western letter and a Western article of harmful intent are mentioned in some detail, and the murder of an African politician and “infamous crimes in the Congo” are referred to in sufficient detail to serve as allusions to crimes concerning which *Pravda* assumes readers’ knowledge. This is matched by relative incompleteness of detail about Soviet-backed crimes and African crimes, and since neither Africa nor the USSR is described as having any misdemeanours, any existing in real life are obfuscated. Only one nominalisation is used, allocating the unknown actor a negative characterisation, as unidentified Western source of malicious allegations: утверждений, будто народы, оказавшиеся в колониальном ярме, “не способны” управлять своими странами (“allegations that people who find themselves under the colonial yoke are "unable" to manage their countries”). (C60a) Such ***deliberate vagueness***, circumlocution and concealment of a supposed Western speaker is a hinting strategy which amplifies Africa’s enemy and the danger in which Africa finds itself. This is similar to the menacing strategy which Gatov identifies in Soviet official language: “when the speaker assigns a much broader and encompassing name to refer to a specific thing or constituency... how much more ambiguously menacing the reformulation is.” (Gatov, 2015) However, when talking of a laudable Soviet action, *Pravda* cannot resist revealing the USSR’s action, which benefits Africa, in detail, as in extract 15 above. Thus *Pravda* uses detail to emphasise Africa as moral agent, detail to emphasise the West as harmful agent, vagueness to amplify the West’s evil actions in relation to Africa, and vagueness (in fact absence of references) to de-emphasise harm by Africa.

All in all, C60a shows more Western and Soviet than African agency. Indeed, looking again at the above list from Table 6.1.4., it was only from 1968 (C107, C108 and C109) that the main topic in an article concerned purely African activity, rather than

reaction to outside influence. Moreover, the activity in three articles (racism in southern Africa) was immoral, and so was presented by *Pravda* as somehow un-African, being practised by whites. Thus in 1968, in C107, the South African court was said to have imprisoned 30 африканских патриотов, из Юго Западной Африки (“30 African patriots from South-West Africa”), which could imply that those South Africans who imprisoned them were not African. In C108, there were said to be protests at the UN and remonstrations from Ethiopia about the fate of these “patriots” and of the South African population in general, and in C109, South African troops were said to be helping Rhodesia’s racists. Thus racism in South Africa and Rhodesia displayed African agency, but used against Africans, was conveyed as un-African. South African apartheid thus joined the West, Israel’s Zionism (C105, 1967) and China from the 1970s (C130, 1971), as harmful un-African entities attacking Africa.

Summary: In this period, *Pravda* presented Africa through topics as apparently increasingly active, but in fact a deeper analysis of topics, schematic structure, content, grammatical subjects, detail and vagueness shows that the West and the USSR were portrayed as more active than Africa. Africa and the USSR were portrayed as reacting to wrongdoing mainly from outside, with their own wrongdoing absent. South Africa alone in Africa was portrayed as led by innately bad people who acted against Africans, actively from 1966, and especially from 1968. Overall, the impression was of a saviour actor USSR, which acted to save the patient Africa from the savage and highly active West. This is reminiscent of the saviours and savages model of which some people today accuse the West in its dealings with Africa.

6.2.4.2. Representation of aid and development in Africa (post-Stalin Cold War)

Although the content of articles indicated that development could happen without aid, the two topics were nevertheless linked in *Pravda*, with alleged underdevelopment making a country both vulnerable to US (allegedly bad) aid and suitable for Soviet (allegedly good) aid. Therefore I treat the two themes of aid and development together. I also comment on types of aid and development presented in *Pravda*, as they are a vital part of their construction, as I indicated in Chapter 4. Taking a mainly chronological approach, I interweave examination of the following: use of the words “development”, “developed”, “developing” and “weakly developed”, concepts with which development was associated, the role of aid in the ideological square, the aid race and concepts of

good and bad aid, gender inequality, and finally the model of Africa successfully following socialist development and accepting Soviet aid.

At the start of this period, from 1955 (C35), the words развитие, “development”, and развитый, “developed”, appeared as a major topic and predicate in the corpus in relation to Africa, but not yet the main topic. C35 is curious because it concerns Eisenhower’s alleged March 14th report to Congress, but I could not find it in the online archives of US Presidents.²³ One of a similar name, dated 30th June 1955, does not include the quotes alleged by *Pravda*. According to *Pravda*, the report concerned mainly armaments, which *Pravda* calls военная помощь (“military aid”), and illustrates *Pravda*’s presentation of the West’s alleged obfuscation of military expansion through calling it aid. It starts with the headline США ВООРУЖАЮТ СВОИХ САТЕЛЛИТОВ (“THE USA ARMS ITS SATELLITES”). *Pravda* names the report and then adds its own explicit editor’s explanation:

17.

14 марта президент США Эйзенхауэр направил конгрессу США очередной доклад «О выполнении программы взаимного обеспечения безопасности» (программа вооружения союзников и сателлитов США.— Прим. ред.) за второе полугодие 1954 года. (C35)

This editor’s explanation in extract 17, “(the programme of arming U.S. allies and satellites - Ed.)”, is *Pravda*’s interpretation of the security programme’s activities, which the article explains as military aid. The article uses the topos of numbers to convey its large scale:

18.

США поставили другим странам военного снаряжения на 10,5 млрд. долларов, в том числе свыше 6 тысяч самолетов, более 36 тысяч танков, свыше 36 тысяч орудий и т. д.
... в текущем финансовом году, оканчивающемся 30 июня 1955 года, на Ближний Восток, в Африку и Южную Азию будет поставлено военного снаряжения на 383 миллиона долларов. (C35)

In extract 18, *Pravda* tells us the numbers of dollars, aircraft, tanks and guns issued by the USA in military aid, but the article as a whole obfuscates Soviet military aid to Africa, and hence renders it non-existent. This could be justified by a claim that this is a news report about a USA government report, and no such Soviet report has been issued

²³ <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php>

at this time, but the selective information and resulting lack of context results in skewed argumentation. This recalls Section 1.4.1., which described *Pravda*'s foreign news reporting as showing the USSR positively and the West negatively (McNair, 1991).

The article states that the USA is forming its own "bloc" in the Middle East:

19.

Из доклада явствует, что США увеличивают поставки военного снаряжения тем странам, которые, по их замыслам, должны войти в агрессивный блок, сколачиваемый в настоящее время на Ближнем Востоке. (C35)

Thus in extract 19, *Pravda* presents the USA ("them" in the ideological square) as a cunning and evil agent, scheming, planning and allocating roles for other players, as manifested by the parenthesis по их замыслам ("in their opinion"), which also points to *Pravda* seeing itself as a body which reveals the evil plots of "them". The verb увеличивать ("increase") stresses the USA's dangerous militaristic activity. The objective of the USA's activity is defined as promoting an агрессивный блок ("aggressive block"), which will eventually include all places to which the USA is sending arms, including Africa. In extract 20, *Pravda* implicitly places Africa in «экономически слабо развитый район» капиталистического мира, ("the 'economically underdeveloped region' of the capitalist world"), which the USA wishes to include in its camp receiving this военная помощь ("military aid"):

20.

в области военной помощи упор был перенесен на «экономически слабо развитый район» капиталистического мира. Объясняя повышенный интерес к этим странам американских империалистов, составители доклада указывают: «Слаборазвитые страны, вместе взятые... представляют собой крупный источник важнейших минералов и сырья на земном шаре, и в них расположены наиболее ценные военные базы.» (C35)

Pravda thus presents Africa, in extract 20, as a place which the enemy USA sees as weak, with natural resources for the USA to exploit. Africa is passivised and generalised, as it is вместе взятые ("taken together") and merely источник (a "source") of essential raw materials. It is politically located as part of the capitalist world. The aid is military, and the military equipment is presented as aid. The concept of aid is of lower importance than упор ("emphasis"), «экономически слабо развитый район» (" 'economically underdeveloped regions' ") and капиталистический мир

(“capitalist world”), since *помощь* is in the position of complement in the sentence in which these noun phrases appear. The aid is said to be associated with the capitalist country’s own interests, and goes to underdeveloped countries because they are of use to the USA’s interests, not because the recipient countries are underdeveloped. *Pravda* uses ironic quote marks in reporting the USA’s purported stance on Africa as a weak area, «экономически слабо развитый район» (“ ‘the economically underdeveloped region’ ”) and «слаборазвитые страны» (“ ‘underdeveloped countries’ ”), indicating its scepticism of the nomination.

However, at the end of C35, when retelling the report’s expressed fears about Soviet aid, *Pravda* does not give the same phrases in quote marks, as shown in extract 21. It is as if *Pravda* came to approve of the phrases when the discourse concerns these countries being influenced by socialist achievements. But as *Pravda* portrays the “economically underdeveloped regions” as liable to join either the “capitalist world” or a communist world, it implies that they are fickle or poor judges:

21.

огромные экономические достижения СССР и Китайской Народной Республики могут произвести впечатление на слаборазвитые страны. Эти страны, сетуют составители доклада, могут убедиться в том что «коммунистический путь является для них лучшим путем достижения быстрого экономического прогресса.» (C35)

Thus in extract 21, *Pravda* preserves the East-West binary, with Africa relegated to a follower’s role, influenced by aid. In extract 22, we see that Soviet aid to Africa may not have begun yet, being still предложения (“proposals”), and it is alleged to differ from Western aid in being non-military, specifically industrial and agricultural:

22.

Авторы доклада явно озабочены тем, Советский Союз «увеличивает число конкретных предложений об оказании технической и финансовой помощи в промышленности и сельском хозяйстве» слаборазвитым странам на подлинно справедливых условиях. (C35)

In stating in extract 22 that the report’s authors are concerned by the idea of fair and apparently attractive Soviet aid to underdeveloped countries, *Pravda* adds another negative aspect to its construction of the USA, that of preventing progressive aid to Africa. Overall, C35 conveys that US aid is military, immoral and given by the USA for its own benefit. Countries are depicted as developed or developing, with developing

status equating to vulnerability to harmful, US, military aid and receptivity to fair and progressive Soviet development aid. African countries are constructed as accepting both as aid, and as underdeveloped. Hence development and aid were associated.

Pravda associated development with many other concepts, as well as aid. *Pravda* had long accepted development as positive. Having started as a valid post-war enterprise for all countries, развитие (“development”), развитый (“developed”) and развивающийся (“developing”) became mainstream topics, subjects, objects and predicates in articles about Africa. By 1955, pages in the corpus from the preceding, war period and C34 (1954) had mentioned development and the state of being developed in connection with France, China, Germany, Africa, socialist countries and Albania, while a different article (not mentioning Africa) in C35 refers to development in Cambodia. Development was still constructed as appropriate to various types of country, but C35 is the first page in the corpus in which a place is categorised as слаборазвитый (“underdeveloped”), as seen in extracts 20, 21 and 22. The adjective indicates that there is a normal state of development, which Africa had not attained, a norm which *Pravda* did not immediately adopt, as described above.

From 1957, use of the words развитие, развитый or развивающийся occurred on almost every page in the corpus. Reminding us of d’Arboussier’s 1950 speech (C28), where he spoke of developing freely, C38 (1956) introduced to the corpus the important phrase независимое развитие (“independent development”), in reference to Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco and Japan. 1957’s C40a then linked development to “national” in its reference to развитие их народного хозяйства, национальной культуры (“development of [Central Asian countries’] national economy and ethnic culture”), conveying that their development too was independent, being of their nation. This is seen in extract 21, where *Pravda* moreover proposes Soviet Central Asian development as an example for African countries’ “national” or “ethnic” development:

23.

Советский комитет солидарности стран Азии способствует развитию экономических и культурных связей со странами Азии и Африки, знакомит народы этих стран с достижениями советских республик Средней Азии и Закавказья в развитии их народного хозяйства, национальной культуры. (C40a)

This example in extract 23 in fact betrays Soviet paternalism, as it presents the USSR facilitating the transfer of knowledge from the allegedly more developed Soviet Central

Asia and Soviet Caucasus to Africa. As usual, Soviet involvement in other countries' national development is presented as helpful, merely showing the USSR's allegedly good example, and hence allegedly not interrupting the free, national development of African countries.

The theme of free, independent or national development implied that development could also be "unfree" or "dependent", of which an example is in 1957's C41:

24.

Уже с конца 1956 г., предвидя создание «еврафриканского сообщества» и открытие «общего рынка», западноевропейские монополисты развернули подготовительные мероприятия по усилению экономической экспансии в Африке. Был создан «Европейский консорциум для развития природных ресурсов Африки» («Консафрик») с центром в Люксембурге. Этот консорциум возглавляют французские и немецкие монополисты, в числе которых представитель крупнейшего французского колониального банка «Банк де Л'Эндошин» Флер и виднейший германский финансист, экономический советник канцлера Аденауэра Герман Абс. Эта мощная банковская группа составляет различные проекты разработки африканских полезных ископаемых. Вся ее деятельность проходит под лозунгом «Африка для европейских трестов». (C41)

In extract 24, development in Africa is shown as driven by Western monopolist expansion. The colonially named Европейский консорциум для развития природных ресурсов Африки (Консафрик) ("European Consortium for the Development of Natural Resources of Africa (Consafrigue)") has its headquarters not in Africa, but in Europe. Its leaders are not Africans, but powerful French and German businesspeople. Its slogan, «Африка для европейских трестов» ("Africa for European trusts"), shows that it believes Africa is to serve Europe, being "for" Europe. Africa is referred to as a continent, not by individual country. There is nothing free, independent or national about extract 24's representation of European powers' development of a passive Africa.

From 1958's C43, развитие ("development") was used to refer to a stand-alone process, and was no longer necessarily defined as the development of an economy, nature, agriculture, industry or anything else, although these also continued to be specified at times, and references to development of national economies continued throughout this period. C43 used the phrases социалистическое развитие ("socialist development") and капиталистическое развитие ("capitalist development"), the attributes indicating development determined by political orientation of a country's government. According to the discursive mapping of this period, countries might be

неразвитый (“undeveloped”) or слаборазвитый (“weakly developed”) (C49, 1959), but development continued to be available for any country. For example, East Germany was mentioned in 1959’s C50 as undergoing development, in 1960’s C53, “peoples of the East” were said to have started on the route of независимого и мирного развития (“independent and peaceful development”), while later on the page there was reference to мирное развитие революции (“peaceful development of the revolution”). Thus, in *Pravda*, “development” was still not only for African, poor or low-status countries. In this peak year for African countries gaining independence, *Pravda* associated independent development and independence of countries.

1960’s C55 began a discursive association of development with disarmament, an association which was to continue in *Pravda* throughout this period of the post-Stalin Cold War. Perversely, in spite of *Pravda*’s general dismissiveness of aid, particularly Western aid, the point of the association was said to be to enable an increase in aid to countries with weakly developed economies:

25.

если западные державы примут предложения Н. С. Хрущева о разоружении и высвободят гигантские средства для оказания помощи странам со слаборазвитой экономикой. (C55, in an article not mentioning Africa)

In extract 25, the relationship between Western powers accepting Khrushchev’s alleged proposals and somebody thereafter as a result releasing huge resources for aid to developing countries is presented as inevitable. This intensifies the representation of Western powers as immoral and unreasonable, as the possibility of them accepting the proposals and hence providing aid is in doubt, conveyed by если (“if”): only if Western powers accept the proposals will aid be available. Even the West’s potential provision of good aid is turned against the West. This good aid is still associated with development, since it is said to be for countries with weakly developed economies. It is represented by the trope of exaggeration: гигантские средства (“gigantic resources”). Although the position of peaceful wisdom, common sense and therefore legitimacy is allocated to Khrushchev, the aid’s possible provenance from Western countries is incoherent with *Pravda*’s normal stance, as it reveals a presupposition that even Western aid could be beneficial – because this suited the argument.

And an example of specific “good” potential aid came in 1960, in C57. Reporting on an international meeting of journalists in Vienna, *Pravda* reported on aid to “weakly developed” countries’ journalism, requested by journalists themselves.

26.

Большое внимание участники встречи уделили вопросу о помощи журналистам слаборазвитых стран. В резолюции по этому вопросу предусмотрены конкретные мероприятия, которые должны помочь слаборазвитым странам создать информацию, печать и радио. По инициативе делегатов ряда стран Африки был создан временный комитет сотрудничества африканских журналистов. (C57c)

In extract 26, *Pravda* obfuscates the subject which might provide aid for development of media, and indeed does not clarify if material or technical aid was intended by the word *помощь* ("help"). Both the "resolution" by potential recipients of the "concrete measures" that they would like and their initiative to form their own committee are an example of some independence in development.

On the other hand, *Pravda* indicates that in the past these countries' development did not need aid: they simply needed to be left alone. In 1961's C61, a speech by Bashir Ben Abbes, he is quoted as saying that development was underway in Africa until colonialists stopped it. Speaking of Africa Day, he is quoted:

27.

Мы празднуем его не только для того, чтобы отметить славу наших предков, построивших пирамиды или самые древние в мире университеты, такие, как «Аль-Азхар», «Зитуна» или «Карауин», отметившего свою 1100-летнюю годовщину, или для того, чтобы пожаловаться на долгие года рабства или колонизации, временно остановивших наше развитие и явившихся причиной серьезной отсталости некоторых районов нашего континента. (C61)

In extract 27, development is presented as independent of aid, a natural process for a continent of ancient civilisation. 1961's C63b also presents development as achievable through industrialisation alone, in Khrushchev's speech:

28.

Вы, господин Аббуд, в своей речи на московском аэродроме сказали, что добиться экономического и социального развития можно лишь путем индустриализации, направленной против происков монополий, которые хотят сохранить за собой Африку в качестве сырьевой базы... Мы можем еще шире торговать друг с другом на взаимовыгодной основе, развивать технико-экономическое сотрудничество. Имеются большие возможности для обмена в области культуры и искусства, науки и образования. (C63b)

The second part of extract 28 presents international processes other than aid (broadening trade and sharing in the areas of culture, art, science and education)

benefitting Africa. In extract 29, he mentions “independent development”:

29.

Хочу воспользоваться возможностью, чтобы поблагодарить Вас, господин Аббуд,... за высокую оценку усилий Советского Союза в борьбе против колониализма и оказание помощи народам, которые встали на путь самостоятельного развития. (C63b)

In extract 29, Khrushchev also mentions *помощь*, but this “help” is not necessarily physical “aid”, and could be the type of moral and verbal support which we encountered in C60, extract 15, where the USSR was portrayed supporting African countries through verbal and political means. For *Pravda*, development is to be achieved through avoiding or escaping from colonialism, developing independently and through socialism, repelling monopolies’ efforts to exploit one’s raw materials, industrialising, and trading and cooperating in economic, technological, cultural, artistic, scientific and educational matters with friendly countries, such as the USSR. Aid is only sometimes present in this construction of development, and it is not necessarily material or technical aid, but could equally be verbal or political, or cooperation.

In 1964’s C85, *Pravda* talks of socialist construction in a description of Mali’s type of development: развития Республики Мали по пути социалистического строительства (“development of the Republic of Mali along the road of socialist construction”). Such language of socialist progress, using the metaphor of a road, would be familiar to Soviet readers, and so conveyed *Pravda*’s message well, using a strategy of assimilation and a topos of similarity, making Africans appear like Soviet citizens, whether they really were or not. Thus Africa was divided into two camps not only with regard to aid (with harmful, military aid emanating from the West, and beneficial aid emanating from the USSR), but with regard to type of development too.

Complementing this, C73, from 1962, presents an example of *Pravda*’s scorn for the language of Western international aid or cooperation, again using ironic quotation marks in its description of how imperialism has divided young African states, and involved them in the “Common Market” (the European Economic Community), which exploits its less developed “partners”:

30.

Образование искусственных федераций и разрыв на части единого организма молодых государств, втягивание их в «Общий рынок», который является орудием групповой эксплуатации менее развитых

«партнеров», разжигание племенной и национальной вражды, подкуп, заговоры, шантаж — все это взял себе на вооружение империализм, стремясь удержаться на африканском континенте. (C73a)

The ironic quote marks around «партнеров» (“partners”) in extract 30 indicate that *Pravda* does not see the partnerships between Africa and Europe as genuine. “Partner”, as discussed in Section 4.1.5., is still today used in international development terminology, to describe relationships in which the balance of power is skewed towards the donor. This contrasts with the continuing theme of independent development, seen, for example, in the phrases самостоятельное развитие and независимое развитие, both meaning “independent development”, in C76. The first, which could be translated as “self-dependent” or “self-supporting”, is used here to refer to China, while the second (“non-dependent”) refers to a range of countries. Continuing to present development as an endeavour of any country, 1964’s C82 uses the phrase независимое развитие (“independent development”) with regard to Austria, while 1966’s C100 associates independence and development with a headline about Ugandan independence and text about Uganda’s development. 1980’s C185 refers to Mozambique’s independent development, and 1973’s C145 praises Chile for its independent development.

In 1963’s C77, concerning progress in Africa, African organisations and individuals are positioned as creating their own progress. While the term “independent development” is not used, the concept is clear from the naming of African organisations and professionals such as finance ministers and teachers who are working on organised campaigns to invest in development, expand access to schooling, eradicate illiteracy, develop a new constitution and celebrate African women. The agency of Africans is clear, but one section, concerning Ethiopia, downgrades Ethiopians, as it speaks of советские специалисты (“Soviet specialists”) in the incipient oil industry, who will lead Ethiopians in constructing an oil refinery, and places the Ethiopian headteacher in the position of gratitude for a Soviet gift of a 1,000-place technical school, whose graduates will achieve merely mid-level positions, to be led by these Soviet specialists:

31.

В Бахр-Даре заканчиваются последние работы по сооружению технической школы на 1.000 мест. Эта школа — дар Советского Союза народу Эфиопии. В будущем учебном году она примет своих первых учащихся. Со всех концов страны в адрес школы и министерства просвещения Эфиопии поступают заявления от юношей и девушек с просьбой принять их на учебу.

«Эта замечательная школа будет центром по подготовке среднего

технического персонала для промышленности и сельского хозяйства Эфиопии. В ней также будут готовиться техники и мастера для обслуживания нефтеперерабатывающего завода в Ассабе, строительство которого начнется в ближайшее время под руководством советских специалистов. Трудно найти слова благодарности советскому народу и правительству за такой великолепный подарок, — заявил директор школы А. Абдупахи. (C77)

The presentation in extract 31 of the African side receiving two gifts (the oil refinery and the technical school) lowers the status of the Ethiopians, showing them as led by and grateful to Soviets. The article emphasises that the gift of the school is important and highly valued by Ethiopians, conveyed through the spatial phrase со всех концов страны (“from all corners of the country”), concerning the influx of applications to the school, constructed through the trope of exaggeration. The topos of numbers (на 1.000 мест, “1,000 places”) gives an impression of large scale and therefore importance, while the quotation of the headteacher’s gratitude allocates him the role of subservient recipient, all the more subservient because of the gift’s alleged large scale. However, *Pravda* does not linger on or point out this consequent low status of Africans. It also does not specify the financial value of the Soviet gift to Ethiopia, and hence simultaneously mitigates it in financial terms, rendering it dissimilar to vast exploitative Western aid. Right up to the end of this period, “independent development” is the desired process, and so *Pravda* presents this gift of a technical school as facilitating this, through education, but omits and hence mitigates any Western aid aiming for exactly the same thing. In fact, in C77, *Pravda* speaks of Soviet aid as donor countries in general spoke of it at the time: as I showed in Section 4.1.3, in the 1960s, donor countries’ discourse on development and aid concerned welfare and charity.

In 1964’s C86a, we see reporting of select French and then Soviet criticism of the USA’s Food for Peace, still criticised by European NGOs today, for the same reasons as given in C86a (a way for the USA to sell surplus agricultural products) and we see mention of rumours about the Peace Corps (presumably about young Americans spying for the government, as alleged at the time by Western critics too). In *Pravda*, these criticisms of US aid were part of the persistent criticism of the USA as Other. *Pravda* used the concept of aid as a tool in its argumentation against Western governments, in particular the US government, just as it used Africa as a tool in this.

In C120b (1970), the construction of the West as involved in sinister, underhand dealings towards Africa continued. C120a had already reminded readers that South Africa was racist, and then C120b stated that South Africa was Israel’s largest trading

partner, showing Israel on the side of injustice. C120b refers mainly to sub-Saharan countries, and proceeds in its argumentation to construct Israel as a front for Western monopolies, in particular US monopolies. Israel is said to train young Africans in military matters, have gained political support from several African countries, and be trying to capture the minds of the young working class in Africa. However, these young socialists are portrayed as too clever for Israel, which tries and fails to make them adopt the Jewish faith. One such, from Upper Volta, is quoted as saying that the Israeli Afro-Asian Institute is перманентный центр заговора против Африки (“a permanent centre of conspiracy against Africa”). (C120b) Most telling of all is the headline ЭКСПАНСИЯ ПОД ВИДОМ “ПОМОЩИ” (“Expansion Under the Guise of ‘Aid’”). Aid is associated with political and economic conspiracies of the West’s front, Israel.

In 1971’s C128, *Pravda* builds in four short articles a picture of all right-thinking countries and institutions arrayed peacefully but assertively against aggressive Portugal and devious US aid. In C128a, *Pravda* builds a respectful image of African countries, naming their representatives to the UN, whose Security Council is said to have adopted a resolution against Portugal’s violence in Guinea. In C128b, the government of Yemen speaks against colonialism in Africa. In C128d, US economic aid is described with the phrase: под экономическую помощь замаскирована полицейская помощь (“police aid disguised as economic aid”). Of course, this implies again that even Western economic aid might not be a bad thing, but *Pravda* does not elaborate on this. The modern Western phrase международное развитие “international development” is used in C128d, preceded by the dismissive “so-called management of”: так называемого управления международного развития США (“the so-called management of international development of the USA”).

In fact, C86, C87, C120, C128, C143 and C164 all portrayed the USSR as better than the West at giving aid. Soviet aid was said to be better due to its better motivations and quality. Thus *Pravda* presented an aid race, alongside the arms, space and media races. *Pravda* presented only Western military aid and devious Western aid as not needed by Africa, and conveyed a moral USSR, which helped victimised colonial and postcolonial developing countries, whether by speaking up for them or giving them material aid such as civil infrastructure or political and moral support. As we saw in Chapter 4, this “saviours and savages” attitude is criticised in Western donors today, but *Pravda* legitimised its aid by constructing it as helping Africa to repair the damage done to it by the West.

Pravda also educated readers about its own view of economics in Africa, using the topos of authority in C136b, explaining эта система империалистической кабалы и ограбления (“this system of imperialist bondage and theft”). Extract 32 contains many examples of this authoritative explanation of capitalist economics in Africa. Not surprisingly, it is an opportunity for *Pravda* to castigate the West:

32.

зависимости от иностранных рынков и капитала... многоотраслевого, жизнеспособного национального хозяйства, ликвидации нищеты, безработицы, технической отсталости... замкнутый круг сырьевой, монокультурной экономики... индустриализации и обновления полупервобытной деревни... рост производства в этих странах целиком определяют иностранные фирмы, которые выкачивают полезные ископаемые, создают плантации экспортных тропических культур... рост без развития... Внешние долги стран Африки, по данным ООН, выросли с 3,3 миллиарда долларов в 1960 году до 8,7 миллиарда в 1968 году. Одни платежи по погашению займов и процентов по ним составили в том же году 625 миллионов долларов. Колоссальные потери несет Африка от валютного кризиса на мировом капиталистическом рынке, колебаний цен на сырье и постоянного роста цен на промышленные товары... Внутриафриканская торговля все еще незначительна. (C136b)

We see here the topos of numbers emphasising large-scale Western negative influence.

Elsewhere in C136b, the article is replete with metaphors employed in the representation of Africa’s plight, largely caused by the West. For example, замкнутый круг (literally translated as a “closed circle”), conveys the inescapability of Africa’s poor economic model, from the source domain of a circle, with no outlet and no linear progress of development. Тяжелое бремя (“heavy burden”) is an ontological metaphor, conveying debt through the source domain of a burden, an unpleasant weight which Africa is obliged to carry. Марионеточные неоколониалистские режимы (“puppet neocolonial regimes”) conveys lack of independence of some African politicians, the source domain of a puppet indicating that these African regimes can only move when their strings are pulled by their masters (colonial powers), such that they move like puppets controlled by the West, and are otherwise immobile. Ian Smith’s alleged metaphorical phrase «семейные разногласия» (“family differences”), explains the relationship between the racist Smith and the UK’s Conservative government as extremely close, using the source domain of family, with its associations of blood relationships which overcome mere differences between family members. As *Pravda*

describes the African people as being on тяжелом, долгом и тернистом пути к полной свободе и процветанию (“a heavy, long and thorny path to total freedom and prosperity”), it combines the concept of a linear journey (itself combining the PROGRESS IS MOTION FORWARD metaphor (Lakoff, 1993) with the A JOURNEY DEFINES A PATH metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 90)) and the concept of prolonged pain. Since a path occurs in the outdoors, it could have thorns on it, and so the writer expands the metaphor’s source domain of a linear path by adding the matching, and hence internally coherent, concept of thorns, representing pain and a Christian allusion to the thorns around Christ’s head, as well as a possible allusion to African nature. The whole conveys the desired target domain, the painful process of achieving freedom: “Once we have a source domain that conventionally constitutes a target, we can use any component of this source that fits elements of the target.” (Kövecses, 2009: 17) This highly persuasive style conveys Africa in long-term suffering, always striving for a better future, but trapped and denied its rightful progress. We see here “the central role of metaphor in the management of emotion on which the persuasive process relies” (De Landtsheer, 2009: 69).

The article by *Pravda*’s correspondent constructs African development as previously natural, then stopped by colonialists, and now difficult, but foresees and advocates a type of development whose distinguishing feature is state ownership of assets and industry:

33.

Недавно... правительство Нигерии. Создана государственная нефтяная компания, в руки государства передана значительная доля акций в нефтедобыче, в крупном новом автосборочном заводе. Правительство Замбии около двух лет назад взяло в свои руки контрольный пакет акций горнорудных компании Медного пояса... Политическое развитие Африки, демократизация ее жизни, связи и дружеские отношения с социалистическими странами и мировым революционным движением во многом будут определять ее успехи в национальном строительстве. (C136b)

Pravda highlights in extract 33 those aspects of African development which would also be part of socialist development: Nigeria’s государственная нефтяная компания (“state oil company”), shares of Nigeria’s oil and car manufacturing industries which have passed в руки государства (“into the hands of the state”), and the fact that the Zambian government взяло в свои руки контрольный пакет акций (“took into its hands a controlling stake”) in mining companies. *Pravda* indicates that, left to choose

for itself, Africa chooses the state-owned, socialist way, and that this route to an inevitable socialist future is easy, as *Pravda* repeats the metaphor of hands, coupled with verbs of passive transfers (передана, “were passed”) and euphemistic expression of what may or may not have been forceful (взяло в свои руки, “took into its hands”). Together with the last sentence of this extract (“Africa's political development, democratisation of its life, communications and friendly relations with socialist countries and the world revolutionary movement will largely determine its successes in national construction”), these convey that socialist development may be peaceful and consensual.

Nevertheless, C149 of 1974 presents a curious case of Soviet involvement and assistance in Guinea. There is said to be представитель Министерства высшего и среднего специального образования СССР в Гвинее (a “representative in Guinea of the USSR’s Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education”). The previous colonisers apparently совсем не заботились о том, чтобы дать народу знания. Больше того, они препятствовали формированию гвинейской интеллигенции (“did not care about giving people knowledge. Furthermore, they inhibited the formation of the Guinean intellectuals”). Soviet aid is said to have assisted in the building of the Conakry Polytechnic Institute, educated some Guineans in the USSR, provided Soviet teachers and be training Guinean teachers for the Institute. With such a display of sound development and aid, *Pravda* disallows any wonderings about why the Soviet Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education is working in Guinea and whether this is a form of colonialism. Instead, in a variation on the theme of independent development, the article speaks of development in the context of the right of a government to choose: право каждого государства свободно выбирать и развивать свою политическую, социально-экономическую и культурную системы (“the right of every government to choose freely and develop its political, socio-economic and cultural systems”). 1978’s C164 similarly refers to the right of a government to plan its development.

With regard to gender, 1980’s C183 indicates that, for Soviet leaders, perhaps only half of Africans have been active in development. Brezhnev’s address Участникам Всемирной конференции ООН в связи с Десятилетием женщины (“To the Participants of the World Conference of the United Nations in connection with the Decade for Women”) betrays, through protestations of equality, verbs of progressive participation of women in society and expression of intent to grant the benefits of development to women, that in fact women may not have been fully included in

previous conceptions of development. Here women are, like Africa in other articles, the pretext for *Pravda* to expound on something else, in this case the arms race, and are the subject of condescending beneficence. The perspectivisation here may be male, as, referring to women of the world, and making brief reference to Africa, the text talks of never-ending increasing contributions of women to society:

34.

о возрастающей роли и ответственности женщин в общественном развитии, их стремлении внести весомый вклад в обеспечение подлинного равенства и права на мирную жизнь, свободную от социального гнета и экономической эксплуатации. Женщины многих стран мира все шире к активнее включаются в общественную деятельность, вносят свой творческий вклад в материальный, социальный и духовный прогресс человечества. (C183a)

There is an implication in extract 34 that in some places, presumably the West, women's equality is not подлинный ("genuine"). However, this extract alone betrays gender inequality in Brezhnev's assumptions. His statements betray non-factive suppositions (Wodak, 2007, p. 381) that women may not have previously been contributing equally to men to social development, social activities and human progress. The association elsewhere in the article of women with family, as in надежды на достижение равенства женщин, счастливой жизни их семей и детей ("hopes of achieving equality for women and happy lives of their families and children"), makes the modern-day reader realise that we have not anywhere in the corpus seen an association of men with family, or even of people with family. Until now, social development has been about adults who, we now realise, may have been mostly men, and those men have rarely been associated with their children. The young and the old have been largely absent, except as users of Soviet educational aid. In fact, family structures have been absent. As Brezhnev finishes by saying of the USSR that социалистическое общенародное государство будет и впредь делать все для того, чтобы женщина - равноправный член нашего общества - имела наиболее благоприятные условия ("the socialist state will continue to do everything so that women - equal members of our society – can have the most favourable conditions"), he allows a doubt that women might not be equal to men in Soviet society, since he feels it necessary to say that they are. The presupposition is therefore that they are unequal. This construction of women as recipients emerging as agents is similar to *Pravda's* construction of Africa. It is also a construction of "progressive" world women

(including African women) in the model of Soviet women: both are associated with family, said to be granted social goods which would not otherwise belong to them, and constructed as initially inactive and only now beginning to have an input in society.

Finally, 1983's C197 constructs the model of Africa as successfully following socialist development and benefiting from Soviet aid. An editorial combines with statements by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Soviet of Ministers of the USSR, and the Supreme Council of the USSR, to mark the Day of African Liberation. Again, metaphors abound: Africa is referred to as *черный континент* ("the black continent"), indicating the primacy of race in *Pravda's* conception of the continent, this experiential metaphor also conveying something dark and unknowable; Africa is the former *тюрьма народов* ("prison of peoples"), the metaphor of a building conveying again Africa's inescapable situation; Africa is now, however, filled with independent states and *многомиллионная семья* (a "multimillion family of peoples"), conveying large-scale closeness; its liberation since WWII had been *оваяно* идеями Великого Октября, оно стало возможным благодаря укреплению на мировой арене сил социализма и прогресса ("inspired by the light breeze of the ideas of the Great October Revolution [and] became possible thanks to the strengthening of forces in the world arena of socialism and progress"). These last two metaphors of a family of peoples and an inspiring light breeze of ideas convey the natural force of the Russian Revolution helping an existing fire of social change, widened out into a worldwide movement. This overtly ideological Soviet language symbolically incorporates Africa into the socialist camp, but within it, Africa по степени своего развития и доходам на душу населения оказалась самым отсталым континентом ("according to the degree of its development and per capita income is the most backward continent"). Here *Pravda* uses stage of development as a standard by which to judge Africa, using the insulting word *отсталый* ("backward"), indicating that Africa is not at the stage of development that it should be. *Pravda* also uses an economic indicator, *доходы на душу населения* ("per capital income") to judge Africa as inferior. Thus economic development is, in *Pravda's* view, desirable and a particular stage is a sign of a continent's modernity, as opposed to Africa's lack of modernity.

Late in the USSR, readers were reminded or educated about Soviet aid to Africa:

35.

Разумеется, есть африканские страны, особенно ориентирующиеся на социализм, которые добились впечатляющих сдвигов в создании основ

современной промышленности и новой системы просвещения, в модернизации сельского хозяйства. Символами прогресса стали построенные и строящиеся при участии Советского Союза такие крупные объекты, как металлургические комбинаты в Адамава (Нигерия), Эль-Хаджаре (Алжир), Хелуане (Египет), нефтеперерабатывающий завод в Асэбе (Эфиопия), и ряд других. (C197a)

Extract 35 links development to both the socialist path and Soviet aid, just as today's development discourse links development with aid. Aid relegates Africa to passivity or at most partnership in the second part of above extract 35, as if unable to develop without external aid. But the first part of extract 35 indicates, using the metaphor of a building (основы, "foundations"), that African countries themselves добились впечатляющих сдвигов в создании основ современной промышленности и новой системы просвещения, в модернизации сельского хозяйства ("have made impressive changes in establishing the foundations of modern industry and a new system of education in the modernisation of agriculture"). In fact C197a constructed many Africas: developed but poor, independent but exploited, including both truly African and less African (racist) countries. Africa assumed the colours needed to make *Pravda's* point, and in extract 35, the point was that it needed Soviet aid.

Summary: During the post-Stalin Cold War, continuing to construct Africa through building an ideological square, *Pravda* portrayed Africa as positioned in two camps, Western and Socialist. The newspaper mainly portrayed aid as an activity of the West's capitalist, exploitative, military expansion in Africa, tying Africa into its economic and military system, to benefit the West and exploit Africa, in a continuation of colonialism, contributing to a self-perpetuating vicious circle of dependency and eternal poverty in Africa. Thus aid was mainly portrayed as harming development, which would otherwise take place naturally, in any country, and was best done independently of any other country, on a socialist path, and independent of aid too. Initially, *Pravda* mitigated the USSR's aid in the ideological square, saying little about it, but as the aid race got going, *Pravda* portrayed Soviet aid as morally perfect and legitimate, driven by African countries' demands, to their requirements, including a significant amount of education, conducted according to a model of best practice, and often required to mend the harm done by the West. *Pravda* ignored similarities between Western and Soviet aid, whether their charitable, condescending approach or their militarism. It viewed African and indeed worldwide development from a male perspective, with development subjects

mainly male and lacking family or age. In contrast, *Pravda* explained economics, development and underdevelopment in detail, using a topos of authority, and came to present some countries as having achieved development, and others as underdeveloped, harmed by the West's colonialism, including in Africa. The paper portrayed good Soviet versus bad Western aid, and capitalist exploitative versus socialist positive development to construct two camps in Africa. In emphasising that African development might not be independent, and in reporting some Soviet aid, *Pravda* maintained the construction of Africa the victim or recipient. The main links between aid and development were that a low level of development made a country vulnerable to Western aid, and that the best development was independent of neo-colonial interference and of aid, except sometimes Soviet aid.

6.2.4.3. A unified continent (post-Stalin Cold War)

I have already shown in previous sections that *Pravda* often treated Africa as unified, similar to a country, for example in Section 6.2.1. (C9 and C2) concerning pre-War discourse, Section 6.2.2. (C16) concerning WWII discourse, Section 6.2.3. (C23) concerning post-War Stalinist discourse, and Section 6.2.4.2. (C35 of 1955) in the post-Stalinist Cold War period of the current section. Here I strengthen my analysis of this persistent feature by using Wodak et al's (1999) framework to analyse construction of a nation. Thus, while the discourses of aid and development analysed in Section 6.2.4.2. divided Africa discursively into two camps, a concurrent strategy of constructing Africa as a continent used unifying strategies. For this, *Pravda* invoked strategies similar to those pointed out by Stuart Hall (1996) to narrate national culture: 1) narrative of the nation; 2) emphasis on origins, continuity, tradition, timelessness; 3) invention of tradition; 4) myth of origin; 5) pure, original people or folk (Hall, 1996). In Wodak et al's analysis of Austrian national construction, these become themes: "1. The linguistic construction of the *homo Austriacus*, 2. The narration and confabulation of a common political past, 3. The linguistic construction of a common culture, 4. The linguistic construction of a common political present and future, 5. The linguistic construction of a 'national body'." (Wodak et al., 1999, 2009, p. 30) (By construction of national body, Wodak et al. have in mind both the limits of the nation and its natural space.) I here mainly examine one example, C179 of 1980, which in two short articles portrays Africa the continent and all African countries, including specifically Lesotho, Ghana and South Africa, the last as usual ambivalently African and un-African.

Like the vast majority of corpus articles, these construct the African (*homo Africanus*) as having problems. In C179a, Lesotho's Foreign Minister is quoted as saying that South Africa is Засылая на нашу территорию вооруженные банды ("overwhelming our territory with armed gangs"). Proceeding to refer to Africa as a whole, C179a ends with another quote from him: Африка может считать себя свободной только тогда, когда эта система будет полностью ликвидирована ("Africa can consider itself free only when that system is completely eliminated"). Hence Africa is constructed as unfree, and by association, in a topos of the people, Africans are unfree, since "Africa" is used metonymously, using the name of the continent to refer to its people, a metonymy similar to Wodak et al.'s "country for people" (ibid: 43). In C179b, another metonymy of "continent for people" is combined with a generalising synecdoche of "species for genus" (ibid: 44), as Ghana's future is linked to that of Africa, when the participants at a Congress of the African Youth Command are quoted as saying, Только следуя по пути научного социализма, Гана и другие африканские государства смогут решить стоящие перед ними проблемы ("Only by following the path of scientific socialism will Ghana and other African countries be able to solve the problems they face"). Their resolution is quoted as saying similarly, лишь встав на путь, проложенный социалистическими государствами, африканские страны смогут освободиться ("only by taking the path laid out by the socialist countries will African countries be able to break free"). In this way, in a *pars pro toto* (ibid: 44), African countries are still generalised into Africa as a whole, as I have shown in all previous periods, for example in C2 of 1934, C9 of 1940, C16 of 1943, C23 of 1946, and C35 of 1955. This feature of generalising African countries into a unified continent was indeed repeated throughout the Soviet period, as a continuous theme. African countries' lack of freedom is elaborated on in C179b, as Africa is said to have to освободиться от уз капиталистической зависимости и восстановить разрушенную экономику ("break free from the bonds of capitalist dependency and rebuild its shattered economy"). Notably, Africa is said to have one economy.

The *homo Africanus* is thus a political character (constructed through its lack of political freedom), and lends itself easily to the construction of a *common political past*. In these articles, such problems both unite all Africans (highlighting the sameness of Africans) and make them different from non-Africans (highlighting the uniqueness of Africans). Africans are different from the other groups mentioned in the articles ("the West and South Africa" and socialist countries) in having these problems (foreignness

of Africans), as neither the West nor socialist countries have them. As elsewhere in the corpus, Africa is still mentioned with Asia, in the name of the Soviet delegation welcomed to Ghana, делегацию Советского комитета солидарности стран Азии и Африки (“delegation of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African countries”), but the focus is on Africa. Within Africa, only South Africa is responsible for immoral actions, while the rest of Africa is represented as a victim. This is also achieved through the fallacy of hasty generalisations, firstly from Lesotho to all of Africa and then from Ghana to all of Africa, as noted above. No justification is given in the articles for these generalisations. Another unifying factor presented in the articles is a possible fallacy of an external threat, in that the Foreign Minister of Ghana states that the West and South Africa крайне раздражены (“are very annoyed”) by the friendly relations between Lesotho and the USSR.

Both articles use a topos of victim, C179a stating that South Africa would like to replace the Lesotho government with its puppets, and C179b stating Africa to be capitalism’s victim. The articles are too short for the reader to know if these are fallacies, and anyway, as noted in Section 2.3.2., the fact that *Pravda* was owned by the only permissible political party means that the laws of argumentation are broken. No dissenting view was allowed, and only more rounded analysis and evidence could prove that some statements are untrue. The constant internal polemic in *Pravda*’s rhetoric condemned, castigated and falsely accused the enemy and justified and legitimised the USSR’s actions. For example, the following is a fallacy of “illustrative example” (Wodak et al., 1999, 2009: 229): Тот, кто сейчас раздувает шумиху вокруг Афганистана, сказал он, умалчивает о своей поддержке расистского режима ЮАР. (“ ‘Whoever now inflates hype about Afghanistan,’ he said, ‘is silent about their own support of the racist regime of South Africa.’ ”). Evidence from outside *Pravda* indicates that those countries’ leaders who criticised the USSR’s activities in Afghanistan at that time did not all support South Africa’s racist regime. This is an illustration of the broken rules of argumentation in *Pravda* described in Sections 2.3.2. and 2.3.4., which allowed such falsehoods to go unchallenged in Soviet public life, and allowed *Pravda*’s argumentation scheme to prevail: that the enemy is always wrong.

To construct a unified continent, a strategy of justification had to be deployed with regard to South Africa, portrayed as having a regime which does not represent its people, since its people are included in all Africa, which will only be free once South Africa’s apartheid system has been eliminated. South Africa’s exceptionalism is in fact

used to construct African countries' common political past, as Lesotho is said to have consistently opposed apartheid, juxtaposed with a statement that Africa can consider itself free only when apartheid has been dismantled, thus linking Lesotho's political activism with Africa's common political problematic past. Indeed, a strategy of destruction is deployed with regard to South Africa, whose racist regime Africa can only desire to dismantle. Africa's common political past also includes *узы капиталистической зависимости* ("bonds of capitalist dependency") and *разрушенная экономика* ("shattered economies"), as noted above.

Africa's *common culture* can be detected in C179a's headline, *На принципах равенства* ("On the principles of equality"). As Lesotho is said to have "consistently opposed the policy of apartheid", an African culture of justice and fairness is constructed. In C179b, Africa's common culture is presented as preferring socialism, since Africa is said to be going to break free from capitalism and rebuild its economies. Again, though, just as most individual Africans are backgrounded, so too is Africa's culture, depicted as containing little more than a suitability and desire for socialism. Thus, in a topos of the superior objective, the priority of political system is more important than the priority of other aspects of culture. Africa is in part portrayed through its active political leaders and organisations, such as *прогрессивной организации Африканское молодежное командование* ("the progressive organisation, African Youth Command") in C179b. The Youth Command's Congress is depicted through metonymy: *В принятой съездом резолюции* ("In the resolution adopted by Congress"), as the inanimate Congress is substituted for its members who really adopted the resolution. The meeting is given a name in the Soviet style, using the strategy of assimilation, and presenting African self-organisation and meetings as similar to Soviet ones. A strategy of transformation is deployed as "Africa" is said to be going to rise above these problems, and overcome both apartheid and capitalism. This indicates a simultaneous strategy of perpetuation, as Africa is assumed to be a pre-existing whole, with common desires across countries, albeit these are thwarted in its various countries by colonialism, neocolonialism or racist regimes.

The headline of C179b, *ПУТЬ К ПРОГРЕССУ* ("PATH TO PROGRESS"), conveys that Africa is a place of political change. Africa's *common political present and future* are constructed in both articles as Africa being free only when the system of apartheid is completely eliminated (in C179a) and when Africa takes the path laid out by the socialist countries (in C179b). In both cases, the political present of Africa as a

whole is unfree (whether due to apartheid or capitalism), and the political future of Africa as a whole is free (through eliminating apartheid in the first article and breaking free from the bonds of capitalism and rebuilding its shattered economies in the second).

C179a refers to a *national body*, Lesotho's territory, infringed by armed gangs sent by South Africa, and, as noted above, moves, in a *pars pro toto*, to relate this to the desired freedom of Africa as a whole, thus building up a *continental body*. It uses a generalising synecdoche of *totum pro parte* in stating that Africa can only be free once apartheid (which in reality was prevalent only in southern Africa) is completely eliminated from it. C179b uses a species for genus in envisaging African countries' common and united move along the path of scientific socialism; although it stops short of claiming that all African countries wish this, in both its short paragraphs, it quotes the Congress participants and their resolution as saying that "only" (только in the first paragraph and лишь in the second) through following scientific socialism can Africa solve its problems, break free and rebuild its economy.

Such lack of nuance and detail about Africa, such indetermination is to be seen in countless other articles. For example, even when 1973's C143 shows a possibly divided Africa, the plaything of outsiders, the language betrays a constructed whole Africa. C143a, by TASS in Zambia, quoted a report from Namibia to show how South African police were attacking Namibians. One африканец ("African") is reported to have died. We glean from the context that the "African" is one of the demonstrators for Namibian independence, and from this we detect an implication that "South African police" are seen as not really African, leaving the image of unified Africa intact.

Pravda also reported Africa as unified in the context of peace, including in articles celebrating annual Days of African Liberation each May (see Section 6.2.4.8), and in articles such as 1957's C42, in which Africa was said to be playing a major role in world peace. In C35, C73, C136 and C215, *Pravda* used inverted commas to discredit claims of European colonising countries, as in И все же Лиссабон давно потерял бы все «свои» африканские территории ("Yet Lisbon would long ago have lost all 'its' African territory"). (C136b, 1972) This too served to construct a message of "Africa for the Africans", in a unified continent. In general, *Pravda* drew a positive, uniform picture of post-independence African countries, for example in 1963, when it described and celebrated the African Development Bank, new constitutions and African Women's Day (C77). But *Pravda* also painted problems in some independent countries in the UK-led Commonwealth: in 1967, *Pravda* discussed Kenya's difficulties after

independence (C106) and South Africa's continuing problems of racism (C107). The impression created was of a naturally unified Africa subject to outside interference.

Summary: Thus in the post-Stalin Cold War, as previously, *Pravda* still treated Africa as a country, as it constructed its “national” identity through the five classic unifying strategies of national identity. These were: a *homo Africanus* beset by problems and lacking political freedom; a common political past of resisting apartheid and suffering under colonialism and capitalism; a common culture in which politics was the most important element; a common political present of resisting oppressors and wishing to take the scientific socialist path; and a “continental body” in which problems and solutions in one country applied to all African countries, the whole continent and all its people. In this construction were many fallacies caused by the one-sidedness of *Pravda*, which contributed to its over-arching argumentation of a harmful and dangerous West.

6.2.4.4. Hierarchies and freedom struggles (post-Stalin Cold War)

The ideological square, which I have modified for Soviet representation of Africa (see Section 6.1.5.) accommodated a slightly more complex hierarchy than just two camps, as it included a third party, mainly colonised countries. As African countries were low down the hierarchy of world power, *Pravda* presented them as struggling to escape this position, but *Pravda's* discourse simultaneously kept them lower in the hierarchy than the USSR. I here examine C36, C63, C70, C87, C103, C151, C179 and C191.

C36a, consisting of Zhou Enlai's speech to the 1955 Bandung Conference and a short report of meetings attended by delegates, presents an early establishment of Africa's place in the hierarchy. While the countries of “Asia and Africa” are said by the Chinese leader to be engaging in meetings which appear to be high-level international ones concerning important matters of economic, cultural and political cooperation, the USSR is absent from both articles, apart from reference to предложение Советского Союза (the “Soviet proposal”). Hence the speech positions China amongst ex-colonies struggling to cooperate, resist colonialism and develop, subsumes Africa into a grouping of Asia and Africa, and positions the USSR outside this group, benignly helping this process. Thus the article (like many before and after it) serves to elevate the USSR through excluding it from these countries which are its allies but which отстают в экономическом и культурном отношениях (“have lagged behind in economic and cultural relations”). Much of the USSR was part of Asia, and it could have been logical

to group that part of the USSR with countries of Asia and Africa. Instead, the sole mention of the USSR positions it as helper of a group with the status of ‘underdeveloped’, and so constructs the USSR as higher in the hierarchy than Africa and Asia, including China. This brings to mind the present-day observations of Brezhneva and Ukhova mentioned in Section 5.5.3. that post-Soviet Russia also prefers to align itself with the strong North (Brezhneva and Ukhova, 2013). This is quite different from the discourse of the 1946 meeting in New York (C23), in which *Pravda* was proud to report Russia as a former colony, along with the underdogs and opposed to the hypocritical West. With the Cold War firmly underway by 1955, *Pravda* was more determined to vaunt the USSR’s strength rather than underdog status.

As in the previous period, Africa and its allies were shown fighting imperialism, and *Pravda* now elaborated on this theme of freedom struggles, as it explained the evil mesh in which Africa was caught and African countries’ reactions to this. For example, in 1957, when *Pravda* elaborated on the workings of Western capitalism in Africa, it also explained African resistance:

36.

растущим сопротивлением, как выражаются газеты, «американскому руководству». Это сопротивление захватило не только страны Азии и Африки, недавно получившие национальную независимость. (C39b)

The verb захватило (“captured”) above conveyed a dynamic Africa, but as usual reacting to the West. As *Pravda* associated Africa’s resistance to exploitative American and UK capitalism with countries’ new-found independence, it used rousing language, expressing movement and dynamism, for example, in 1959, dense with metaphors:

37.

Африка поднялась против империалистов.... тех, кто борется за свое освобождение от ига колониализма... могучий поток национально-освободительной борьбы народов Африки. (C51).

The metaphor of flowing water (поток) in extract 37 conveys the unstoppable of Africa’s liberation struggle, but this eternal struggle showed Africa at the bottom of the hierarchy, as it portrayed Africa reacting to impositions by the West.

In the 1960s, as more African countries gained independence, the pre-existing association of the West with colonialism, imperialism, war, oppression, Western countries, fascism, attacking the USSR, poverty and exploitation expanded to include

opposition to democracy in Africa. From 1960 to 1965, *Pravda* reported the Western murder of Congolese Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, first reporting the arrival of 300 Swedish UN troops in Congo as unexplained, in 1960: Какие задачи этого военного отряда, — неизвестно: как и прежде. Хаммаршельд упорно скрывает истинные цели своих действий от общественности. (“The tasks of this military unit are unexplained: as before. Hammarskjold stubbornly hides from society the real aims of his activities.”) (C54a). In creating mystery about the West’s aims, *Pravda* deployed its strategy of hinting at the West’s possible evil intent. *Pravda* reported alleged worldwide protests clamouring for Lumumba’s freedom: Нет такого уголка на земле, где сегодня не звучали бы призывы «Вон колонизаторов из Конго!», «Свобода Патрису Лумумбе» (“There is no corner on earth today where calls do not ring out, of “Colonisers, leave Congo!”, “Free Patrice Lumumba””) (C59, 1960). Thus the West was portrayed as opposing not only Congolese democracy, in complicity in the capture of Congo’s Prime Minister, but opposing the will of people around the world. *Pravda* reported Lumumba’s 1961 murder through persuasive metaphor of violence: и сейчас на земле Конго проливается кровь и страна не может обрести единства (“now blood is flowing on Congolese earth and the country cannot find unity”) (C66, 1961). Its reporting four years later used more restrained language, under the headline Новые факты о преступлении в Элизабетвил (“New Facts about the Crime in Elizabethville”) (C92a, 1965), concerning *Jeune Afrique*’s allegation that Lumumba’s execution had been upon the instruction of Chombe and Belgian captain Julien Gat, but an exclamation mark conveyed *Pravda*’s indignation at the West’s perverse values: Две недели назад он [Хаммаршельд] был награжден орденом (!) (“Two weeks ago he [Hammarskjold] was rewarded with a medal (!)”). (C92a)

As well as associating the West with opposition to democracy in Africa, in this emerging postcolonial world, *Pravda* associated the West with neocolonialism. In 1962’s C70b, a fairly long article on disarmament, Canadian peace activist James Endicott refers to Africa in passing, in his ontological metaphor of ancient human bones found in Africa being like a bridge between one piece of knowledge on evolution and another, just as disarmament is a bridge between present and future. He also uses Africa to support his argument that colonialism is old-fashioned and will disappear, despite the efforts of the British and US governments, since the people of colonised continents know что именно разоружение является самым надежным фундаментом, на котором они могут развивать свою борьбу за национальную независимость (“that

disarmament is the surest foundation on which they can develop their fight for national independence”). As Endicott (and hence *Pravda*) invokes the topos of history to illustrate the present and the future, Africa’s role is merely to prop up arguments.

Pravda constructed African freedom struggles as part of African solidarity, as in extract 38 from 1965:

38.

ДОЛГ ПЕРЕД АФРИКОЙ

АЛЖИР, 6. (Соб. корр. «Правды»). «Да, мы помогаем конголезским повстанцам. Делая это, мы считаем, что выполняем свой долг по отношению к Конго и к Африке в целом», — заявил Ахмед Бен Белла в интервью тунисскому еженедельнику «Жен Африк». Процесс, который развивается в Конго — сердце Африки, — угрожает всему нашему континенту, африканским странам, которые борются за свою независимость, а также странам, уже завоевавшим и отстаивающим свою независимость. (C87a)

Thus, although *Pravda* allowed for an Africa of some variety (part in a capitalist and the rest in a socialist camp, underdeveloped and perhaps developed, some countries governed by white racists and others governed by black Africans, some independent and others not yet - and here north Africa as opposed to сердце Африки (“the heart of Africa”)), extract (38) constructs an Africa united by political struggle. It ends with the Algerian leader stating that the solution will be political and unified, through the Organisation for African Unity. C87’s three articles on Africa all centre around Congo. In C87b, *Pravda* reports that Tshombe has to buy recruits to his army, and thereby continues the construction of struggle uniting Africa, whose people will only act against each other if paid to do so. It uses the topos of numbers for emphasis:

39.

Капитан Эрик Бриджес... заявил, что он получил из Леопольдвилья указание отправить к концу этого месяца в Конго не менее 300 человек... Чомбе для привлечения наемников намеревается увеличить месячное жалование солдат в четыре раза — с 50 до 200 фунтов. (C87b)

The next article on the page, C87c includes indirect quotes from unnamed US Senators, concerned that people in Africa are threatening US propaganda centres and libraries, and rejecting US “aid”. Here *Pravda* presents Africa united against USA aid, alleging that эти страны требуют, чтобы США оставили их и покое со своей «помощью» и не вмешивались в их внутренние дела (“these countries are demanding that the United States leave them in peace with their "aid" and stop meddling in their internal

affairs”), and that unspecified people in these unnamed African countries are allegedly telling the United States чтобы они «пошли к черту» (“to “go to hell”). These two phrases attribute informal colloquialisms to African speakers, portraying them as representing the USA and its aid negatively through stronger language than previous texts have attributed to African speakers. Thus Africa’s speaking back is portrayed as more impatient than previously. Meantime, as so often, *Pravda* obfuscates who precisely in which African country is saying this and rejecting which aid, but in presenting an oppressed Africa united against the West, the newspaper also presents a large, worldwide alliance against the West. Curiously, the paper also states that US Senators support an increase in US-Soviet trade and meetings between US and Soviet leaders, as if US Senators acknowledge the USSR as wise intermediary, able to temper the USA’s foolishness and belligerence; but these Senators are indetermined, unnamed and unexplained. Whatever the reasons for this vagueness, it is clear that united Africa is at the bottom of the hierarchy, struggling against its treatment.

In 1967’s C103, *Pravda* intensified reporting of alleged African anti-US feeling, following revelations about the US government’s underhand activities in Africa, and simultaneously mitigated reporting of any similar Soviet activities in Africa. The article is written purportedly from the perspective of East Africa, in quoting the newspaper *East Africa Standard*, but also refers to general African anger, in a *toto pro pars* (in Wodak’s terminology) or a genericisation (in van Leeuwen’s). The article refers obliquely to период американо-бельгийской агрессии в Конго (“the period of US-Belgian aggression in Congo”), and admissions in a new book, «Красные и черные» (“The Reds and The Blacks”), by the former US Ambassador to Kenya about his activities to undermine Kenyan politics. However, the article elaborates on none of these. Instead, its strategy is to build up a picture to justify the professed anger of Africans. First the article belittles the title of the book “The Reds and The Blacks” and hence devalues the book itself. It quotes an African source for verification of African protests against the book, and refers to the USA’s self-incrimination: Африканцам хорошо известны последние разоблачения деятельности ЦРУ, сделанные американской прессой (“Africans know well the latest revelations of the CIA’s activities, made in the American press”). It gives no source to back up this assertion, but quotes African politicians who are outraged by the book and its revelations and who criticise Attwood, asserts that the book contains one нелепая выдумка (“awkward fabrication”) after another, and again reports self-incrimination stating that the new US

Ambassador has distanced himself from his too talkative predecessor. Finally, the article satirises the fact that the new Ambassador says he will not refrain from underhand activities but will simply not write about them for 5 years after leaving his post. The ironical ending emphasises the untrustworthiness of the US government, and reinforces a sense that we can expect nothing better from the USA. The repeated assertion of African anger - столь бурная реакция ("such a violent reaction") - positions *Pravda* as usual on the side of the unified African people. However, as van Leeuwen points out, "As the power of social actors decreases, the amount of emotive reactions attributed to them increases." (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 56) In showing Africa as emotional, *Pravda* was conveying that Africa is low in the hierarchy.

In other articles too, Africa's alleged influence in world affairs was belied by *Pravda*'s otherwise insistent narrative of Africa as victim of the West, protestor at its treatment, and pupil of the USSR. 1961's C63 is an example of this last. Here, *Pravda* named all 5 Soviet and 5 Ghanaian dignitaries who attended one event, and all 5 Sudanese and 5 Soviets at another event. In the report of the latter, the Sudanese were named first. Thus in naming, the newspaper granted parity to Soviets and Africans, and possibly elevated the Africans over the Soviets. However, although *Pravda*, printing the speeches of Khrushchev and Abboud, emphasised their equal voices, both speeches positioned the USSR as model, supporter and teacher of Sudan, which was therefore inferior to the USSR. One of Khrushchev's metaphors portrays liberation as natural and unstoppable like flowing water, общий поток освободительного движения африканских народов ("the general flow of the liberation movement of the African peoples"), as in extract 37 (C51, 1959) from earlier in this Section 6.2.4.4.. Another portrays colonialism as a physical medium vulnerable to human destruction, ликвидацию остатков колониализма в Африке ("the liquidation of remnants of colonialism in Africa"). In reply, four times Abboud uses the metaphor of a tree, speaking of глубокие корни ("the deep roots") of friendship between the Soviet people and Sudan. This source domain of a tree stresses the organic naturalness and deep strength of this friendship. He invokes the topos of history, narrating a long history of help from the USSR to colonised countries, dating back to Lenin's times and up to the declaration of the UN General Assembly promoted by the USSR. His metaphor using the source domain of the human body, specifically outstretched hands, when he states that Sudan протянули вам свои руки сразу ("stretched out our hands to you immediately") in friendship to the USSR, entrenches this vision of collaboration. The

image of peaceful outstretching of hands conveys Sudan's deliberate actions and hence great desire to be friends with the USSR, and the peaceful intent with which it maintains this friendship. This front page conveys that Ghana and Sudan are important in the world, that Soviet and Sudanese governments are organised and friends, but that the USSR is a model and teacher for Africa. Bearing in mind Gift Theory, described in Section 4.1.7., and the social actor network, in which an agent's agency ends if it goes down the route of beneficialisation (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 52), we see that *Pravda's* construction implicitly put African countries below the USSR in the hierarchy. Simultaneously, in constructing African countries as important, *Pravda* rendered this Soviet position above them as fairly high and hence elevated the USSR.

Reporting freedom struggles was important to elevating the USSR: if Africa was unfree, the USSR must be more free and more powerful. In a variation on Gift Theory and social actor network, it was in helping freedom struggles, rather than primarily through aid, that the USSR discursively positioned itself as more powerful than those whom it helped. As those helped were described as struggling and not helpless, they were not at the bottom of the hierarchy. The USSR above them must therefore be high.

Pravda not only conveyed the USSR as higher than Africa in the hierarchy, it also conveyed some distance between them, one a superpower, the other burdened by its past. A multimodal analysis of 1974's C151 shows that *Pravda's* representation of



Africa's struggles was sympathetic but distant. In it, two adjacent photographs, of a

demonstrator holding a photograph of assassinated leader Cabral of Guinea-Bissau, and of students demonstrating for the Mozambique Liberation Front, FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambiq), showed an unfree, distant Africa, struggling against forces which the USSR too opposed. *Pravda* explains in captions how bad the fascist West is, and how unfree it made Africa, with the left and right captions respectively:

40.

После свержения в Лиссабоне фашистской диктатуры на улицах Бисау, столицы Республики Гвинеи-Бисау, появились портреты Амилькара Кабрала, Генерального секретаря Африканской партии независимости Гвинеи и островов Зеленого Мыса, злодейски убитого агентами ПИДЕ (фашистской охранки) 20 января прошлого года (снимок слева). (C151a)

41.

Студенты университета Лоренсу-Маркиша, столицы Мозамбика, на митинге солидарности с патриотами Фронта освобождения Мозамбика (снимок справа). Подобные манифестации стали возможными только после изменения политики Лиссабона. Они свидетельствуют о той огромной популярности, которую завоевали в стране бойцы ФРЕЛИМО. (C151b)

Even though *Pravda* reports that Western policy is changing, as a result of changes in Portugal, and even though Africans are said to be taking action, these captions in extracts 40 and 41 still convey that African self-expression depends on the colonial power's policies. *Pravda* makes clear that it (and hence the USSR) opposes the West, as it refers in extract 40 to Portugal's "fascist dictatorship", and associates it with murder and Nazi secret police. But in the photographs, Africa is far away, since we make eye contact with nobody, and in the right-hand photograph the people are in the distance from us. In the left-hand picture, the assassinated political leader represents Africa's past, which overshadows the child carrying the poster, who represents the future as she looks to the New, on the right. He and the past are the nucleus of this photograph, on which the child depends, as she also moves to the New. To the right of this photograph, further into the New, we look up to people at the rally, but they are homogenised. The photographs convey that Africa is shaped by its colonial past and is struggling, and that the USSR has noticed this and is sympathetic.

Finally, I examine 1981's C191a, and show how *Pravda* not only used developing countries to construct the West, but in the process used the West to shape its depiction of developing countries, the whole driven by *Pravda's* usual argumentation.

For example, the West is said to be instituting мощные тарифные барьеры (“powerful tariff barriers”) and взвинчивать цены на экспорт промышленной продукции (“pushing up prices for industrial exports”). The emotive words мощные and взвинчивать emphasise the actions’ negative impact, to be felt by Africa. These actions are repeated in other words, or substitutions (van Leeuwen, 2008: 17), such as усиление торгово-экономической дискриминации развивающихся стран (“strengthening of trade and economic discrimination against developing countries”) and замедлению темпов их развития (“slowdown in their economic development”). Such repetitions reinforce the message of Western economic action which harms Africa. Meantime, deletions (ibid: 18) - omissions or mitigations, questions which *Pravda* does not raise but which an astute reader might raise - include: if developing countries are suffering in this way, is the USSR not also susceptible to suffering from these actions of the West? It does not suit *Pravda*’s argumentation to raise this question, which would put the USSR on a par with lowly developing countries.

Pravda’s argumentation also drives the order in which it gives information. Phrases such as торгово-экономическая дискриминация развивающихся стран (“trade and economic discrimination against developing countries”) and неравноправный экономический порядок, установленный Западом (“unequal economic order established by the West”) build a picture of evil intent on the part of the West. Only after establishing this does *Pravda* convey that in fact the West cannot help itself, due to the “contradictions” in its own system:

42.

Сталкиваясь с резким обострением собственных экономических проблем, вызываемым прежде всего политикой интенсивной милитаризации, нарастанием межимпериалистических противоречий, страны Запада ищут выхода из трудностей за счет усиления эксплуатации развивающихся стран. (C191a)

Hence *Pravda* states in extract 42, only after it has established the West’s harmful intent, that the West first intensified its militarisation and experienced the effects of its internal “contradictions”, then experienced more economic problems, and only then strengthened its discrimination against developing countries. *Pravda* strengthens the argumentation by first ensuring that the reader understands the West’s evil, but in any case this evil directed at “developing countries” was itself allegedly precipitated by the West’s evil militarisation. The statement of the West’s purpose in example 42 is

embedded in a long list of economic suffering endured by developing countries, but their reaction to it and hence their agency is represented only at the end of the article:

43.

Вот почему развивающиеся страны все решительнее добиваются установления нового международного экономического порядка, который учитывал бы их интересы, а не служил бы только источником обогащения западных монополий. Прежде всего выдвигается требование отказа Запада от протекционистских барьеров, от грабительской политики цен, перераспределения доходов транснациональных корпораций на справедливой основе. (С191а)

While the entire article could be legitimisation for developing countries' actions presented in the last paragraph in extract 43, as usual it is the construction of the West which dominates, and in this process, developing countries are also defined. At first in the article they are evaluated and legitimised as genuinely developing, nominated and categorised according to this function in the second sentence: Это ведет к замедлению темпов их развития, к снижению доходов на душу населения ("This leads to a slowdown in their development"). However, while *Pravda* then appears to overdetermine them, referring to them developing, earning income, trading, exporting, buying fertilisers and steel, borrowing and experiencing a hampering of "dynamic economic growth", we see in extracts 42 and 43 that in fact developing countries are never the subject of these nominalised actions, or are referred to as страна ("a country"). Developing countries are passivated and subjected, their agency backgrounded, until the last paragraph, when they are activated, but even in the last sentence it is not clear who will reject and redistribute. Moreover, as social actors, they are genericised, specified in no more detail than in the phrase молодые государства ("young states") and the word Африка "Africa", just before the last paragraph. *Pravda* thus aggregates and collectivises African and developing countries into this one phrase, for which no explanation appears required. Constant reference to developing countries' economic workings and problems impersonalises them, while reference to their people only through their countries objectifies those people. By contrast, the paper makes specific reference to the IBRD, World Bank and FAO and their reports, while the headline Грабительская политика, "Predatory policy", also refers to action of the West, not of Africa. Indeed, the word развивающийся ("developing"), although initially associated with the action of developing, develops a connotation, carrying information beyond that of the action alone, connotations of weakness and easy

victimhood. The nomination is used to oppose “developing” to “developed” countries: экспорт промышленно развитых капиталистических стран в развивающиеся (“exports of industrially developed capitalist countries to developing countries”).

Thus developing countries in this article are rarely agents, the act of developing is turned into a permanent quality, descriptivised, and they are low down the hierarchy. Their move to action at the end of the article is simply reaction to the West’s actions.

Pravda invokes the topos of authority in conveying the writer’s knowledge of economics:

44.

стремительное увеличение дефицита их торгового баланса = искусственно заниженные уровень цены на импортируемые из молодых государств продовольственные и сырьевые товары = цены на кофе... даже снизились = увеличение торгового дефицита развивающихся стран по сельскохозяйственной продукции более чем на 50 процентов = совокупный дефицит платежного баланса развивающихся стран, не являющихся экспортерами нефти, возрос (C191a)

Increasing its own credibility through this impressive array of economic terms (of which extract 44 is a sample, illustrating many ways of expressing the concept of reduced income from exports), *Pravda* confers authority upon its argumentation, of African and other developing countries reacting to the West. In a form of mythopoesis (moral or cautionary tale (ibid: 119)) in the penultimate paragraph, C191a tells us that, Экономическому закабалению развивающихся стран служат и тяжелые условия займов, предоставляемых им международными финансовыми институтами. (“Economic enslavement of developing countries worsens the harsh conditions of loans granted to them by international financial institutions”). Following this moral tale of the future with developing countries’ alleged rebellion, the newspaper foretells a rejection by developing countries of the West’s evil ways, and in constructing developing countries’ purpose as opposing the West, it finally discursively empowers them. As van Leeuwen explains, it is the powerful who have purpose, while the powerless act on impulse or in response to commands. Therefore, in the last two paragraphs, just as developing countries’ purpose emerges, it emerges together with their emotions, as *Pravda* talks of their все решительнее (“ever more decisive”) pursuit of a new economic order, and отказ “rejection” of the West’s protectionism. In presenting these countries or their people as emotional, *Pravda* in fact lowers their position, as it

simultaneously grants them agency, albeit reactionary agency. In total, C191a constructs Africa lower in the hierarchy than both the West and the USSR, but high enough to elevate the USSR above it. Here too, as already shown in Section 6.2.4.3, above, Africa allegedly spoke for itself as it voiced the opinions of the USSR behind it, but was a discursive front and rhetorical proxy for the opinions of the USSR.

Summary: In the post-Stalin Cold War, *Pravda's* ideological square, which opposed the USSR to the West, was supplemented by and backed up a hierarchy of power, in which the West and the USSR vied for top position, with Africa beneath. *Pravda* used Africa to construct the West, and used the West to construct Africa. Africa was a tool to elevate the USSR, both through being weaker than it and yet struggling valiantly and so not too low down the power scale, and through being available for the USSR to help. As we know from Gift Theory, giving to (or helping) one who cannot return the favour puts the giver or helper above the recipient or helped person. As the newspaper portrayed the West giving harmful aid to Africa, it portrayed the USSR supporting Africa in its struggles for freedom. *Pravda* promoted African leaders more than ordinary Africans, and had a propensity to defer to international bodies over Africans. It showed Africa as purposefully speaking up for itself, voicing opinions with which the USSR agreed, against the same enemy, a rhetorical proxy for the USSR.

6.2.4.5. Race (post-Stalin Cold War)

I noted in Section 2.1.3. that race has for long been used to divide people (Anderson, 1983, revised and extended 1991) (Mbembe, 2003), and that it is a major concern of CDA (Richardson and Wodak, 2013). I now turn to look at what role race played in *Pravda's* discourse on Africa in the post-Stalin Cold War.

I have already shown, particularly in Section 6.2.4.1. (C60a and C109) and Section 6.2.4.3. (C179) that *Pravda* treated white racist powers and people as somehow non-African, indicating that to be African one had to be black. I also showed in Section 6.2.4.3., that one division of African countries was into those ruled by blacks (real Africans) and those ruled by whites (non-Africans). C129a of 1971, in which *Pravda* contrasts racist white Africans in Rhodesia with “Africans”, similarly implies that whites are not African, and represents them as colluding with the UK government:

45.

Детали соглашения между Лондоном и Солсбери, оглашенные вчера в

английском парламенте, подтвердили опасения тех, кто полагал, что на переговорах Дуглас-Хьюма со Смитом была выработана формулировка едва замаскированного предательства интересов африканского населения Родезии... Сегодня в Родезии, в частности, бывшей английской колонии, пять миллионов африканцев лишены элементарных человеческих прав. Политическая и экономическая власть, лучшие земли, сама жизнь принадлежат четверти миллиона белых, точнее говоря, верхушке белых колонизаторов. (C129a)

Extract 45, contrasting “five million Africans” to “a quarter of a million whites”, indicates again that Africa and blackness are inseparable, with real Africans being black. Although Ben Abbes’s speech (see 6.2.4.1., 6.2.4.2., 6.2.4.7. and 6.2.4.8.) speaks of both black and white Africans (C61, 1961), when *Pravda* spoke directly, it presupposed that to be African, one must be black. In 1972’s C136, Namibian workers are called африканские рабочие (“African workers”), and opposed to people of European origin. We may presume that the latter are white, in Даже часть европейских поселенцев приходит к выводу, что система оголтелого расизма приведет к катастрофическим последствиям. (“Even some of the European settlers are coming to the conclusion that the system of rabid racism is disastrous.”) Either “African” meant “black”, or *Pravda* was generalising from Namibia to Africa as a whole, in a *pars pro toto* synecdoche; the context indicates the former. In seeing Africans as primarily black, and whites as non-African, *Pravda* defined Africans largely by race.



Thus *Pravda* used race as another tool in the ideological square. However, if the logical conclusion might be that races should live only where their ancestors came from, this is globally incoherent with *Pravda*’s support of American blacks’ human rights to be respected in the USA. The common theme was that *Pravda* aligned itself with whoever was underdog to the West, and sometimes defined this by race. For example in 1963’s C80e, a photograph of American blacks marching in Washington carries a caption starting «Мы требуем покончить с расовой дискриминацией сейчас!»,

«Нам нужна работа!», «Мы требуем равных прав!» (““We demand an end to racial discrimination now!”, “We need work!”, “We demand equal rights!”) (C80e). Here, *Pravda* did not presuppose that to be American, one had to be white. This inconsistency was a flaw in *Pravda*’s argumentation, a fallacy which omitted whites living in Africa who were battling apartheid. On the other hand, it also brings to mind the fact noted in Chapter 5 that the Soviet government used American black people to advocate and speak for the liberation of Africa. Race was thus both a defining tool in presenting Africa and Africans, and a tool in the overall ideological square, and as such was subject to inconsistencies when manipulated to suit the argument in hand.

Returning to C129, and illustrating the place of African white racists in the ideological square, the cartoon shown here, by V. Fomichev, demonstrates *Pravda*’s depiction of Britain’s close association with a white racist post-independence African regime. The cartoon accompanies two articles, C129a containing the above extract 45 headlined “Лондон-Солсбери: СГОВОР КОЛОНИЗАТОРОВ И РАСИСТОВ” (“London-Salisbury: A CONSPIRACY OF COLONISERS AND RACISTS”), and C129b headlined “ДВЕ СТОРОНЫ ОДНОЙ МЕДАЛИ” (“TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN”). The cartoon shows a big woman with the British flag on her helmet, representing the British Empire, hugging and kissing a small white colonialist boy, who has to stand on his bag to reach her and who is putting his hand in her apron pocket with a pound sign on it. My analysis using van Leeuwen’s social semiotics approach (van Leeuwen, 2008) shows that the happy rotund old person labelled “Stock Exchange” is Given, company shares which dance with glee are Real and Given, the open door on the right is New, and Britannia is the nucleus, on which the others depend. The small colonialist boy has returned home to the British Empire, with an axe dripping with liquid (presumably blood), and with other weapons of oppression: handcuffs and a gun. The rest of Africa is off-stage, present only in its blood dripping from the axe. We are equal to (on a level with) all these characters, but have no social interaction with them. However, as in the 1914 photograph published in 1934, the *Pravda* reader is closest to the colonialist, and not far from the Empire. Black Africa’s absence (except through the presence of its blood) is symptomatic of its usual role, that of merely illustrating the evil West or the good USSR. The caption above is: Переговоры английского министра иностранных дел Дуглас-Хьюма с главарем расистского режима Яном Смитом завершились позорной сделкой. (“Negotiations of British Foreign Secretary Douglas-Home with the leader of Ian Smith’s racist regime have culminated in a shameful

bargain.”) The caption below is: Ликование в консервативно-расистском семействе (“Jubilation in the Conservative-Racist family”). These captions concern negotiations between powers about an absent black Africa and an absent white-ruled Rhodesia, which are not even named in the cartoon or its captions. No black is present in this depiction of white-white collusion, and *Pravda* brings its readers closer to the whites than the blacks, as absent Africa serves to make a point, as usual.

C129a, however, shows a more complex picture, similar to the report of the 1946 rally in New York, which showed a difference between the USA government and its people. C129a portrayed Britain through a racist elite, an outraged public, and angry Labour Members of Parliament:

46.

«Сговор!», «Предательство!», «Мюнхен!» — неслось со скамей лейбористской оппозиции... Сотни разгневанных демонстрантов штурмовали подъезд резиденции премьера на Даунинг-стрит. «Смит и Хит—партнеры по колониализму», «Долой второй Мюнхен!», «Освободите африканских борцов за независимость!» — требовали пикетирующие. (C129a)

The reported language of the opposition and protesters in extract 46 is angry, with short exclamations, and use of numbers. The verb штурмовать (“to storm”) represents violence of the crowd, and reference to the Munich Agreement represents the ignominy of the signing of the 1971 Anglo-Rhodesian Agreement. In showing again that the West (like Africa) contained diversity of opinion, *Pravda* conveyed that the USSR had moral allies worldwide, in its crusade to defeat racism.

While the C129 cartoon showed western and colonial whites scheming about an absent Africa, two photographs from 1974’s C147 presented evidence from Africa. One is of a black South African being beaten by police and the other is of a demonstration by black South Africans. Both conveyed effectively *Pravda*’s sympathy with black Africans. However, here *Pravda* viewers are looking down on these Africans, making eye contact with none, and viewing them from some distance. The black Africans are victims and protesters. In the photograph on the right, the Africans in the crowd are homogenised, as in the headline: МАССОВЫЕ ВЫСТУПЛЕНИЯ АФРИКАНЦЕВ (“MASSIVE DEMONSTRATIONS OF AFRICANS”), from which we do not know their country. In the photograph on the left, the African and the white man both play their expected roles, in loincloth and police uniform, unarmed and armed, respectively, both confirming the racial stereotypes which *Pravda* portrayed in South Africa. There is

global coherence with the C129 cartoon, in which *Pravda* brought its readers close to whites, while the C147 keeps readers more distant from blacks.



This multimodal communication contained internal coherence, with a narrative of black Africans resisting or fleeing racist police officers, and protesting peacefully against their treatment. This was also coherent with the overall narrative over decades of *Pravda*, of oppressed Africans, righteously protesting. However, it was possibly incoherent with the fact that the USSR published mainly white South African novelists, playwrights and poets who campaigned against apartheid, as noted in Chapter 5. *Pravda* did not complicate its simple message in Africa by including white South Africans who protested against apartheid, although it showed more complexity in the West, with whites campaigning against Western-supported racism.

Summary: *Pravda* saw Africa and blackness as inseparable, real Africans as black, and whites as barely or un-African. Race defined Africa for *Pravda*, but if the logical conclusion of this was that races should live where their ancestors lived, this contradicted *Pravda's* support of African American rights in the USA, betraying a fallacy in *Pravda's* argumentation. *Pravda* saw Africa through a lens of race, and professed a mission to defeat racism and elevate black Africans, but instead brought readers closer to white racists than to suffering black Africans. While a focus on race was essential to understanding African news, *Pravda's* black and white portrayal did not permit of the complexity of white African voices speaking against apartheid.

6.2.4.6. Work (post-Stalin Cold War)

While *Pravda* conveyed Africa mainly through portrayals of oppression, struggle and politics, and, as I showed in the structural analysis, occasionally through landscape,

climate and wildlife, *Pravda* also conveyed Africa and Africans through work. *Pravda* made less use of alternative ways of constructing Africans' lives, such as through depicting homes, buildings, transport, food, childbirth, death, family, ancestors, religion, folklore, music and festivals. Of course, these aspects of people's lives need not necessarily figure prominently in a newspaper, and might instead be portrayed in other Soviet publications. However, *Pravda* might equally have deliberately left portrayals of work to other publications. *Pravda* probably had mixed motivations for using work, all springing from Soviet ideology, of which I here list the main ones. Work was a strong totem of socialism, and indeed of modern Northern life, one of the lenses through which *Pravda* and indeed the West saw the world. The newspaper tended to convey Africans as similar to Soviet citizens, for whom work was a central and discrete part of life. The paper's readership could identify with people who worked, especially in paid jobs. *Pravda* was constructing a continent which worked hard and was capable of independence. It was constructing a continent which worked hard to cover its needs and did not need Western aid, although its work ethic enabled it to use Soviet aid wisely. Finally, the paper was constructing a workers' continent, ripe for socialism.

The corpus shows work of limited variety, mainly agricultural, industrial, educational and military. *Pravda* thus ignored many other common areas of work, including cooking, cleaning, childcare and caring at home for the sick and elderly. Given that these were and are largely performed by women in Africa, *Pravda* ignored much African female work, although agricultural work in Africa is both female and male work. *Pravda* also showed little other work, including institutional healthcare, services such as catering, intellectual work, or petty trading and subsistence agriculture. The last two are large parts of African work.

Looking at how *Pravda* portrayed the limited range of work which it did depict, and looking at agricultural work first, we see that in 1964's C83, a speech by Khrushchev referred to Africans as peasants working the soil:

47.

Вы, наверное, слышали о том, что колониальные войска, уходя из Алжира, оставили позади, на алжирской земле, минные поля. Сейчас алжирскому народу приходится тщательно выискивать и уничтожать это смертоносное «наследие» колонизаторов для того, чтобы крестьяне могли мирно пахать землю. (C83b)

Africa is described in extract 47 in terms of its soil and peasants. Народ (“the people”), крестьяне (“peasants”) and мирно пахать землю (“peacefully work the soil”) are all Soviet language of class and work, simply transposed to Africans.

The African in 1973’s C141 cartoon was constructed through a portrayal of his work, possibly agricultural work. Occasioned by the Nigerian minister W. Briggs making a comment about members of the EEC, the cartoon carried the caption:

48.

Африка все более убеждается в грабительском характере отношений, которые установили члены «Общего рынка» (ЕЭС) с рядом африканских стран, заявил нигерийский министр У. Бриггс. (C141)

Since the cartoon accompanying extract 48 was to portray the enslaving intent of the European Economic Community (EEC), and since slavery involves work, it was appropriate for *Pravda* to portray the African through work. *Pravda*’s image of a traditional, simple African, content with traditional, manual, outdoors work (agricultural or construction), resisting alien, enslaving work for the EEC, suited the purpose.



The cartoon is of a healthy male black worker, labelled on his back “Economy of Countries of Africa”, going about his business but turning his head towards a smartly dressed fat man below, who is inviting him through an ornate door to a place called

“Association with the EEC”. The black man is at approximately our eye level, but the fat man is below our gaze and is distanced from us. We are thus by 1973 now closer to the black man than the white man, but we make eye contact with neither. Behind the door and the wall surrounding the EEC’s place are a wheelbarrow and chain. The African is on the high ground at the front of the cartoon, and so looks over the wall and sees these tools of slavery and exploitation. Being on the left, he is the Given, an African carrying implements of labour and dressed for manual work; the place of his proposed exploitation on the right is the New, but he is walking to the left, the Given. The fat man is the nucleus on which both the black man and exploitation depend. Below

the cartoon, the word “Завлекает” (“Alluring...”) explains that the EEC man is luring the healthy young African into a relationship of slavery. Like the African’s work, work for the EEC was portrayed as manual and outside, but not free or independent, and so we deduce that the African’s traditional labour, that of the economy of African countries, was free and independent. This was different from the modern life of Soviet collective farm workers, whose work was largely not independent, but it was akin to the idyllic Soviet agricultural life recalled by Soviet work discourse such as we saw in C83. *Pravda* thus constructed a stereotype of undeveloped but happy, traditional and independent Africa, naturally suited to outside manual labour. Whether a stereotype of rural life or of construction labour, *Pravda* readers were familiar with both, and so *Pravda* conveyed its message using language and imagery which its readers could understand. As ever, the argumentation dictated the content, and so the African’s health, astute observation of the risk posed by the EEC, status as a manual worker, and independence of direction and work were all portrayed, rather than more industrial symbols of employment.

Another aspect of note is that the African is depicted as healthy, carrying heavy implements over his shoulders while he takes large strides up steps, slim and muscly. He does not look as if he needs aid. His labour is portrayed as good, being independent, simple and manual. By contrast, the EEC man, who wishes to destroy Africa’s good health, is fat, unhealthy and conniving, emphasising the African’s good health.

With regard to industry, 1970’s C120, referring to an African working class and trade unionists, implied at least employment with employers, and possibly industry:

49.

Затем следует область социальная: израильяне стремятся – распространить – свое влияние на нарождающийся рабочий класс Африки... Что может подумать об этом африканский профсоюзный деятель, который знает, что излишки продукции — это сверхприбыль, и она увеличивает капитал в Париже, в Лондоне, в Тель-Авиве. (C120)

The second part of extract 49 is quoted from a letter published in *Jeune Afrique*, by the young Upper Volta student (discussed above in 6.2.4.2.), lending authority to the alleged presence of a working class and trade unions, familiar tropes for Soviet readers.

Similarly, the Namibian африканские рабочие (“African workers”) in 1972’s C136 also implied industry. C136 refers to всеобщая забастовка (a “general strike”) of these workers, reinforcing the idea of a working class, still oppressed by capitalism. We

also saw earlier, in Section 6.2.4.4. that C136 made extensive use of economic terminology to describe development in Africa. In so doing, the article entrenched an assumption of the importance of the economy and work, and included large-scale, modern, non-subsistence farming, mining, oil extraction and car manufacture as elements of African development. Thus *Pravda* constructed a northern (Soviet and Western) model of work in Africa, and with this of course came an employment model, with employees (“workers” in *Pravda*’s terminology) and trade unions.

In C196 (1982), as in C120 and C136, Africans are still constructed as similar to Soviet citizens, in C196c spoken of as members of trade unions, some of them workers in the building trade, all concerned about health and safety at work, and represented by their trade unions at an international conference in Moscow, just like Soviet workers. In C196d, they are the object of UN concern as the UN tried to limit the powers of транснациональные корпорации (“Trans-National Corporations”) and ensure права трудящихся (“workers’ rights”).

Summary: As in other elements of its construction, *Pravda* used imagery which suited its argument of the ideological square, but also imagery which its readers would understand, helping to make *Pravda*’s point. Its Special Correspondents based in Africa could easily have pointed out that most Africans were not members of trades unions, did not work in salaried jobs, and did not work in industry or large farms; *Pravda*’s editors and subeditors could have maintained consistency or explained inconsistency between portrayals of Africa, sometimes simple and traditional and sometimes employed in organised labour; the newspaper could have shown more variety of work, including subsistence farming, and home-based, intellectual, petty trade or craft work, largely self-employed; and it could have portrayed Africans through other aspects of their lives. The fact that *Pravda* did none of these shows that its construction of African work and its predilection to portray Africans through work were choices which suited its argumentation. The newspaper saw the world as shaped by work, and in conveying Africans as similar to Soviet citizens, enabled its readers to identify more easily with Africans. In addition, the paper needed to show an Africa capable of independence and in no need of Western aid. It may not have suited the argument to show self-employed Africans. As ever, it was all about the ideological square.

6.2.4.7. *Voices: recontextualisation, self-incrimination, speaking back, rhetorical proxy (post-Stalin Cold War)*

Recontextualisation is inevitable, perhaps particularly in a newspaper: its sources deliver their product in words, which must be decontextualised and recontextualised, or its writers observe something at first hand, which they turn into words. As noted above, *Pravda's* articles were attributed to TASS, *Pravda's* Own (or Special) Correspondents, unnamed authors, *Jeune Afrique*, and other named authors such as political leaders and experts in their field. Within the articles, sources were sometimes specified and named, sometimes quoted directly, and sometimes not. *Pravda's* recontextualisation made deliberate use of African sources, both individuals and publications, for evidentiality, to enable a select “speaking back”, and to build an impression of large numbers of individuals, countries and media sympathetic to the Soviet view. It also made deliberate use of Western sources, again for evidentiality, but also to construct self-incrimination.

From 1957, names of individual African newspapers, magazines and Chief Editors became common in the corpus. For example, in 1957's C40, concerning the second anniversary of the Bandung Conference, in a section headed “Egypt”, *Pravda* named newspapers Al-Schaab, Al-Gumhurnya and Al-Ahram, and Al-Shaab's Chief editor Hussein Fahmy. In so doing, *Pravda* indicated that the Soviet government knew about, listened to, supported and shared the views of people from Africa and hence of many people in the world. This supported an image of the USSR holding the majority view in the world, against an evil minority of Western governments.

Sometimes *Pravda* had an Asian writer comment on matters concerning Africa. For example, in C40a, Soviet Asian, Mirzo Tursun Zade, Tajik poet and chair of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian countries, commented:

50.

Принципы Бандунга вызвали к жизни мощное движение солидарности и единства народов Азии и Африки, вдохновили народы, все еще борющиеся за свою национальную независимость и свободу, вселили в них уверенность в Торжество их справедливой борьбы. (C40a)

In promoting in extract 50 and sometimes facilitating such South-South support and communications, *Pravda* ignored or rebelled against the Western rule mentioned by Mbembe and Minh-Ha, described in Section 2.1.3., that people from developing countries are discouraged from commenting on other developing countries, and in so doing, *Pravda* presented a particular sort of speaking back, the South speaking for the

South, mediated by *Pravda*. However, this simultaneously strengthened the grouping of Asia and Africa into an amorphous whole.

By 1960, it was common for *Pravda* to name African politicians, for example:

51.

В памяти каждого из нас — яркие выступления президента Ганы Кваме Нкрума, президента Гвинеи Секу Туре, президента ОАР Насера, президента Индонезии Сукарно, премьер-министра Индии Неру, премьер-министра Кубы Фиделя Кастро, представителей многих других стран Азии и Африки делегатов социалистических стран, которые не оставили камня на камне от жалких попыток делегатов США, Англии, Франции и их подголосков обелить и оправдать позорную колониальную систему. (C60a)

The naming and titling of individuals in extract 51 both educated the Soviet public about these leaders and indicated that these numerous influential people were friends of the USSR, since they were against the West. In 1961's C63, the placing of an African leader next to the Soviet leader lent authority to the African voice, as, on the front page, a photograph of Khrushchev and Abboud was placed above an article about their dinner together, followed by the two men's speeches in full.

From the 1960s, *Pravda* quoted the African press more frequently. For example, *Jeune Afrique* (Жен Африк), published in Paris and founded in Tunisia, was a fairly frequent source of information. In a search in East View, looking more broadly than just my corpus, I found that *Pravda* quoted *Jeune Afrique* at least 31 times, from 1963 to 1993: six times in the 1960s, 13 in the 1970s, 10 in the 1980s, once in 1990 and once in 1993. From 1963 to 1967, *Pravda* referred to *Jeune Afrique* as a Tunisian weekly newspaper, in 1971 it featured in an article from Paris, in 1978 *Pravda* called it a French newspaper, and from then on it featured in articles which every so often were said to be from France. According to another search in East View, *Pravda* quoted *Afrique Nouvelle* 9 times between 1965 and 1980, referring to it as a Senegalese or Dakar weekly newspaper. As when *Pravda* quoted African leaders, this was a strategy of evidentiality, with a topos of authority, as African media was surely close to the source of any story about Africa, and therefore could be assumed to be reliable, credible and respected (van Dijk, 2010). Citing African publications also conveyed to readers *Pravda's* close engagement with Africans. It was during this time that Zasursky et al.'s 1979 book (Zasursky et al., 1979), to which I referred in Section 3.4.3., described to Africans how to develop a media like the USSR's and referred to the USA's underhand

promotion of media sympathetic to the West, in developing countries. If we assume, then, that in this time of competing propagandas, there was also a media race, then the USSR may have supported *Jeune Afrique* and *Nouvelle Afrique* in more ways than simply quoting them in *Pravda*.

Pravda quoted various sympathetic media. In the first article in 1982's C196, *Pravda* quotes two Ethiopian newspapers, Indian news agency PTI, Syrian agency SANA, the chair of the Association of Peruvian-Soviet cultural relations, Czechoslovak newspaper *Rudei Pravo*, *Neues Deutschland* (GDR) and Cuban radio. Even if we assume that these sources indeed published what *Pravda* attributed to them, some of their style is like *Pravda*'s, for example including claims which cannot be substantiated. *Addis Zemen*'s Эта конструктивная позиция Советского Союза находит полное понимание и поддержку у всех африканских народов, во всем мире ("This constructive attitude of the USSR has the full understanding and support of all African peoples throughout the world") is a generalising synecdoche, *totum pro parte*, constructing sameness amongst Africans and a common political present, and is impossible to prove.

Pravda also recontextualised Western newspaper texts. From 1964, self-incrimination by the West was normalised, as the rubric ЭТО ГОВОРЯТ ОНИ САМИ ("THEY SAY SO THEMSELVES") was introduced. East View showed the first occurrence of this schematic structure, containing quotes from Western publications, selective detail and statistics, on 7th January 1964. It contained this quote from American Professor Horvath in the journal *East Europe*, an opinion that Soviet aid was in some ways better than US aid:

52.

При сравнении программ советской помощи и американской первая выглядит в более выгодном свете. Это проявляется прежде всего в том, что советские представители заключают с развивающимися странами соглашения о кредитах, о торговом и техническом сотрудничестве как с равными, суверенными партнерами, без каких-либо политических условий. (C86a)

This description in extract 52 of Soviet practice is in fact best practice in development. Without knowing the context of this quote, though, we cannot conclude much from it, but of course it would not suit *Pravda* to present any context which might dilute the American Professor's opinion as presented here.

In the same article, *Pravda* compared good Soviet material and economic aid with the West's bad and devious aid, again through self-incrimination in Парижский буржуазный журнал "Африк" ("Parisian bourgeois magazine "Afrique"):

53.

«Многие обозреватели указывают на характерную особенность советской программы помощи: она концентрируется на строительстве длительных сооружений (металлургические заводы, плотины). В то же время значительную часть американской помощи составляют поставки сельскохозяйственных продуктов в рамках программы «Продовольствие для дела мира» (нередко такие поставки критикуются как способ для США сбыть излишки продуктов сельского хозяйства). Более того, частные американские инвестиции в странах третьего мира, чаще всего в форме участия в смешанных компаниях, в глазах населения этих стран имеют колониалистическую окраску. Советский же Союз осуществляет проект и полностью передает построенное предприятие в распоряжение правительства страны».

«В 29 странах, получающих помощь социалистического блока, — продолжает журнал, — технических специалистов больше, чем в 94 странах, которым оказывают помощь США. Главная причина такого положения в том, что коммунистическая помощь направляется, в первую очередь, в области планирования, строительства, технической консультации.

Что касается американского Корпуса мира, его деятельность неубедительна и вызывает разноречивые толки». (С86а)

There is much to comment on in extract 53. Firstly, most readers could not assess if *Afrique* was really a "bourgeois" magazine. Secondly, *Pravda* lumps France and the USA together, in putting French commentary of USA policies under the rubric "They Say So Themselves". *Pravda* presupposes French and American opinion as a uniform 'Western' view, in a *pars pro toto*, whereby if a French "bourgeois" magazine criticizes USA policy, this is either a surprise deviation from stated opinion, or it shows what France and the West as a whole really believe. Under the self-incrimination rubric *Pravda* treated dissenting thought in the West as a weakness rather than a strength as part of free public debate. Thus *Pravda* used the rubric to present any Western criticism of USA policy as confused and illogical thinking, or of moments of truth in the midst of lies. Either way, *Pravda* was deploying its usual strategy of evidentiality, quoting others in order to make clear that it is not alone in its opinions. Finally, *Pravda* saw fit to quote an extract of an opinion piece which does not state its own sources. Phrases such as многие обозреватели ("many observers"), значительная часть ("a significant portion"), нередко ... критикуются ("are often criticised"), в глазах населения этих

стран (“in the eyes of the population of these countries”), его деятельность неубедительна (“its activities are unconvincing” and разноречивые толки (“contradictory rumours”) are imprecise and obfuscatory, and do not provide sufficient information for scrutiny and hence debate, were this even allowed in the USSR. The article breaks the rules of argumentation in several ways.

Pravda also, of course, recontextualised Soviet texts. It portrayed the USSR as making frequent verbal interventions on behalf of African freedom, and cited numerous speeches, meetings and other evidence of solidarity in support of African freedom. C60a shows how *Pravda* nearly conveyed that it was facilitating speaking back, and nearly conveyed the performative effect of Africa’s speaking:

54.

В борьбе против варварского колониализма миролюбивые народы одержали крупную победу: Генеральная Ассамблея Организации Объединенных Наций приняла Декларацию о предоставлении независимости колониальным странам и народам, проект которой был внесен 43 странами Азии и Африки.

Советская общественность горячо приветствует этот важный итог «великой дискуссии», которая развернулась в стенах ООН по инициативе делегации Советского Союза. (C60a)

Extract 54 states first that the UN adopted an African and Asian initiative, then that the USSR initiated the document, and finally that the USSR had in fact introduced the draft to the UN two months earlier. *Pravda* thus first continued the usual narrative of an active Africa, then showed the USSR as an important supporter and helper of Africa, and finally could not resist admitting or boasting that in fact the USSR was the initiator of the influential document. *Pravda* thus here prioritised clarification of the important role of the USSR over constructing African agency or Africa speaking back.

Africa’s speaking back through *Pravda* was by definition limited, mediated through a non-African outlet. C61, for example, concerns a reception in Moscow to celebrate Africa Day in 1961. Although African ambassadors are said to have organised the event, and the speech on the front page of *Pravda* is of Чрезвычайный и Полномочный Посол Марокко в СССР Башир Бен Аббес (“Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Morocco in the USSR Bashir Ben Abbes”), a full 10 Soviet leaders who attended are named and their titles given, but only one of the 8 African ambassadors is named and titled. Nevertheless, Bashir Ben Abbes is given full rein in this article. His speech describes a celebratory day, День Африки (“Africa

Day”), while the introduction from *Pravda* refers to a somewhat more militant День свободы Африки (“African Freedom Day”). The speech soon likewise turns from a celebration of a sophisticated continent of ancient universities and pyramids, a continent of африканцы, черные и белые “Africans black and white”, освобождающаяся Африка (“Africa liberating itself”) to a more militant tone: наши братья, которые еще ведут борьбу за свою независимость, где бы это ни происходило (“our brothers who are still fighting for their independence, wherever it happens”). His speech, persuasive with metaphors such as пробуждение освобождающейся Африки (“the awakening of liberated Africa”) and марионеточные правительства (“puppet governments”), emphasises that Africa is plagued by many things (расовая сегрегация (“racial segregation”), апартеид (“apartheid”), ядерные испытания (“nuclear testing”)). We are not told who inflicted these ills, but the metaphors tell us not only that change is afoot, but that Africa has been asleep, since it is now “waking up”. The speech presents an opinionated Africa speaking to a friendly USSR, and through *Pravda* speaking back to the colonising West. But it is, of course, *Pravda* who is speaking, as *Pravda* has published the words with no dispute or irony.

In a modernist tactic, C91 of 1965, concerning a meeting of African ambassadors, includes mention of celebrity Soviet author, Chingiz Aitmatov, in much the same way that current charity fundraising in the UK uses celebrities, as we saw in Section 4.2.. To this *Pravda* added Soviet expertise on Africa, in the form of a member of the Presidium of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African countries and the director of the Africa Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. These three Soviets who were reported as giving speeches were counterbalanced by three named Africans who were also said to give speeches at the event to celebrate Africa Liberation Day. In mentioning this celebrity and these experts, *Pravda* created an impression of organised, informed and peaceful but resolute Soviet support, speaking alongside Africa, whom it facilitated to speak.

While portraying the USSR as helping Africa with words, such as texts of resolutions and speeches in international forums, as well as helpful economic and construction aid, but not arms or military aid, *Pravda* showed African freedom-fighters as using both speeches and arms to achieve their aims, for example, in 1970:

55.

Африка требует: НИКАКОЙ ПОДДЕРЖКИ РАСИСТАМ!

Выступления в Политическом комитете совета министров ОАЕ

- Призыв Фронта освобождения Мозамбика
- Разоблачение лицемерной политики западных держав
- 4 года вооруженной борьбы народа Намибии (C124a)

Nevertheless, extract 55 still shows more reporting of Africans' words than of their "armed struggle". In wishful language referred to in Section 3.4.2., *Pravda* also wrote into existence the Soviet people's support for African struggle, as in 1972: посол Эфиопии ... выразил признательность советским людям за постоянную поддержку африканских народов в борьбе за независимость, свободу и социальный прогресс ("The Ambassador of Ethiopia ... expressed gratitude to the Soviet people for their continued support of the African peoples in their struggle for independence, freedom and social progress"). (C136) Africa's voice too was written into existence. Just as in C191a, analysed in Section 6.2.4.4. concerning hierarchies, freedom struggles and rhetorical proxy, in C136b too, Africa fulfilled the role of rhetorical proxy for the USSR. In this role, it was portrayed expressing aspirations which *Pravda* claimed as both African and Soviet, seen in extracts such as:

56.

Голос Африки громко звучит и на международной арене; он обличает расизм и колониализм, опасные дела и замыслы колониалистов и неокolonизаторов. (C136b)

Summary: *Pravda* recontextualised the writings and quotations of sympathetic media and individuals from a variety of places. It facilitated south-south observation, Soviet verbal support, Western self-incrimination and African speaking back, through African media, leaders and citizens. Occasionally *Pravda* let its guard down and boasted of the USSR having achieved successes for Africa which it otherwise credited to Africans. At other times, *Pravda's* construction of Africa went further than its construction of the USSR, as it showed Africa taking military action as well as speaking to win its freedom. Where *Pravda* had Africans speak, though, they often spoke with the voice of *Pravda* and agreed with the USSR. Since *Pravda* would not print a view contradictory to its own without irony or dispute, the words which *Pravda* attributed to Africans and newspapers were those which *Pravda* wished to say. Perhaps *Pravda* did so to multiply the number of voices, so that the USSR did not appear to be alone. Perhaps *Pravda* found it safer and more convincing to depict Africa saying things. As noted in 6.2.4.4., *Pravda* very often used Africa and its component parts as the USSR's rhetorical proxy.

6.2.4.8. African Liberation Day

During this period of African countries gaining independence, African Liberation Day was introduced and became a fixture in the Soviet calendar. *Pravda* used it as pretext for writing about Africa, a diary date for which it could plan, which, as we saw in Section 1.4.1., was essential for Soviet media, which valued the planned filling of copy over speedy reporting of news. *Pravda* initially called the day Africa Freedom Day (although also quoting an African leader who called it simply Africa Day), and from the mid-1960s, after the founding of the Organisation of African Unity, gave it a more active name, African Liberation Day, as the following corpus pages show:

Date	C no.	P.	No. articles	Name of day	Name of day	Who called it this
18 Apr 1961	C61	1	1	День свободы Африки	Africa Freedom Day	<i>Pravda</i>
				День Африки	Africa Day	Ben Abbes
14 Apr 1962	C70	3	2 + cartoon	День свободы Африки	Africa Freedom Day	TASS
26 May 1965	C91	3	1	День освобождения Африки	African Liberation Day	TASS
24 May 1972	C136	4	2 + photo	День освобождения Африки	African Liberation Day	TASS, <i>Pravda's</i> Correspondent in Ethiopia
24 May 1977	C160	1	1	День освобождения Африки	African Liberation Day	<i>Pravda</i>
24 May 1983	C197	1	2	День освобождения Африки	African Liberation Day	<i>Pravda</i> , Supreme Council of USSR; USSR Council of Ministers
26 May 1987	C220	6	4 + photo	День освобождения Африки	African Liberation Day	<i>Pravda</i>
24 May 1989	C230	1	1	День освобождения Африки	African Liberation Day	Presidium of Supreme Soviet of USSR; Soviet of Ministers of USSR

The day increasingly enabled or caused *Pravda* to put Africa on its front page, in part because the day brought high-level receptions and meetings on which to report, as in C61, when Bashir Ben Abbes of Morocco and Alexei Kosygin exchanged speeches. In C70, C91 and C136, *Pravda* reported on meetings in Moscow attended by African

ambassadors and members of relevant Soviet organisations. In C136 it showed the winning photograph in a competition to portray Africa. In C197, it referred to the previous week's meeting in Moscow between Andropov and the President of Angola. In C220, it ran a long article about Ethiopian development, with illustrative photograph. In C160, C197 and C230, the highest organs of the USSR wished the peoples and governments of Africa well. The day was a public relations opportunity.

Pravda explained the day as emanating from Africa, as in 1983:

57.

День освобождения Африки, который ежегодно отмечается 25 мая, прочно вошел в календарь международных знаменательных дат. Именно в этот день двадцать лет назад в Аддис-Абебе была создана Организация африканского единства. Она объединила все независимые государства континента, стала выразителем чаяний его народов. (C197a)

Pravda used the day to show that the USSR was on the majority side, with allies everywhere, as in 1972: День 25 мая с тех пор ежегодно отмечается мировой общественностью как День освобождения Африки. ("25 May is celebrated annually by the world community as African Liberation Day.") (C136)

Such solidarity was also sometimes conveyed explicitly or through nominalisations. 1965's C91, for example, reports on a high-level meeting, at which African ambassadors and revolutionary politicians are said to adopt a resolution calling for укрепление солидарности и взаимной поддержки борцов за свободу, демократию и социальный прогресс ("strengthening of solidarity and mutual support of fighters for freedom, democracy and social progress"). The solidarity was emphasised through repetitions of the same words in the titles of Soviet organisations as *Pravda* said the Africans were demanding. Thus, the resolution reported in C91 called for солидарность ("solidarity"), and one of the speakers was from the президиум Советского комитета солидарности стран Азии и Африки ("Presidium of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African countries").

Metaphors in such articles conveyed dynamism of Africans, such as the forecast in C91 that people сметет с лица земли последние оплоты колониализма и неоколониализма ("will sweep from the face of the earth the last bastions of colonialism and neo-colonialism"). Metaphors also conveyed a positive future for Africa, as in 1977's C160 marking Africa Liberation Day, in which a larger number of African countries вступает на путь прогрессивных преобразований "is embarking on

the path of progressive reforms”, and playing their role на мировой арене (“in the world arena” or “on the world stage”).

Summary: In the corpus, African Liberation Day occurred only during the Soviet period. It was created and reported as a public relations event, used by *Pravda* as an opportunity to repeat the usual message of the ideological square of USSR versus the West. It showed solidarity between the USSR and Africa, a majority force in the world fighting for African independence from colonialism and neo-colonialism, on a positive path to the future, with Africans active partners of the USSR in this endeavour.

6.2.4.9. Summary of this period (post-Stalin Cold War)

By the end of this period, the attentive *Pravda* reader would know of the connections between colonialism, imperialism, war, oppression, exploitation, fascism and poverty. They would know of the Non-Aligned Movement begun in the Bandung Conference, Ethiopian socialism and continuing violent racism in South Africa. And they would have learned of the struggles for independence from colonialism and neo-colonialism of many African countries. They would know something of the post-independence situations of African countries. They would understand how capitalism, development, dependency and multinational companies work, and how best practice aid is delivered. But reading solely *Pravda*, the attentive reader would not have learned of Soviet military activities in Africa, human rights abuses committed by Soviet allies in Africa, any useful critique of Soviet aid, a range of African voices, or any good that the West did in Africa, or understood much of Africans’ lives, families, culture or work.

The reader would likely perceive Africa as less developed, sophisticated and able than the USSR, in need of the USSR’s constant political support and occasionally its technical aid, held back by its past, unable to escape its eternally low position and although able to struggle and highly political, never freeing itself.

The reader would have a low opinion of Western aid, and expect African countries, like any country, to develop, although African countries might never attain development, bearing “developing” as a permanent predicate, while countries outside Asia, Africa and Latin America were also developing, but were not predicated as such. The reader would understand that the best development is independent of colonialists, neo-colonialists, capitalists and of aid, and that Western aid is harmful, exploitative and military, while Soviet aid is peaceful and beneficial to Africa.

The USSR’s media style, attitude to the West, content and main message in this

period varied little throughout its 30 years. In this age of both a media race and an aid race, Africa was portrayed as an independent voice which agreed with the Soviet view. Africa was portrayed as politically active, but other aspects of its portrayal changed like a chameleon, to suit *Pravda*'s argument. Africa was poor or nearly developed, in two camps or united, black or including un-African racist whites, different from the USSR or aligned with the USSR, more traditionally rural than Soviet citizens or similarly industrialised, more rural and undeveloped or containing a working class and big industry. Africa was there to suit others, acted upon by the West and the USSR with good aid or bad aid, saying what the USSR would like to say, a mouthpiece and recipient, empty or absent, its image moulded by *Pravda* to make points.

6.2.5. Perestroika and Glasnost (1985 to 1991)

This section of the corpus consists of 42 articles in 28 pages: six from 1985, four from 1986, six from 1987, five from 1988, three from 1989, and four from 1990. Most previously associated topics continued: racism in southern Africa, the belligerent West, Africa in charge, war, poverty, and what happens after colonialism. Africa was portrayed as still fighting imperialism and racism, and thus still politically active. However, from 1985, small signs indicated the beginnings of changing alliances with African countries. From 1987 the discourse began to change, becoming less political, and at the very end, in 1990, football and culture gave an even less political portrayal.

I analyse particularly C211, C213, C220, C221, C224 and C234, showing several themes in this period which is rich in change. I shall show that the period displays themes of growing African responsibility and hence blame, revised groupings of countries, a mollified and condescending attitude to the USA, a sometimes menacing Africa, presentation of Africa as a naturally disaster-struck continent, use of emotional Western fundraising-style depictions of suffering Africa, and a depoliticised continent, in which politics was sometimes insufficiently explained, while matters other than politics were now allowed to exist, both in the newspaper and in Africa. The new representation of a more independent Africa also allowed for Africa to buy its "aid", whether military or football.

The period starts with front-page news of anti-racism demonstrations in Soweto, in 1985, and news of an international forum in Kenya, of which the USA, Israel and South Africa disapprove (C207). Later in 1985, front-page news of unquellable demonstrations in South Africa is repeated (C208), and *Pravda* quotes reports by

Afrique-Asie newspaper on demonstrations in southern Europe against USA bases in the Mediterranean (C209). Also in 1985, *Pravda* quotes the Ethiopian Foreign Minister who criticises President Reagan roundly for his speech at the UN General Assembly, which allegedly showed the USA strengthening its policy of interference and aggression, including in South Africa and the Horn of Africa, while using aid to Ethiopia during the drought as a political weapon, ignoring developing countries' debts and hunger (C210). In the same year, Ethiopian socialist leader Mengistu addressed Gorbachev and was quoted as saying that nobody should meddle in Africa, and Africa should decide its own route to development (C211). My analysis of this bears out observations in Section 1.4.1. that foreign news initially changed little under Glasnost.

1985's C211 contains the end of Haile Mariam Mengistu's speech, occupying a quarter of the page. The very printing of Mengistu's speech shows Ethiopian agency, but its content still portrays greater agency of actors outside Africa. Africa is still depicted as the patient of the USA's actions: переброске сухопутных и военно-морских сил в Центральную Америку, Африку ("transfer of [USA's] land and naval forces into Central America and Africa"). Africa is acted upon, to tragic effect: страданиях и гибели миллионов детей в результате несправедливого международного экономического порядка, стихийных бедствий, голода и болезней ("suffering and deaths of millions of children as a result of the unjust international economic order, natural disasters, famine and disease"). Angola and Ethiopia are said to be battling and struggling, but Mengistu gives no examples:

58.

борются с эксплуатацией и угнетением, расизмом, угрозой войны, голодом, болезнями и нищетой; они выступают за справедливость, социальный прогресс и мир. Их борьба является составной частью национально-освободительной и социальной революции, движения за разоружение, разрядку и всеобщий мир. Более того, они несут огромные жертвы, чтобы отстоять свое существование и революционные завоевания. (C211)

In extract 58, alleged belligerence of African agency is entrenched through multiple metaphors of war: Africans борются ("are battling"), and несут огромные жертвы, чтобы отстоять свое существование и революционные завоевания ("are bearing enormous sacrifices to defend their existence and revolutionary gains"). Mengistu presents future African agency too as belligerent, reactive and vague: В борьбе за поставленные цели мы готовы заплатить любую цену, но никогда не сделаем

нашу революцию предметом торга." (In the battle for the goals we have set, we are ready to pay any price, but we shall never use our revolution as a bargaining chip.") These African countries will still be battling, aiming for an unspecified goal and hence actively pursuing progress, ready to die ("pay any price") for this goal, but utterly principled in their refusal to give up socialism ("our revolution"). Mengistu is claiming, in a generalising synecdoche, that Ethiopians with whom he has not spoken are willing to die for this goal. The goal may be socialism, since that is what his deictic "we" will not bargain with, in other words compromise on. However, the passage has not said that anyone wishes to negotiate with these countries on their socialism, and this refusal to negotiate is a factive presupposition (Wodak, 2007: 381), presupposing the concept of others wishing to negotiate in order that Mengistu can dispute strongly this purportedly unprincipled concept. Thus in spite of the belligerence, the language in fact mentions little specific action by Africans. The syntax contributes to Africa's passivity, as four paragraphs consist of sentences in which President Reagan, his armed forces and allies are subjects, followed by two paragraphs about reactions of countries supported by the USSR. African agency is weak.

Again Mengistu uses a generalising synecdoche, as he claims knowledge of the intentions of the Ethiopian people and their deliberate embarking on a struggle. The Soviet-style language claims lofty principles for socialism, of "justice, equality and peace", and as throughout the whole of the Soviet period, the process of changing society into a socialist society is described through the metaphor of "paths":

59.

народ Эфиопии решительно вступил в борьбу за создание общества, основывающегося на принципах справедливости, равенства, мира, на путях построения социализма. (C211)

However, the content of extract 59 is still vague: what precisely have the Ethiopian people done as they "decisively entered a struggle to create a society founded on the principles of justice, equality, peace and on the road to build socialism"? Moreover, in claiming these lofty ideals as socialist, Mengistu is implying that they may be exclusively socialist, in the typical style of *Pravda* socialist language. In addition, while Mengistu says that the Ethiopian forces are борющихся за мир ("fighting for peace"), he was in fact ruler of Ethiopia during the Red Terror wreaked by his government in 1977 to 1978. His forces were hardly миролюбивый ("peace-loving"), like the large worldwide grouping of which he implies his leadership is part:

60.

Все миролюбивые силы планеты высоко ценят и твердо поддерживают усилия Советского Союза, предпринимаемые для обуздания гонки вооружений и сокращения уже имеющихся запасов оружия. (C211)

Extract 60 thus positions the USSR as the main proponent of worldwide peace. This plus Mengistu's mitigation of his regime's violence in Ethiopia, the Western belligerence against which African countries are said to have to struggle (indicated in extract 58) and the USSR's militarism around the world are still typical for the Soviet time. Mengistu, and hence *Pravda*, thus legitimated Africa's and the USSR's opposition to the USA, in these early days of Glasnost. However, some distance is detectible between Mengistu and the USSR. Mengistu's deictic "we" and "our" first refer to Ethiopia and Angola, plus Cambodia, Afghanistan and Nicaragua, which President Reagan is allegedly attacking: Президент Рейган полагает, что ... такие страны, как ... Ангола, Эфиопия... Мы четко осознаем, что особое упоминание наших стран президентом Рейганом ("President Reagan says that countries such as ... Angola and Ethiopia... We are keenly aware that the special mention of our countries by President Reagan"). Next "we" refers to the Ethiopian people: народ Эфиопии решительно вступил в борьбу... Мы полностью осознаем необходимость неустанной работы и решительной борьбы... ("the people of Ethiopia decisively entered a struggle... We fully recognise the necessity for tireless work and determined struggle...") Mengistu does not use this pronoun to group Ethiopia with the USSR. As *Pravda* portrayed South-South speaking back while the USSR withdrew support from Mengistu (see Section 1.2.5.), Ethiopia was both on a different level in the hierarchy from the USSR and not necessarily such a close ally as previously.

In 1986, as Perestroika and Glasnost progressed, *Pravda* was still intensely emphasising Africa's victimhood at the hands of Western companies supported by their governments. In C213, for example, Africa is depicted as a victim of drought, neocolonialism, multinationals and the West, with Western military bases and racist regimes which act against Africa; *Pravda* still could not permit that these racist regimes were African. Washington was said to include Africa in its «зона ответственности» так называемого центрального командования Соединенных Штатов (Сентком) ("zone of responsibility" of the so-called Central Command of the United States (CENTCOM)) (C213b), the inverted commas indicating *Pravda's* scorn for this

concept. C213c concerns the running down of the British economy by the Conservative government, and in describing Trafalgar Square, mentions former colony and the UK's alleged racist partner in the name Дом Южной Африки ("South Africa House"). Again, Africa has the role in *Pravda* of a tool to illustrate another point, in this case the empire being run down. C213a mentions drought in Africa, C213f concerns самые запущенные отрасли ганского хозяйства ("the most neglected sectors of the Ghanaian economy"), and the facts and figures article C213b states that 19 million Africans in 16 countries are hungry, Africa has отсталость ("backwardness") and 26 African states are considered by the UN to be amongst the least developed countries in the world. Africa was still victim, still used to illustrate the USSR's goodness, with its initiatives to ban nuclear weapons and policies in the interests of "peoples of Africa". Under headline ПУТИ БОРЬБЫ И РАЗВИТИЯ ("PATHS OF STRUGGLE AND DEVELOPMENT"), African development is still associated with struggle, and still as a linear process. All this is represented from the USSR's perspective, but four small pieces in C213d are said to be by the leaders of Algeria, Ethiopia, Angola and the OAU. C213e, referring to notes on the reporter's desk, intensifies the tension of the situation in western and southern Africa, using the present tense and incomplete sentences:

61.

Обстановка накаляется

На письменный стол ложатся сообщения из разных точек африканского Юга.

Улица, центр ангольской провинции Уила. Командующий пятым военным округом майор Луиш Фасейра сообщил журналистам, что новое вторжение расистов может начаться в любой момент. (C213e)

Finally, in light relief from the relentless use of oppressed, poor Africa in unquestioning criticism of the West and praise of the USSR, C213g explains that some African species of animals are in a safari park in the Netherlands, illustrated by a photograph of a giraffe. Light relief concerning Africa meant reverting to tropes of animals.

In the same vein, other 1986 articles include reports of UK citizens protesting against UK and US trade with South Africa (C214), a report of the ANC welcoming the support of friendly countries (C215), and the Zambian United Party of National Independence also welcoming its links with the USSR (C216). Little had changed yet in the discourse of Africa under threat and oppression from the West.

1987 continued with more reports of war fomented by the West and racism in South Africa, but introduced possible criticism of Africa. C220 consists of 4 articles.

C220a starts with a paragraph about the Day of African Liberation, with metaphors of the colonial system as a structure, in крушение колониальной системы (“the crash of the colonial system”). C220a’s second paragraph presents African liberation as a physical and even possibly celestial entity which не затмевает (“does not eclipse”) the fact of the continent’s neo-colonial exploitation. It presents African nations’ unity as оружие в борьбе с колониальным прошлым (“a weapon in the struggle against their colonial past”). C220b describes the beautiful Ethiopian countryside and then abruptly praises its destruction in favour of a hydroelectric dam and power station, thus prioritising big infrastructure projects over natural beauty, in a topos of the superior objective. I referred to this topos, in which national priorities are constructed and conveyed in an order of priority, to construct unity, in Sections 2.3.2. and 6.2.4.3.. It is one strategy in constructing a nation (Wodak et al, 1999, 2009). C220b talks of Soviet engineers investing не только силы, но и душу в работу (“not only their strength but their soul”) into their work of helping Ethiopians to build this dam, thus elevating their work to a spiritual level. *Pravda* notes that the Soviets proposed this project, and quotes an Ethiopian engineer who was trained in Leningrad, and who says that Ethiopia lacks qualified personnel, a comment which verges on criticism of Africa. Very little had changed since the previous, pre-Glasnost discourse.

Here, however, the possible real criticism of Africa arose, as *Pravda* was ambiguous about whether African countries had voluntarily bought arms from the USA:

62.

За последние два десятилетия, по данным мировой печати, расходы африканских стран на вооружение возросли в девять раз. Ассигнования на военную «помощь» Африке из США в 1986 году выросли по сравнению с 1980 годом в три раза. (C220c)

In extract 62, by nominalising the action of spending, turning it into расходы африканских стран на вооружение (“expenditure of African countries on arms”), *Pravda* mitigates Africa’s action of buying arms, but nevertheless mentions it. This is a new representation of the means by which Africa comes to receive arms from the West, a representation which grants Africa some responsibility and therefore some blame in the process. In the second sentence in extract 62, Africa’s acceptance of military aid from the USA is also nominalised as a passivated action by the USA. Coming straight after the sentence about Africa buying military equipment, and containing quotation marks around the word “aid”, this sentence casts doubt on whether the USA’s aid is free

of charge to Africa or whether in fact African countries pay for this military equipment. *Pravda* was starting to portray Africa as more responsible for its actions, while its accusations against the USA were starting to be less direct. Apart from this, the discourse was still uniform and unwavering in its convictions that the West was harmful and belligerent, and the perspectives were the same as ever, with articles from the OAU, an African leader, *Pravda's* Own Correspondent and Facts and Figures. Nevertheless, the beginnings of a changing portrayal of Africa could be detected.

In 1987's C221, *Pravda* showed yet more change, as it revised its groupings of countries further, reporting African countries with France, the Nordic countries, socialist countries and China, as they all submitted documents to the International Conference on Disarmament and Development in New York. *Pravda* did continue the old rhetoric by pointing out that the USA did not acknowledge the link between disarmament and development, and had therefore not attended the conference. In addition, *Pravda* did still position the USSR as the natural leader in making the link, referring to Lenin in the reported verbal answers of the interviewee, Petrovsky (head of the USSR delegation to the Conference on Disarmament and Development, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR):

63.

Характерно, что, когда советская делегация отправлялась на свою первую международную конференцию в Женеву, В. И. Ленин ратовал за то, чтобы превратить ее в «конференцию по экономическому развитию Европы и разоружению». (C221a)

Petrovsky's reference to Lenin in extract 63 is an example of the renewed importance of Lenin in this period of reinforcement of Lenin's principles, including glasnost. The tone was mollified towards the USA, but condescending, as, pursuing the usual argumentation strategy of putting the USSR in the vanguard of disarmament efforts, Petrovsky implied that the USSR would encourage the USA to rediscover itself, since Американцы, которые претендуют на приверженность демократическим принципам, должны показать всему миру, что они на деле руководствуются соображениями демократии. ("Americans who claim adherence to democratic principles, must show the world that they are in fact guided by considerations of democracy.") By presenting the USSR as willing to help its long-term enemy, and indeed as monitors of democracy, *Pravda* positioned the USSR as morally above the USA, as usual.



The changing tone continued in C222, still in 1987, as this photograph of UNITA recruits, headed Фотофакт (Photofact), continued the content of war and political struggle in Africa, with the message of a harmful South Africa and a harmful USA supporting a harmful UNITA, now that Soviet troops had left Angola, but showing a changed depiction

of Africans. In the photograph, UNITA soldiers are of medium distance from us, homogenous, in uniform, military, armed, barely below us and facing us. In this photograph, some Africans are belligerent and menacing, and still not individual people. As in C220, Africans appear more responsible than previously.



In 1988, the theme of war continued, in Namibia and Angola. Then finally the tone changed again, significantly. In this 1988 C224 photograph of a starving East African child plus accompanying article, *Pravda* departed from previous portrayals in two ways: firstly, it attributed hunger in Ethiopia solely to drought, which it said was afflicting other countries in the region, and so mitigated any political or Western cause of famine; secondly, it changed its style of photograph. *Pravda* stated merely that Tigrayans in north Ethiopia required food aid, medicines and support to their ailing agricultural system, failing due to drought. *Pravda* thus now used the West's frequent depiction of Africa as a naturally disaster-stricken continent, and used a highly emotional photograph to portray this. The omission of political explanation was itself political, as the USSR supported the Derg, the military regime which used

hunger as a political weapon. *Pravda's* decision to depict hunger and drought rather than political analysis was both mitigation of its ally's wrongdoing and obfuscation of the USSR's role in supporting this. Nevertheless, criticism of the West was absent, and as the article quoted Western news agency Reuter (as well as the Red Cross and a Congolese newspaper), *Pravda* seemed to be more at peace with the West. In the photograph, we now see an African child, this African is quite close to us, and she or he

makes eye contact with us. However, in this closeness we do not gain deep understanding of the reasons for the child's sufferings. This is like a photograph from a modern Western fundraising appeal, a depoliticised explanation of a political situation.

This political choice to deliver a non-political depiction of Ethiopia at a time of crisis continued in 1988 with an article by the newly arrived *Pravda* correspondent near the end of the drought, with the start of the rains, featuring a photograph of Ethiopia's 17th century ruined castle in Gondar (C227). While the article contains political discussion, the main content is about weather and its devastating effects in a beautiful country. As in C224, this lack of political content was itself a highly political statement, but only to those who understood that much more was really happening than was reported, and that famine is so often caused by human action. Thus, with Glasnost and Perestroika came a reverse of the previous ideological paradigm, as the non-political was now permitted. Indeed one very important political message in C227 was that the non-political had a right to exist in a newspaper.

In 1989's C230, on the front page, the usual article celebrating the annual Day of Freedom of Africa was supplemented by a thoughtful article on the eve of Namibian independence, even considering how Namibia might overcome its vast inequalities and develop its trade with Europe. SWAPO, said to be expected to win the elections, is presented as thoughtful and strategic, capable of managing peace. *Pravda* was now showing a more peaceful and varied Africa, even if this sometimes belied underlying violent politics. Europe was even presented as a valid, non-exploitative trading partner for Africa. This customary front-page article to celebrate African Liberation Day thus contained restrained discourse. An address, as usual, from the Soviet government to the governments and peoples of Africa, it still spoke of Africa solving its problems but did not blame the West for them. It was as if Africa was being used as usual as the topic of an article, whose aim was to convey something else, in this case a less belligerent attitude to the West than previously, similar to Aesopian language, which allowed several levels of meaning in language, as I discussed in Section 3.4.2., concerning Newspeak. This message from the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers to the heads of state and governments and peoples of Africa did, however, maintain the traditional *Pravda* trope of a unified Africa, presupposing the unity of African countries, равноправная семья независимых африканских стран ("a just family of independent African countries").

In 1990, *Pravda* reported on Namibia's independence (C232), a television programme featuring Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to Africa (C233), football (C233) and African culture (C234), and Africa's portrayal widened out from being only a political arena of struggle to being a continent of fuller life than just politics.

C234 consists of a photograph of dancers in traditional African clothes and masks, headed *Духи выходят из джунглей* ("Spirits come out of the jungle"). Using the evidentiality of the photograph, supplemented by these explanatory words, *Pravda* showed that Africans wear masks, practise religion, dance in exotic clothes and live in the jungle. These elements were no longer the preserve of children's cartoons and popular songs. *Pravda* educated readers about exotic, stereotypical African culture as Africa's importance as a political ally against the West reduced. However, this did not bring us closer to Africans. In the photograph, we are on a level with the dancers, quite close to them, but we cannot make eye contact with them, as they are turned away from us. We gaze at them, while they cannot gaze at us. They face the Given, and are not moving to the New. Nobody is the nucleus of the photograph, and these objects of our gaze are independent, beholden to nobody, perhaps wild.



(C234a, 1990)

Since this stereotyped image of Africa had coexisted outside *Pravda* simultaneously with *Pravda's* simplistic, dichotomous discourse in which a political and struggling Africa was constructed to illustrate the bad West and the good USSR, one could argue that the stereotyped image always underlay the politicised representation of Africa. However, until 1988, with its photograph of the starving child, *Pravda* had presented an

alternative discourse on Africa, in which agency and politics were presented at the fore and stereotypes were mitigated.

With regard to portrayal of development during Glasnost, while in 1985 Mengistu in C211 was quoted speaking of социальную и экономическую независимость (“social and economic independence”) and of социальный прогресс и развития (“social progress and development”), he also speaks of the building of socialism: народ Эфиопии решительно вступил в борьбу за создание общества, основывающегося на принципах справедливости, равенства, мира, на путях построения социализма. (“the people of Ethiopia decisively entered a struggle to create a society founded on the principles of justice, equality, peace and on the road to build socialism.”) Independence, socialism and development are all important. In 1986, C213a’s headline Пути борьбы и развития (“The paths of struggle and development”) still links struggle and development. In 1987, in April’s C219, as the world prepared for August’s disarmament conference in C221a above, the discourse on development was reminiscent of 1960’s C55, as *Pravda* again associated disarmament with development:

64.

Высвобождаемые в результате этих сокращений средства не должны направляться на создание новых видов оружия или на другие военные цели; они должны использоваться для нужд экономического и социального развития. (C219)

Similar to extract 64, by August’s C221a, as noted above, *Pravda* mooted in its headline moving Через разоружение—к развитию (“Through disarmament to development”). Also as noted above, the implication was that the resources would be Western, presumably because, as in 1960’s C55, in *Pravda*’s construction, the military spending was still Western.

The concept of development being for all countries also continued, in 1989’s C230, in the phrase современное мировое развитие (“modern world development”). A message from Gorbachev to the King of Morocco both continued the new discourse of collaboration with the West, and introduced a new concept, “co-development”: переход от конфронтации к конструктивному взаимодействию в соразвитию (“transition from confrontation to constructive cooperation in co-development”). This continued *Pravda*’s presupposition that all countries are developing, similar to 1990’s C232a, where we see нынешний этап мирового развития (“today’s stage of world development”) in an article about talks between Shevardnadze and Cuban communist

leaders. These talks are said to have covered the situation in southern Africa and Angola, presenting apparently South-South Cooperation, and also a continuation of the Soviet presentation of one “southern” country being quoted commenting on another, as Africa’s concerns are presented as Cuba’s and the USSR’s concerns. However, perhaps instead we have the usual presentation of Africa at the bottom, as we do not see any news of Africans discussing Cuba’s and the USSR’s wellbeing.

By the end of the USSR, when Africa was shown participating in international football competitions, its need for foreign technical assistance, in the form of foreign coaches, if it was to compete at the highest level was presented as inevitable. A Soviet football coach in Cameroon was interviewed in this extract from 1990:

65.

- Вы давно возглавляете сборную Камеруна? — спросил я его.
— С января 1989 года. До этого с ней работал француз Клод ле Руа, тренирующий ныне сенегальцев. Два года назад он ушел из команды, и тогда пригласили двух советских тренеров — меня и Льва Броварского, который играл в свое время в «Карпатах». Меня назначили в первую сборную, а он возглавил молодежную и юношескую Камеруна. (C233b)

In extract 65, *Pravda* presented this aid as something which Africa bought, similar to extract 62’s indication that Africa may buy military “aid” from the USA. This displays a trope of independent Africa, not too dissimilar from the idea that Africa did not need free Western aid. The source was *Afrique Football*, which had joined *Afrique Nouvelle* and *Jeune Afrique* as African newspapers to be quoted by *Pravda*. In this newly depoliticised representation of Africa, *Pravda* was still showing Africa as less capable than the USSR, but independent enough to pay for its needs, with aid not required. Africa was portrayed as participating in something normal and popular worldwide, still like the USSR, and still helped by it, but independently paying its way.

Summary: Foreign news was initially little changed by Glasnost. At the start of the period, *Pravda* still emphasised Africa’s victimhood at the hands of Western governments and their companies, and the protests of African government and people and Western citizens against this. However, in 1987 the discourse began to change, as first African countries were presented as more responsible for their actions, some buying arms from the USA, and then *Pravda* began to revise its groupings of countries, as African countries were reported to be with several European countries, socialist

countries and China in their submissions to the International Conference on Disarmament and Development in New York, albeit the USSR was still shown as the leader, condescending to the USA. Another chink in the discourse appeared in 1987, as *Pravda* depoliticised its representation of Ethiopia, but unfortunately did so as a political ploy, choosing not to report the fact that it was supporting the regime which was causing hunger there. Hence from 1987, the discourse became less belligerent, less anti-West and less political and presented a more varied, responsible Africa. At the beginning of the period, good Soviet aid was portrayed, but by the end, *Pravda* had reverted to its more usual stance of development without aid, as Cameroon bought in football expertise from Russia. Throughout Glasnost, development was still considered an activity of all countries. Now Africa held responsibility for its actions, threat, depoliticised suffering and exoticism.

6.2.6. Clothing

The photograph in C234a, the final visual representation of Africa in my corpus, presents an opportunity to reflect on choices which *Pravda* made in portraying Africans' clothing in photographs and cartoons. The corpus included photographs of Africa or Africans in 32 pages from the Soviet period and 8 from the post-Soviet period. Africans were absent from photographs in 4 Soviet pages and 1 post-Soviet page: in 1958's C46, it was not clear whether the Asian and African writers photographed in fact included any Africans, 1988's C227 included a small shot of an Ethiopian palace, in post-Soviet C236 and C238 the photographs were of the Russian journalists and 1994's C243 was a shot of Johannesburg from a distance. In the remaining 28 pages with photographs from the Soviet period, 26 showed photographs of Africans whose clothes covered most of their body. Clothes were soldiers' uniforms, women's dresses and headscarves, men's long or short trousers and buttoned shirts with long or short sleeves, and men's suits and ties. Thus photographs overwhelmingly showed Africans wearing clothes of a style which Soviets might wear during work or hot weather. On the other hand, four pages carried photographs of particularly "African" clothing, illustrating either stereotypes or genuine culture: 1972's C136 contained a prize-winning photograph of African women in white dresses with white headdresses; 1974's C147 showed a man in loincloth and beads fleeing a uniformed policeman; 1984's C205 showed a headshot of an Ethiopian girl with headband with elaborate beads; and 1990's C234, reproduced above, showed two people wearing masks, headdresses and full body cover. Two pages (C147 plus 1988's C224 shown above) show half-clothed Africans,

illustrating desperation (as C147's loincloth-clad man flees the South African police) and poverty (as C224's child looks with hungry eyes at the camera). Thus Soviet *Pravda's* photographs of African clothes included 26 of Africans wearing clothes similar to Russians clothing, 4 wearing African-style clothes and 1 child wearing no clothes on her or his top half.

The corpus included 8 pages with cartoons of Africa, all from the Soviet period. In 1943's C15, there is no African, but a skeleton soldier arriving from Tunisia to report to Hitler. 1957's C42 also contains no African, but an American coloniser wearing a soldier's uniform. In 1966, C95, Ian Smith appears in colonial uniform with a hard hat; we could count him as the first African to appear in a cartoon in the corpus, although as we have seen, *Pravda* did not count white Africans as African. The first black Africans appear in a cartoon in the corpus in 1968's C110, and here the man in the cartoon is dressed in a white coat and tie, much like a Soviet, while the women are depicted wearing printed dresses and headdresses, some carrying loads on their heads. In 1973's C141, reproduced in Section 6.2.4.6., the African manual labourer is wearing an unremarkable "uniform": long trousers, vest and sandals. In 1986's C215, white men in suits and bow ties represent white South Africans. Perhaps the most notable matter from this list is how late in the corpus black Africans appeared: not until 1968: it is as if people other than black Africans were the most important in Africa until the 1960s.

Meantime, we remember that 1935's C3 portrayed a distinct African culture through a headline describing African clothing as повязка на бедрах ("a bandage on the hips"). Thus *Pravda* sometimes portrayed Africans in traditional or stereotyped clothing, and sometimes in clothing such as Soviet citizens might wear. Some images conveyed that independent Africans are healthy and attractive with a unique and attractive culture, others that they are like Soviet citizens, while others, with Africans wearing fewer clothes, accentuated their vulnerability, to racist violence or hunger. With regard to how the presentation changed during Glasnost, the depiction had gone full circle, from "a bandage on the hips" to "spirits coming out of the jungle", after many decades of desisting from portrayals of clothing which showed Africans as different from Soviet citizens.

Summary: In its visual portrayal of Africans, for decades *Pravda* portrayed Africans in clothes mainly similar to those of Soviet citizens, apart from occasional states of undress to indicate manual labour or distress. In the late USSR, *Pravda* aligned more

with popular and Western culture, as it showed Africans in traditional African clothing, coming full circle to its early Soviet portrayal of exotic and less political Africans.

6.2.7. Post-Soviet period

This period consists of 12 pages from the period when *Pravda* was privately owned, and 16 from the period when *Pravda* was owned by the CPRF. Main topics in the first period were, in roughly chronological order: post-socialism (twice), poverty, tourism, history, African politics, Islam, football (twice), development, population growth and trade. Main topics in the second period were: neo-colonialism, poverty (three times), wildlife (three times), technology, a Russian children's playpark called "Africa" (twice), socialism, trade (twice), pirates, drugs and population growth. As noted earlier, topics now indicated problems emanating from inside Africa itself, and included more non-political topics. I examine here particularly C241, C244, C247, C262 and C249.

By the time of post-Soviet C241, in 1993, *Pravda* had again changed the groupings in which it presented the world. In a page filled entirely with articles about Islam, one concerns African and other countries, under a headline Фундаментализм: накатывается вторая волна ("Fundamentalism: the second wave rolls in"). Religion in Africa was mitigated in Soviet *Pravda*, and now *Pravda* intensifies it, expounding on the dangers presented to the world by Islam, including through the common metaphor of water, as Islamic fundamentalism is envisaged as being as powerful, unstoppable and repetitive as ocean waves. The author's stated status of Ph.D. candidate in History confers evidentiality on the article. He begins his article with an unexplained claim that Islam is the third religion (Ислам, как третья религия, возник в VII веке н. э., "Islam, as the third religion, emerged in the seventh century AD"), followed by a topos of numbers which conveys that the number of Muslims is very large. An accompanying box of figures extensively utilises the topos of numbers, but the numbers lack context and hence meaning, for example indicating growth in the population of Muslims but with no accompanying context of world population growth. Nevertheless, this topos of numbers is another type of evidentiality.

The author states that various parts of Africa, especially North Africa, are points of official Islamic religion, including fundamentalism in Sudan and modernist Islam in Libya. However, as Libya and Morocco are said to be against fundamentalism, and Algeria and Sudan are said to have been targeted by Iran to adopt fundamentalism, we still see a passivated Africa, acted upon by outside forces. Stating that fundamentalism

is the main movement in the Islamic world, the author gives a frightening fact which shows new country groupings: Весь мир делится на «мир ислама» и «мир войны», откуда следует вывод, что нужно вести войну до тех пор, пока весь мир не станет «миром ислама» (“The world is divided into the "world of Islam" and "the world of war", which implies that it is necessary to wage war until the whole world becomes "the world of Islam"). Since the “enemies of fundamentalism” are said to include христиане и материалисты (“Christians and materialists”), the article implies that Russia, with its Christianity and recent history of materialism, is at risk. Similarly, Они придерживаются политики международного террора и грубо нарушают права человека (“They have a policy of international terror and roughly violate human rights”) presents this movement emanating from or through Africa as a threat to Russia.

In another statement of new country groupings, the author states that Russia is aligned with Germany, France, Japan and some other countries in taking the right approach to Islamic fundamentalism. However, Africa is still absent, as no African country is in this grouping, and as in Soviet times, the USA is said to be taking a wrong approach, unlike Russia, which is said to be taking the right approach. The ideological square with Russia and the USA on different sides is intact, even with *Pravda* now privately owned, but Europe has now joined Russia in opposing the USA, and the opposition is milder. Africa, meantime, remains the object of everyone’s concern. *Pravda* places underneath the box of figures two short quotes, reminiscent of the newspaper’s Soviet-era promotion of select educated Africans who provide evidentiality. Since the quotes are in a box headed ДОСЛОВНО (“VERBATIM”), this is reminiscent too of *Pravda*’s Soviet-era rubrics. Similar too is the relegation of the Africans to small quotes of lesser importance than the long, analytical article by a Russian specialist. One quote is from an Egyptian political scientist, the other from an Algerian newspaper, stating opposing opinions.

Compared to Soviet times, C241’s style is less belligerent, religion is newly intensified, and while Africa is still presented as having problems, passivated and acted upon, it is now represented as containing an intense threat to Russia, which is now aligned instead with some European countries who agree with Russia on a different approach to the USA’s.

As Russia grappled with its own economic, problems, explicit comparisons with Africa arose and were uncomplimentary to Africa. In 1995, with *Pravda* still privately owned, C244 still used Soviet language of Africa with agency, which moved из

колониального рабства в независимость (“from colonial slavery to independence”), whose countries пытались «идти по пути к социализму» (“tried to “take the road to socialism””). However, Africa’s current agency was now presented as doubtful, as this dynamism was said to be past: Их лозунг «Нам следует бежать, пока остальной мир может идти шагом» отражал атмосферу первых лет свободы (“Their slogan, "We must run while the rest of the world can walk", reflected the atmosphere of the first years of freedom.”). Africa is anthropomorphised, walking, running and looking for the optimal model of development through the metaphor of a journey. The phrase такие взрывоопасные регионы, как Африка (“explosively dangerous regions such as Africa”), containing a metaphor of explosion coupled with danger, continues C241’s presentation of Africa as problematic. But nevertheless, Russia and Africa are compared. The author, named as Вице-Президент Международного конгресса африканских исследований (“Vice-President of the International Congress of African Research”), and hence used in a topos of authority, opines:

66.

Достижения и трудности африканцев вызывают ваш интерес не только в силу еще сохранившегося у большинства чувства солидарности, но и потому, что они во многом решают те же проблемы, что и мы. Африка — огромная социальная лаборатория, в которой опробовалась различные модели социально-экономического развития — от капиталистического до социалистически ориентированного. (C244)

In extract 66, Russia and Africa are thus united by having the same problems, which both are trying to solve. But as Africa is “a huge social laboratory”, in which unspecified people have conducted experiments, as the social models have “been tested”. Africa is passivated, again a mere location, as during WWII. Its history is here retold less as African struggle and rather as object of laboratory experiments by unknown people, reminding us of Agamben’s “bare life”, mentioned in Section 2.1.3. And while the article acknowledges that Africans have made achievements, Russia’s alleged solidarity with Africa has its limits, as the author accuses Africa’s leaders of pursuing ineffective routes of development, and associates Africa’s high rate of population with its food shortages. The solution is:

67.

Нужно обеспечить регулирование рождаемости, рациональное использование площадей, возвращение биосферы в устойчивое

состояние. Но смогут ли нынешние африканские государства решить такие задачи? (C244)

The first sentence of extract 67 does not state who should provide these nominalised activities of birth control, rational use of space and return of the biosphere to a stable state, and hence obfuscates the proposed agency. The second sentence sheds doubt on Africa's ability to implement the allegedly necessary activities. Moreover, not only is Africa possibly unable to save itself, it may even contribute to the end of humanity:

68.

Выход развивающихся стран, число жителей которых уже сегодня составляет четыре взятых населения Земли, на уровень потребления современных индустриальных государств неизбежно повлечет за собой резкое увеличение потребления природных ресурсов и настолько усилит разрушающее воздействие современной цивилизации на внешнюю среду (ее загрязнение, деградация и сокращение плодородных земель, разрушение защищающего от радиации озонового слоя и т.д.), что поставит под вопрос выживание человечества. (C244)

In extract 68, Africa, containing developing countries, is presented as damned if it does not develop, and damns everyone else if it does develop. Returning to its past (from which Africa is unable to escape), Africa is also blamed for its own internal conflicts:

69.

Африканские государства, многонациональные в своем большинстве, оказались фактически безоружными перед лицом агрессивного национализма, породляющего сепаратизм, национальные и межэтнические конфликты. (C244)

While events in extract 69 are all nominalised, reified, with no named agent, they appear to be caused by Africans, since no outside force is implied. "Separatism" and "nationalism" could be stirred from outside, but "ethnic and interethnic conflicts" are possibly tribal and likely involve mainly Africans. After several didactic paragraphs about the importance of integrity of multinational states and mixed economies, the article ends:

70.

Казалось бы: какое нам дело до проблем Африки? Государства региона – наши друзья и партнеры. Наша национальная концепция должна быть составной частью международной, а доработать ее без учета того,

что происходит более чем в 50 государствах Черного континента, - невозможно. Парламентские слушания по национальной стратегии устойчивого развития убедительно показали, что учет опыта других государств совершенно необходим. (C244)

African countries are said, in extract 70, to be Russia's friends and partners, with valuable experience, but the continent has problems, and the continent is, in spite of solidarity and shared problems, finally still different from Russia, being Черный континент ("the Black continent"), and somewhat passive, since things "happen" there, rather than African people do things there: что происходит более чем в 50 государствах Черного континента ("what is happening in more than 50 countries of the Black continent"). Thus Africa is still below Russia in the hierarchy.

Finally, 1999's C249 is TV listings, in which one programme is called "Африканская охота" ("African hunting"). This concerns hunting of African wildlife, and here Africa is again reduced to large wild animals, in keeping with this period of a new-found ability of Russians to go on holiday to Africa.

The construction of development in this period differed by ownership of *Pravda*. Qualifiers attached to "development" under private ownership of *Pravda* started with 1991's C235 развитие третьего мира ("Third World development"), a phrase which indicates that Africa is even in a separate world from developed countries. 1994's C243 реконструкция и развитие ("reconstruction and development") of South Africa indicated a practical process, including a process of metaphorical building, although quite undefined. 1995's C244 концепция устойчивого развития ("concept of sustainable development") included the environment, as in the West, since *Pravda* says that it was выдвинутая Конференцией ООН по окружающей среде (1992 г., Рио-де-Жанеро) ("moved at the UN's Conference on the Environment (1992, Rio de Janeiro)"). C244's мировое развитие ("world development") indicated a worldwide movement of development, as it came at the end of a paragraph concerning UN meetings and multi-country agreements about development, starting with the quote above about Rio de Janeiro and then: государствам рекомендуется разработать свои национальные концепции... правительств 183 государств... других конференций ООН... проблемы мирового развития ("governments are recommended to work out their own national concepts... Presidents and heads of 183 states... other UN conferences... questions of world development"). Thus privately-owned *Pravda* eased the discourse away from individual countries to global development and incorporated

the environment, in “sustainable development”. The CPRF-owned *Pravda* reverted to самостоятельное и независимое развитие (“self-supporting and independent development”) in 1998’s C247, reminiscent of Soviet ideals. In CPSU style, this was connected again to the USA, in an article headlined Американское лассо над Африкой – попытка реколонизации Черного континента (“An American lasso over Africa – the attempt to recolonise the Black continent”):

71.

Ведь на практике Вашингтон пытается реколонизировать их земли, причем при полном игнорировании происходящих на континенте противоположных тенденций к укреплению там самостоятельного и независимого развития. (C247)

Thus, extract 71 shows that in this communist newspaper at least, the concept of independent development, which can proceed if unhampered by Western interference, and the concepts of Black Africa and American neo-colonialism in Africa endured, still conveyed through the metaphor of Africa being entrapped, with a lasso around its neck.

The corpus ends with an article about population increase, C262b, in which the topos of numbers is invoked, for example: к 2300 году численность населения в мире достигла бы 3,5 трлн. человек. При этом 3,15 трлн. проживали бы в Африке. (“By 2300, the world population would reach 3.5 trillion people, including 3.15 trillion in Africa.”) Dividing the world into развивающиеся регионы мира (“developing regions of the world”), including Africa, and развитые страны (“developed countries”), *Pravda* does not tell us in which group Russia is. However, the apparently unificatory phrase which follows, very close to the end of the article and of the corpus, развитие нашей планеты (“the development of our planet”), is belied by the allegation that this population growth, particularly in Africa, will jeopardise this development of the planet. As with fundamentalist Islam, the post-Soviet *Pravda* concept of Africa appears to be that Africa’s problems cannot be contained in its territory, and not only does Russia risk being like this problematic Africa, but Africa contains other risks to Russia, in this case African population growth. C262a entrenches Africa the problematic continent with a photograph of Africans squatting in a queue waiting for donated food, and one of worn African hands resting on a bag of donated rice. As during Glasnost, *Pravda* depoliticises hunger in Somalia, Kenya and Ethiopia, blaming it on drought alone. The solution in post-Soviet C262a is гуманитарная помощь (“humanitarian aid”), and the portrayal of aid and development in the corpus ends with Africa still eternally in need of

help, for natural and hence unavoidable reasons, with Russia reporting favourably on UN food aid to Africa. The aid is not for development, but for an emergency. Africa is an object of pity, a problem which will not go away, previously explained as a patient of the West's harm, and now explained as the author of its own and the planet's ills through having the audacity to grow its population at a faster rate than Europe's.

Summary: After the USSR had ended, country groupings changed several times. Various elements of Africa threatened Russia, including religion, population growth and the risk of Russia being like Africa. Africa was still passivated, as some of its problems were said to come from outside and it was said to have been the site of experiments from which Russia might learn. As Russia's economy plunged, *Pravda* compared Russia unfavourably with Africa, entrenching the negative construction of Africa. Nevertheless, Africa was still presented as important for Russia, even as it depoliticised further to a place of wildlife, hunting and ultimately tourism. The post-Soviet concept of development until the end of the corpus was an entrenched division of the world into "developed" and "developing" countries, but still maintained the Soviet conception that the planet as a whole is developing and should do so: all countries are developing, but only some countries are "developing countries", Africa is eternally one of them, and Russia risks being like Africa.

6.3. Intertextuality and interdiscursivity

Kristeva's explanation of intertextuality (see Section 3.3.7.: "each word (text) is an intersection of other words (texts) where at least one other word (text) can be read" (Kristeva, 1980: 66)), developing Bakhtin, emphasises presence of previous texts for meaning. I showed this particularly in Chapter 2. Althusser's interpellation (Section 2.2.7.) relies on prior knowledge or texts of the type of subject concerned. Creation of a subject (Section 2.2.7.) requires prior existence of society, mutually constitutive with language (Kress and Fowler, Section 2.2.8.). Subject and object need each other, as objects are known when subjects perceive and articulate them (Section 2.2.7.). Language legitimates and reproduces norms (Section 2.2.8.), and every text is built on previous texts and can inform other texts (Section 2.2.9). Even if we try to put aside reproduction of social norms and ideology, reproduction of texts is essential for language and discourse to work: only if a reader has some idea of Africa can a writer meaningfully reproduce the word Africa without explanation. If no explanation is required, "Africa" is reproduced and understood with connotations conveyed in previous texts, and activates reproduction of social norms and ideology. If the writer

gives an explanation, it must rely on previous texts, with the norms and ideology that they carry. Newspaper recontextualises the texts which it reports (Section 2.2.9.). Implications rely on understandings of related propositions, both conveyed through text; and coherent presuppositions require shared ideology previously conveyed through text (Section 2.2.10.). Context and archaeology of discourse work because texts evolve into other texts, as meanings and connotations and implications are added to concepts (Section 2.2.11.). Topoi and fallacies rely on previous texts, for meaning (Section 2.3.1.). Metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches rely on prior understanding of source and domain, of object named and the “real” one (Section 2.3.2.). Van Eemeren’s critical rationalism and Habermas’s Ideal Speech Situation rely on presuppositions, validity claims and allusions, all of which rely on prior texts (Section 2.3.3.). Communication needs intertextuality.

In Section 6.1.1., I showed a somewhat limited Soviet stylistic repertoire and increasing uniformity of discourse in *Pravda*. This would have required frequent repetition of the same intertextual references, were it not for the addition of new ones, new topics, associations and points of argumentation, over the decades. Table 6.1.4. shows that the years which did not require new topics were the 1960s (when Africa was gaining independence) and from 1979 to the end of the USSR (when the Cold War was ending). In the 1960s, the news about Africa was so exciting as to require no additional interest, and the attention shifted away from Africa in the final decades of the USSR. Moreover, the other decades, which did require new topics, were those when Soviet discourse was most “wooden” (Section 3.4.2), and so perhaps required new topics, for variety. The table also shows the lasting value of most topics introduced, and the recurrence of poverty and development as main topics concerning Africa throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Table 6.1.5.a shows multiple texts which recalled a bad West and multiple texts which recalled a good USSR, while Table 6.1.5.b likewise illustrates multiple texts which constructed the same binary argument, each trope associated with one side in the East-West conflict. Thus texts reproduced themselves, each word carrying increasing “baggage”. Intertextuality generated further intertextuality, and enduring concepts of African development and poverty spanned pre- and post-Soviet periods.

I noted in 6.2.3. that the corpus of the post-war years until Stalin’s death contained multiple recontextualisations, as *Pravda* reported other texts, in a strategy of conveying righteous, peaceful, verbal struggle by the USSR for its African friends. The

texts were necessarily selected, translated and placed in an argument, and so this intertextuality served *Pravda*'s argumentation, not simply its need for intertextuality for meaning. As *Pravda* used Africa to talk about the West, decades of accumulation of epithets for Africa and the West strengthened the concept of the West as the USSR's enemy - indeed ready to return as such in more recent times, with Africa even recently a tool in this, as in Section 5.5.1.'s quote from a Presidential representative. Intertextuality, unspoken references, lasts decades, but concepts must compete: extract 14., for example, showed how negative connotations of "aid" were weaker than those of "United Nations", especially when coupled with "develop freely", both of which temporarily lent "aid" a positive meaning.

In the post-Stalin Cold War, the emphasis on good African development being "national" or "independent" by turn implied, conveyed or entrenched the knowledge that development could also be unfree and against national interests, especially if implemented with Western aid. Intertextuality and the meanings which accumulated of the phrase "independent development" thereby created and then strengthened this knowledge. From the 1960s a build-up of positive references to Soviet aid to Africa contributed to a discursive aid-race conducted in *Pravda*. Metaphors, of course, drew on knowledge outside *Pravda*'s pages, and the choice of a graphic word such as "blood" evoked different emotions from the choice of a more legal one such as "crime", as I analysed in C66 and C92a. Content of photographs too derived from and prolonged stereotypes, as in the C147 photographs of an African in a loincloth, and protesting Africans. Africa remained the pretext for mentioning the West, EEC and USA, and entrenching their bad connotations.

In the post-Soviet period, intertextuality conveyed a negative Africa, through words such as "fundamentalism", referred to as "waves". Doubt increased about Africa's ability to contribute well to the world, as the phrase "African states" was even imbued with the concept of over-consumption of the world's resources, in extract 67. Africa became again the victim of the West, as "Washington" tried to "recolonise" its lands, opposed to the "independent development" of Africa, these phrases evoking Soviet meanings. Thus while poverty and development lasted from Soviet into post-Soviet times, Africa's increasing responsibility conveyed in post-Soviet *Pravda*, and Russia's seeming fear of itself, were seen in an increasingly incapable and risky concept of Africa.

Throughout this we see interdiscursivity (discourses referring to and shaping each other (Wodak and Meyer, 2009)) and discursive shifts, closely linked to intertextuality. Since Soviet discourse was generally unified, changes to it were generally sudden, as the start and end of WWII caused shifts to pro-West and then anti-West discourses, Glasnost softened the anti-West discourse, post-Soviet private ownership shifted the discourse to a negative Africa discourse, and post-Soviet communist ownership shifted the discourse again to a negative Africa discourse coupled with the old anti-West discourse – though we cannot generalize from *Pravda* to the rest of post-Soviet discourse. In these shifts we detect interdiscursivity, as WWII allowed Western pro-colonial discourse to enter *Pravda*'s discourse, as in C16a, in which we see only a weak socialist discourse. Even after WWII, *Pravda* discursively suppressed Africa, as it barely reported its speaking back, allocating it a silent discourse, as it reported others speaking for Africa at the UN in C24, for example. In WWII, texts of non-agentive Africans content with being colonised were backed up by children's cartoon portrayals which legitimised this view, just as *Pravda* legitimised *Barmaley*'s portrayal of Africa, at a time when the USSR was allied with the colonisers. Cartoon and *Pravda* thus legitimised news of the USSR's collaboration with the West. *Pravda*'s discourse on development was initially part of its socialist discourse applied to socialist states, but in the post-Stalin Cold War, it adopted similar discourse to that of the West, in referring to developed and developing countries and in competing with the West to portray its own good aid. *Pravda* quoted Western sources, using their discourse against them, as in C35's quoting of Eisenhower's report on the USA's "security programme". But *Pravda* shared other elements, such as Truman's 20th January 1949 introduction of a division into developed and developing countries, which *Pravda* introduced too, first seen in the corpus on 23rd May 1949. This was after Truman's inaugural speech, and so *Pravda* possibly adopted this binary developed-developing discourse from USA discourse. The aid race followed from this, as we saw in Chapter 4, and so *Pravda*'s depiction of bad Western aid and good Soviet aid was also a form of interdiscursivity. It brought about the phrase "independent development", a response to alleged Western colonial and then neocolonial aid. *Pravda* showed disdain for Western discourse and its terms such as "partners", in C73a, thus using Western concepts against the West. However, the aid race demanded that *Pravda* show Soviet aid causing development, which meant using a similar discourse to the West's, in C197a, for example.

When *Pravda* printed socialist discourse of other countries, such as China's in C36s, it unavoidably recontextualised it into Soviet discourse, and when it applied Soviet language to Africans, it reproduced this discourse with little regard for appropriateness and expression of African reality, as in C83b and in C136. From the 1960s, as *Pravda* recontextualised some African newspapers, it selected some of their discourse and so appeared to adopt or spread their discourse. Its greatest success in this probably concerned the annual African Freedom Day or African Liberation Day, a phrase used in Africa, but as *Pravda* used it for its argumentation purposes, the interdiscursivity was limited, and it was the appearance of interdiscursivity that was most useful to *Pravda*.

The first signs of the Glasnost discursive shift in my corpus are detectable from 1985. This shift became clearer from 1987, as first the USSR's closeness to Mengistu weakened in the discourse, and then Africa was given sufficient agency to be considered to have acted immorally, in buying arms from the USA. This discursive shift began in 1987, when *Pravda* granted Africa responsibility and hence blame, grouped some African countries with some Western countries in a positive portrayal, wrote less harshly of the USA, and portrayed some Africans as menacing. In 1988, *Pravda* interdiscursively used Western-style emotional portrayals of Africans to portray a naturally disaster-stricken Africa rather than political analysis of a human-caused situation. In 1989, even Africa Liberation Day did not necessitate strong anti-West rhetoric, and as the non-political now had a place in *Pravda*'s portrayal of Africa, in 1990, the corpus showed African football and traditional culture, sharing children's, unofficial Soviet and Western discourses. By the end of the USSR, Africa was depoliticised, by turns dependent on aid and independent states, its culture portrayed as in popular stereotypes and in Western discourse.

This West-Soviet interdiscursivity continued into post-Soviet *Pravda*, as alliances had changed, and *Pravda* used Western phrases such as "sustainable development". Then CPRF-owned *Pravda* reintroduced Soviet rhetoric of "independent development". This may be unsurprising, but of note is that post-Soviet CPRF *Pravda* maintained the post-Soviet private *Pravda*'s disdain for Africa, blaming Africa and finding fault in it, insidiously sharing the Western discourse of a pathetic, chaotic, corrupt, dangerous Africa through perpetuating the Russian and Soviet propensity to compare itself with Africa, unfavourably, and so through this comparison entrenching the Western, and unofficial Russian, discourse of an absent or negative Africa.

PART III – CONCLUSION

Chapter 7. Conclusion – Freedom As Development?

If freedom is what development advances, then there is a major argument for concentrating on that overarching objective... Freedoms are not only the primary ends of development, they are also among its principal means. (Sen, 1999: 3, 10)

My concluding chapter is structured around my research questions:

Section 7.1. Soviet media discursive strategies on Africa, development and aid:

- Establishment of power and hierarchy in *Pravda*,
- *Pravda*'s use of Africa as rhetorical proxy and discursive tool,
- Argumentation in *Pravda* of freedom as development and aid as a discursive tool;

Section 7.2. Differences from concurrent discourses;

Section 7.3. Soviet legacy in Russia's media representations of aid and development.

Section 7.4. My contribution to knowledge.

My thesis illuminates aspects of Soviet and Russian foreign policy and shows how international development can be viewed differently from the way the West views it. Russia weakly associates development and aid, views aid with suspicion, and considers all countries developing. However, Russia still sees Africa as low in the international hierarchy, enabling Russia to locate itself higher, as it helps Africa politically and through trade. Russia has often compared itself with Africa, before, during and after the USSR, and rarely in a way complimentary to Africa. Nevertheless, Russia has inherited a discourse of a political and somewhat active Africa, and has experienced aid recipient status. Therefore, as Russia is invited to join the international aid community, my research explains Russia's reluctance to accept this invitation, its preference to trade with Africa in which it believes it has a good reputation, and its development discourse which largely views aid through a self-interested lens. My thesis shows that the largest circulation newspaper in the USSR, *Pravda*, throughout the Cold War and Africa's decolonisation used strategies of argumentation, including using Africa as a rhetorical proxy, the ideological square and the theme of Freedom as Development. I illuminate an example of one country's construction and evolution of knowledge, from the argumentation needed during the USSR, when *Pravda* used Africa as a tool to criticise the West, to the depoliticisation of Africa's image in Russia after the USSR's break-up, whereby Russia's economic decline and freer, less political media heralded increased

racism and even fear of Africa. My research shows that while Russia and the West have similar views on Africa, their views of aid and international development differ deeply.

7.1. Soviet media discursive strategies on Africa, development and aid

The USSR inherited Tsarist Russia's traditions of academic, diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with African countries, a certain ease with a few Africans doing well in Russian society, and some awareness that Russian serfs and enslaved Africans had shared a common situation. It also inherited a large empire, ambitions of world leadership and awareness of Africans as colonised, exotic and often in lowly positions. These co-existing egalitarian and quasi-imperial tendencies plus paternalistic knowledge of Africa complemented a tradition of development and military aid to Africa, largely caused by a perception of Africa in relation to the West, with Africa an object of competition between the West and Russia and now the USSR. This tripartite relationship meant that much Soviet aid was anti-Western, a tool to destabilise Europe's position in Africa. In the early USSR, this relationship with aid changed for a short time, as the USSR became aid recipient, from the West and Africa. Shortly after this, though, members of the tripartite relationship returned to their usual positions in Soviet discourse, with Africa the third, lowly party, as the USSR worked either with Africans to defeat the West, or with the West to win WWII in Africa. The inheritance from Tsarist times plus the USSR's socialist ideology and position in the trio prompted the USSR to portray Africans in the USSR as empowered students and those in Africa as empowered political leaders and movements, fighting Western colonialism and neocolonialism with Soviet support, and enjoying good Soviet aid, evidence of Soviet morality and Western immorality. This raised the USSR's status. In the Cold War, as African countries took or threatened to take Soviet aid to gain more from the West, and the West and USSR competed for their favour with military, technical, political and educational aid, Africa and aid continued as tools in the USSR's construction of its place in the world. But while Newspeak lauded African friendship and political struggles and emphasised Africa's neediness, children's cartoons recalled exotic Africa.

Pravda coverage of Africa began in earnest in 1934, increased during WWII, and was most frequent and prominent between 1958 (the start of the non-aligned movement) and 1986. Africa's prominence increased from 1960, when African countries were gaining independence.

7.1.1. Establishment of power and hierarchy in *Pravda*

As CDA specialises in assessing power relations and uncovering abuses of power (see Chapter 2), I uncovered ways in which *Pravda's* discourse on Africa, aid and development constructed and expressed the relative positions of the three main parties in this international hierarchy of power. Analysing power includes analysing ideology:

The critique of power is both normative and explanatory. Normative critique is critique of power in discourse, including manipulation (and rationalization as a form of manipulation). Explanatory critique is critique of power behind discourse, including ideology. Critique of ideology identifies forms and features of discourse which are subject to normative critique but also necessary for the imposition, consolidation and reproduction of relations of power. (Fairclough, 1989: 49)

With regard to power in discourse, I have shown that *Pravda* presented Africa more as a patient than an agent, presented aid more as a tool of power than a choice of Africans, and although presenting development as an enterprise for all countries, when using the predicate “developing”, established a country as low in the hierarchy. *Pravda* associated Africa primarily with problems caused by the West: war, imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, oppression, exploitation, racist and dictatorial regimes, and poverty caused by interrupted development. *Pravda* indicated that the answer to Africa’s problems was African struggle plus Soviet verbal support, and from the 1950s, portrayed Africa in increasing detail, and as increasingly vocal, largely sympathetic to socialism, and supported by the USSR and other socialist and Southern countries. South Africa was the exception throughout the Soviet period, its government portrayed as racist and trying to overrun southern Africa. *Pravda* alleged that outside Africa, this multi-country struggle led by the USSR was mainly conducted through meetings, speeches and resolutions, while inside Africa, it was conducted through both meetings and physical struggle. *Pravda* printed in full and nominated social actors whom it wished to elevate to active roles of wise friend of the USSR and expert authority, employed topoi of authority, burden, history and numbers, invoked metaphors conveying Africa trapped by the West and pursuing development as it struggled, and recontextualised speeches to emphasise Africa’s political route to freedom. This all served an ideological square which pitted the West and its racist allies against the USSR, Africa, the UN and their allies. But all this struggle was like Sisyphus rolling his stone up the mountain, as Africa’s depiction remained of oppressed victim, lacking independence and eternally under-developed. Topics, schematic structure, content, syntax, semantics, detail, vagueness, clichés,

perspective and propositions all showed the West and the USSR as more active than Africa, with Africa simply the opportunity to display this. Africa and the USSR were portrayed as reactive to others' wrongdoing, doing no wrong themselves, while South Africa was portrayed as colluding with the West to harm black Africans.

Thus, in a twist on the West's Saviours and Savages metaphor, *Pravda's* post-War construction was that the saviour USSR acted to save the struggling, politicised, sophisticated Africa from the savage West. But *Pravda's* ideological square not only opposed the USSR to the West; it kept Africa beneath the USSR, elevating the USSR through being a politically active friend, just below it. Portrayed as weaker, less developed, less sophisticated and less able than the USSR, Africa was portrayed as available for the USSR to help, held back by its past, unable to escape its eternally low position and never free. Africa was always shown holding less power than the West and the USSR held, but Africa and the USSR were shown as morally superior to the West.

7.1.2. *Pravda's* use of Africa as rhetorical proxy and discursive tool

Pravda's presentation of Africa changed according to the USSR's needs. Initially *Pravda* presented Africa as different from Russia, then Africa was the pretext for hostile rhetoric against the West, and then Africa was a location of other people's war and colonialism, its people depersonalised, denationalised, passive and almost absent. After WWII, Africa was again pretext for hostile rhetoric against the West, intensified from the 1950s, in the Cold War. *Pravda* facilitated south-south observation, Soviet verbal support, Western self-incrimination and apparent African speaking back through African media and by African leaders, representatives and citizens. However, since *Pravda* would not print a view contradictory to its own, African speakers and writers voiced *Pravda's* opinions. *Pravda* used these Africans as rhetorical proxies, expressing Soviet opinions, criticising the West, praising the USSR and claiming UN support for the USSR. Through rhetorical proxy, *Pravda* discursively multiplied the number of supporters of its views, conveyed to the Soviet population that most of the world agreed with these views, and conferred African authenticity on its discourse on Africa.

Even if partial in its selection of opinions, *Pravda* did at least convey Africans as politically opinionated, but this was a limited and possibly misinformative speaking back. Selecting who and what to quote, to support its ideological square, *Pravda* was an active mediator. This is different from the speaking back discussed in Section 2.1.3., in which the subaltern actively uses the language of the powerful to put their message

across (Derrida, 1976, Preface by Spivak). While quotes of Africans in *Pravda* could appear to illustrate the powerless understanding their oppression and wishing to speak back (Scott, 1990), since the conduit here was a Cold War superpower with an agenda, in total control of its media, the speaking back was more by *Pravda* than by Africans. Moreover, *Pravda* generally quoted African leaders and members of the middle classes. Indeed, *Pravda* publishing selected quotes of the oppressed could be said to be the antithesis of speaking back by the oppressed. Where mediated speech is manipulated to be a rhetorical proxy, we do not hear direct speaking back, begging the question of where along the spectrum of mediated speech of the oppressed might we detect that speaking back ceases and rhetorical proxy begins? *Pravda's* use of Africans as rhetorical proxies, conducted perpetually over decades, with no dissenting viewpoint, by a monolithic press of a monolithic political party, illustrates one extreme of this spectrum, where the rhetorical proxy is clear, and could add to speaking back theory.

Since Africa was a tool in the USSR's battle with the West, *Pravda* simplified use of this tool by often casually treating Africa as a country. Hence in *Pravda*, Africa had a *homo Africanus* beset by problems, lacking political freedom, with a common political past of suffering, a common culture of politics, a common political present of resistance and socialist tendencies, and a "continental body" in which problems and solutions of one country applied to all. *Pravda's* *homo Africanus* was black, a victim needing defence against white racist African regimes supported by the West, this simple portrayal obfuscating white Africans, white anti-racism campaigners and anti-apartheid Western governments. *Pravda's* construction of African society was a model of socialism or pre-socialism, containing members of trades unions, in salaried jobs in industry and on large farms. In the corpus, *Pravda* showed no subsistence farming, petty trade or craftwork, common forms of African self-employment. Thus *Pravda* showed a world shaped by work, in forms familiar to Soviet citizens and compatible with socialism. *Pravda* showed Africans largely in clothes similar to Soviet citizens' clothes, until Glasnost, when *Pravda* showed Africans in traditional African clothing, exotic, as in early and unofficial Soviet discourses. In showing Africans as similar to Soviet citizens, *Pravda* enabled its readers to identify with Africans, and showed an Africa capable of independence and needing no Western aid.

However, *Pravda's* argumentation caused it to be partial in its educational role, obfuscating Soviet military activities in Africa, human rights abuses committed by Soviet allies in Africa, any failings in Soviet aid, Africans who opposed Soviet

involvement in their countries, and any good that the West did in Africa.

7.1.3. “Freedom as development” and aid as a discursive tool in *Pravda*

Central to *Pravda*’s portrayal of Africa and development was the concept of independent development, a theme which I name “freedom as development”. Soviet *Pravda* asserted that freedom can bring or be as important as development, while Sen’s view, expressed in the 1999 quotation at the start of this thesis and this chapter, and referred to in Chapter 1, is that freedom and development can cause each other. In *Pravda*’s discourse, Africa’s goal was freedom from colonialism and neo-colonialism, this being a necessary precursor to development, and necessary for its own sake, as freedom and development are natural desires of any country. However, while Sen provides partial scholarly backing for *Pravda*’s view, the meaning of “freedom” depends on that of which one is said to be free. In *Pravda*, freedom from the West was another tool of argumentation in the ideological square. *Pravda* deployed African Liberation Day as an annual discursive tool to show the USSR responding to Africans’ demands for freedom, and of African countries free to embrace socialism. In *Pravda*, African liberation meant freedom to be in the Soviet camp, while lack of freedom meant inescapable dependence on and exploitation by the West.

Throughout the corpus, development was for any country, including Russia, and including Africa from 1949. According to *Pravda*, development was best done naturally, on a socialist path, and independently of other countries, colonialists, neo-colonialists, capitalists and aid, although Soviet aid was presented as beneficial to Africa. In *Pravda*’s discourse, under-development made a country vulnerable to Western aid, which in turn harmed development. *Pravda* portrayed aid mainly as Western, capitalist, exploitative, military neo-colonialism, ensnaring Africa economically and militarily, and benefitting the West. As the aid race accelerated, *Pravda* portrayed Soviet aid as morally and practically perfect, mending harm done by the West. Thus the portrayal of both aid and development split Africa into two camps, one the victim of Western aid and the other the fortunate recipient of Soviet aid and political support.

Curiously, though, as in Western discourse, so too in *Pravda*’s: African countries, although “developing”, might never attain developed status, as “developing” became a long-term predicate for countries in Africa. In *Pravda*’s argumentation, this was rationalised as being due to their lack of freedom from the West.

7.2. Differences from concurrent discourses

As discussed in Section 5.4., unofficial discourse reacted to official discourse. On the one hand, some popular discourse expressed resentment and envy of Africans in the USSR and their relatively liberated lives, and displayed racism as a form of dissent. On the other hand, counter-cultural discourse expressed admiration of perceived greater freedom in Africa than in the USSR, and identified Africa affectionately with Soviet dissidents who had been fond of Africa. Thus dissent expressed both frustration and affection towards Africa, stemming from a common aspiration of freedom in the USSR and perception of existing freedom of Africans. Thus both official and counter-cultural discourses assumed common Soviet and African aspirations of freedom. While official discourse conveyed that the USSR should extend its freedom to Africa, unofficial discourse conveyed that Soviet citizens wanted freedom that Africans already had.

The West's discourse concerned helping the poor, aiding their development and making their lives better, through charity and help, from a position of power, having been in a position to grant independence. This discourse led to a large aid industry run from the North (or the West), in which it was assumed that the North would facilitate or at least help the South's development, and in which the North examined and acted upon the South. This binary Western discourse included less talk of political freedom than Soviet discourse contained, but included discourses of human rights and democracy, again facilitated and delivered by the North. Although both Western and Soviet depictions showed needy Africans, "flattened" and viewed from a distance (Gallagher, 2009), as I described in Chapters 1 and 4, and both sides showed Africa in need of their help, the differing Western and Soviet motivations resulted in different depictions of Africans, with the West portraying Africans as more apolitical.

Although *Pravda's* discourse was one-sided, violated rational argumentation through the CPSU's monopoly of official discourse and woefully distorted news to support its ideological square, this does not mean that the West's discourse was non-ideological. News reporting is ideological, and, "while Soviet international news can be shown to be – because openly ideological – selective and value-laden, these are features shared by western journalism." (McNair, 1991: 117) Chomsky and Herman argue that both US and Soviet media "construct images of the world in accordance with the 'primary system propaganda needs' of the society in which they function." (ibid: 124) I showed in Section 4.1.5. that Western development discourse obfuscates national politics, class and racial discrimination, and in Chapter 6 that *Pravda* elevated politics

and race to main topics. However, Soviet readers were not necessarily better informed than Westerners, as *Pravda* manipulated its reporting to serve its ideological square. Such Soviet propaganda was prompted both by scientific socialist ideology (see Section 2.2.5.), which demanded analysis through a framework of class and politics, and by the propaganda needs of the Cold War. Both Western and Soviet discourses, however, promoted a model of givers and receivers, in which they played the givers (whether of material, technical or political aid), and Africa played the receiver.

7.3. Legacy in Russia's media representations of aid and development

From 1987, *Pravda* began to present African countries as more responsible for their actions, sometimes working beneficially with European and socialist countries, and harmed by natural disaster. The discourse became calmer, less anti-West, less political and more varied. *Pravda* still presented development as achievable without aid, an activity of all countries. Then the USSR's collapse humiliated Russia, as it experienced again recipient status, including political aid, and ceased its own aid to Africa. Thus Russians could still associate aid with disaster, and still not closely with development.

The USSR's collapse brought a relaxation of the requirement to praise Africa in public discourse. *Pravda* continued to associate Africa with less political topics, but also with more negative elements emanating from Africa, allocating Africa more responsibility and agency. *Pravda* began to show Africa as a threat to Russia, through Islam, population growth and the risk of Russia being like Africa, with its everlasting failing economy and permanent "developing" status, but now also increasingly a depoliticised continent of wildlife, hunting and tourism. Africa appears less frequently in post-Soviet *Pravda* than in Soviet times, less frequently on the front page, with fewer satirical cartoons, but with photographs, and so still relatively prominently.

Russia's self-perception includes that the USSR sought beneficial ideological influence in Africa instead of economic return, giving Russia now a political return from Soviet political aid, and this plus its non-colonial history give it an advantage in dealing with Africa today (Zheltov, 2012). Official Russian discourse too continues the view that the USSR was good to Africa, and that Africa sees Russia as its friend. And *Pravda* today presents a Russia-Africa relationship that is still primarily not about aid. Post-Soviet Russia has put efforts into promoting trade with Africa and joining multilateral agencies, but not yet joining the international aid structure. Russia lends according to Russian interests, education in Russia for Africans continues at small scale,

Russian authorities prefer to work directly with the South on Southern problems, and Russia intends to use donorship to exert influence. Russia's official discourse includes wisdom and cynicism about aid, informed by having been a recipient, and pride at no longer being one. Russia's inherited scepticism of aid thus predates the UK public's. While post-Soviet *Pravda* still maintains countries as either "developed" or "developing", it also still maintains that all countries are developing and should do so. Thus Russian discourse still weakly associates aid with Africa and its development.

The above-mentioned risk which modern Russian discourse expresses, of Russia being like Africa, raises the other striking element of post-Soviet discourse: it includes comparisons of Russia and Africa. The narrative is usually that Russia could be as needy, corrupt and chaotic as Africa. Other comparisons concern economies dominated by oil and commodities. This discourse, like all the rest discussed here, positions Russia still as unique, part of neither the West nor the South. In Mawdsley's table of donors, Russia fits both columns, or its own column combining the other two:

Symbolic claims of Western donors and Southern development cooperation partners

Western donors	Southern development cooperation partners
Charity	Opportunity
Moral obligation to the unfortunate	Solidarity with other Third World countries
Expertise based on superior knowledge, institutions, science and technology	Expertise based on direct experience of pursuing development in poor-country circumstances
Sympathy for different and distant others	Empathy based on a shared identity and experience
The virtue of suspended obligation, a lack of reciprocation	The virtue of mutual benefit and recognition of reciprocity

(Mawdsley, 2012: 153)

Thus Russia's legacy from Soviet media discourse includes conceptualisation of Africa as still eternally "developing" but sharing this activity with all countries, Africa as weak and yet Russia's friend and ally, and competition between Russia and the West for Africa's friendship while aid is appreciated mostly for its humanitarian rather than development value. Socialist ideology promoted discourse of equal nations, and this has remained in one half of this contradictory discourse on Africa. Soviet motivations for constructing a political Africa which desired its rightful freedom were to strengthen the ideological square of the USSR versus the West, and although this resulted in a highly partial and incomplete construction of Africa, aid and development, the discourse contained positive aspects: the importance of politics in African countries, and the

widely articulated theme of freedom as development. Russia, with its unique history and unique perspective on Africa, aid and development, inherited a unique discourse.

7.4. Contribution to knowledge

My thesis contributes to literatures of aid and development, CDA and DHA, Russian foreign policy and international relations, and postcolonialism. It complements history of the USSR, Cold War Africa and modern Russia. It describes and explains how the USSR's legacy affects how Russia now views Africa, aid and development.

7.4.1. Literatures of aid, development and Africa

As an aid and development professional, I set out to understand how Russia views aid and development, and I did so through researching its origins in Soviet discourse, to understand its legacy for today's Russia. In so doing, I contribute to literature of aid and development, which overwhelmingly concerns Western development discourse, and either presumes a Western perspective or aims for the perspective of recipient countries. Indeed, within this literature, my thesis contributes quite simply to awareness that Russia and the USSR had and have a strong relationship with Africa. I have thereby not only elucidated the conception of Africa, aid and development by a much-neglected donor, but I have, importantly, shown possible ways of viewing aid, development and Africa. Some Soviet and Russian conceptions of these topics may appear novel to today's aid and development professionals – for example, comparisons between Russia and Africa. Other conceptions may teach us that techniques of aid which we think are modern and Western were in fact promoted in Soviet discourse – for example, partnership agreements. I may provoke today's aid and development specialists to question whether we might usefully adopt aspects of Soviet discourse – for example, pursuit of freedom to achieve development, weakening our association of development with aid, considering that all countries are developing, or prioritising politics. While *Pravda* had Cold War motivations for this discourse, this should not invalidate it.

I also add to Russian literature on Africa, aid and development. Soviet literature on Africa consisted largely of politically motivated praise for alleged deep historical relations between Russia and Africa, while development literature was scant and not identified as such. Thus the main books on Africa available to the wider public (Davidson and Makrushin, 1975) (Davidson and Makrushin, 1979) and Soviet academic institutions and museums all promoted conceptions of exotic Africa, and alleged Russian-African friendship that is not widely acknowledged in the West. Meantime, the

short book which I analysed on developing mass media in Africa similar to Soviet mass media (Zasursky et al., 1979), concerned creation of a sector vital to socialist revolution, but which Western aid professionals consider part of development. While the model of mass media promoted was socialist, and its use to facilitate socialism was not conceptualised as part of development, this is because, as my thesis shows, the USSR did not see development as a prior aim, prioritising instead freedom in its discourse on Africa. In post-Soviet Russia, as Russia accepted Western money to develop a Russian textbook on international development, this manual repeats Western concepts of Russia being a “non-traditional” donor, and so the Russian government puts its own money into trade with Africa, little moved to conform to this Western discourse.

7.4.2. Methodological innovations in CDA and DHA

I innovated in my use of DHA by including topic analysis, whose importance to CDA is described by van Dijk, especially when analysing media (van Dijk, 2010). I did so because my main source documents in this research were newspaper texts, and as van Dijk explains, mass media very effectively sets agendas through choice of topics, telling readers and audiences what to think about. Topic analysis allowed me to see that *Pravda* associated Africa with negative elements emanating from the West and with struggle against these, while post-Soviet *Pravda* associated Africa more with problems emanating from within Africa. And understanding *Pravda*’s use of topics in setting the agenda illustrated the ways in which *Pravda* used Africa as a discursive tool to construct a negative West.

I also expanded my use of DHA to include structural analysis, important to Foucauldian CDA (Jäger and Maier, 2009), elucidating factors such as the frequency and prominence of mentions of Africa, as well as the topics associated with it. This showed that Africa was a significant part of *Pravda*’s Cold War discourse, increasingly informed by journalists in Africa, used daily, rising in importance after the Bandung Conference and during the 1960s, and associated with anti-West rhetoric through choice of topics associated with Africa. It also gave me a first insight and overview of *Pravda*’s discourse as a whole, helping me to refine my research questions and systematically select pages for detailed analysis.

I observed several discursive shifts. I did so not through methodological innovation, but simply through researching a long period of time. This allowed observation of more discursive shifts, and indeed of a longer period without a discursive shift, than most CDA or DHA research yields.

I applied a postcolonial approach to Soviet discourse, and researched an under-researched question to which this approach is particularly apt. I uniquely applied Wodak et al's analysis of construction of national identity to the USSR's construction of a continent. Finally, with multimodal analysis, I supplemented DHA's textual analysis.

7.4.3. Literature of international relations: Russian foreign policy

I count aid and development as part of foreign policy, and recount official attitudes to aid and the aid race, explaining the low importance which Russia accords aid today, its lasting cynicism about aid, and its belief that all countries are developing. All indicate that Russia may remain outside the Western-dominated aid structure. I tell how Russia came to develop its myth (true or not) of its good reputation in Africa, and how it considers Africa both comparable to Russia and yet inferior. I explain how Russia has a legacy of defending its place above Africa, always vying with the West to be as high in the hierarchy as the West is, and always using Africa and aid discursively to this end. Russia thus appears under-confident in its status. I tell, however, of Russia's confidence in its morally superior attitude towards Africa, superior to the West's attitude, and hence Russia's belief that Africa prefers Russia to the West. And I tell of Russia's belief that a respectful relationship with Africa is built on more trade and less aid, and that the best aid is South-South, although Russia does not see itself as part of the South.

Finally, as my topics encompass a wide range of specialist topics, from aid and development to Russian history, I uniquely unite this range, not only thereby elucidating a unique nexus of topics, but also likely introducing each specialist reader to at least one specialism unfamiliar to them.

7.4.4. Use of postcolonialism

I first contribute to the literature by assessing that a postcolonial approach is appropriate, due to the USSR's quasi-colonialism in Africa and its colonialism in its own territory.

Primarily I use postcolonialism through analysing discourse, this being fundamental to postcolonialism, which takes that countries' status and attributes are discursively constructed. I show that for all its self-belief as Africa's friend, in fact the USSR and Russia used Africa as a discursive tool and conveyed it as empty or inferior, as does Western discourse.

My analysis shows that the USSR too used the false binary of developing-developed, and that although the USSR broke some rules (for example, having one "developing country" comment on another), it nevertheless used Africa in a binary

discourse, of West-East. Thus although there were three parties in the USSR's discourse, one of them (Africa) served merely to construct the other two (USSR and the West).

I looked for speaking back by Africa, analysed *Pravda's* use of Africans speaking in *Pravda*, and concluded that *Pravda* used them as rhetorical proxies for the USSR. I conceptualised a spectrum of mediated speaking back, which may completely disallow true speaking back, and wondered where it becomes rhetorical proxy.

Nevertheless, I remained always aware of African agency, aware of Africa's need to play off one superpower against another. Reading *Pravda*, I was constantly reminded of an agentive Africa, but constantly aware of the partiality and hence uncertain truth in the discourse. I sought to make readers aware of Russian agency.

I adapted the postcolonial exhortation to question who has the right to observe whom, by observing an observer, the USSR. My analysis showed unequal representation of Africa, in spite of *Pravda's* protestations of its respect for Africa and its construction of an active, political Africa. My postcolonial analysis showed that the USSR, like the West, sought to change Africa, through encouraging socialism and giving aid, political, technical or physical.

7.4.5. Contribution to discourse

My final postcolonial contribution must be my thoughts on changing discourse. As required by postcolonialism and CDA, I considered a new postcolonial discourse, and found some to consider in *Pravda*. We might, like *Pravda*, prioritise politics in development discourse, although critics of development discourse have so far failed to change it. We might, like Russia, weaken our association of development with aid, although the rise of India, China and South-South development may in any case cause this. We might, like Russia, consider that all countries are developing, and go beyond that to stop our division of countries into developing and developed. We might, as Sen advocates and as *Pravda* insisted, consider anew the pursuit of freedom to achieve development.

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Annex 1 – Ethiopia: case study of Russia's and USSR's imperialist tendencies

In the nineteenth century, when Russia provided arms and military advisers to Ethiopia, its anti-colonial aims were to stop Britain from holding continuous land from south to north Africa and to exert power over Britain and Egypt through influencing the Nile's source in Ethiopia. Its colonial aims were to gain a Red Sea base for access to India and access to Ethiopia's economic potential. Russian military aid was crucial in Ethiopia's 1986 victory at Adwa, and Russian Captain Leontev represented Ethiopia in post-war negotiations with Italy. Both Russia and France had helped Ethiopia to win, and both established diplomatic missions in Ethiopia. After the Russian Revolution, prominent Russian émigrés escaped to Ethiopia and advised the Ethiopian government. Ethiopian relations with Tsarist representatives metamorphosed seamlessly into relations with Soviet representatives. When the USSR fanned nationalism in European colonies, to distract Europeans from attacking the USSR, Britain and Italy blocked Ethiopia's negotiations with the USSR, which continued in secret. In the 1930s, Soviet-Ethiopian trade expanded, and Ethiopia took great interest in the USSR. But when Italy occupied Ethiopia in World War Two, the USSR supplied food and fuel to Italy, equal to 5% of the USSR's trade, suspending its customary support of Ethiopia. When Stalin de-emphasised class struggle by abandoning Comintern in 1943 and rehabilitating the Russian Orthodox Church, Soviet-Ethiopian diplomatic relations started. Nevertheless, post-war Ethiopia gravitated towards the USA, and over 20 years received 20% of US economic aid and 50% of US military aid to black Africa. The USSR supported both Ethiopia's colonial tendencies and its strong stance against western imperialism: the USSR praised Ethiopia's administrative expansion in its Muslim lowlands, opposed a British plan to create Greater Somalia, and in 1954 backed Ethiopia's claim to Eritrea. In 1959, Emperor Haile Selassie was the first African head of state to visit the USSR. Trade, diplomacy and aid flourished. However, Ethiopia used its good relations with the USSR to bargain secretly for more USA military aid. Next, after the Ethiopian military coup of 1974, Soviet support of the Ethiopian emperor's regime metamorphosed seamlessly into Soviet support of the new Ethiopian socialist regime, as the USSR helped Ethiopia to defeat Somali forces backed by NATO and Arab states in 1978. The USSR was pleased to be seen as the major external power in the area, proving a fruitful alliance between national liberation and world socialism. From 1978 to 1987, the Soviets poured \$7 billion of military aid into Ethiopia, plus economic and technical support; Soviet and East German advisers joined Cuban troops; more students from Ethiopia studied in the USSR than from any other foreign country; in 1984-85, the USSR sent significant aid for the famine; in 1983, Ethiopia was the first African country to erect a statue of Lenin; in 1984, Mengistu agreed to establish a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party; Ethiopia signed agreements with East Germany, South Yemen, Bulgaria, North Korea and Libya. However, lasting Soviet influence was hindered by Soviet inability to develop the Ethiopian economy enough, in both quantity and quality of aid. In 1983-86, the USSR gave 22% of aid to Ethiopia, making it the largest individual donor, but gave less than the 39% from the EEC, Italy, Sweden and Germany together. The USA remained Ethiopia's main trading partner. The West provided most

aid in the 1984-85 famine; Soviet aid arrived only after Western aid. In the late 1980s, the USSR was a major food donor in the next Ethiopian famine, but Soviet military aid attracted USA aid. From 1985, Perestroika aimed to spread socialism through example plus stopping putting Soviet interests before those of others who would suffer. Gorbachev gave military, economic and emergency aid, but saw Mengistu as nurtured by the USSR's 1970s period of stagnation, and disengaged militarily from the Horn. (Patman, 1990)

Russia's stance towards this non-colony had colonial undertones, while the USSR remained usually supportive of a long-term friend, and helped it to expand especially when it had become socialist. Thus the USSR operated and supported socialist colonialism in Africa.

Annex 2 – 41 *Pravda* texts analysed

This annex starts with a table of all 54 texts analysed in detail. The 41 of these on which I conducted the most detailed discourse analysis are marked in bold, while the others are marked in italics.

I present here these 41 *Pravda* texts on which I conducted the most detailed discourse analysis, each one followed by my translation of it into English for this Annex.

Where the mention of Africa is limited to one part of a long text, I give here the key parts of the text, including all mentions of Africa.

I have marked in bold occurrences of “Африка” and its derivatives and occurrences of some words and phrases of interest, such as those concerning African place names, human rights, aid or international development. I have otherwise followed approximately the use of bold, underlined and capital letters in the original texts.

Where the text includes a photograph, cartoon or layout already given in Chapter 6, I do not replicate the image here, but refer the reader to Chapter 6.

Where I could not read an unclear part of the pdf, I have written question marks in my transcription and translation, and, where I could make out a few letters, have written an approximation of the word(s) concerned.

The pdfs of all 262 *Pravda* pages analysed are on an accompanying CD. Photographs which are part of C60, C63, C136, C213 and C120 can be viewed there.

Table of 54 texts analysed in detail, with 41 analysed in most detail in bold

Name of page	Date of page	Page number in <i>Pravda</i>
C2	1934, 12th July	5
C9	1940, 23rd October	5
<i>C12</i>	<i>1943, 23rd January</i>	<i>4</i>
C16	1943, 1st June	4
C23	1946, 10th June	4
C24	1946, 13th November	4
<i>C28</i>	<i>1950, 26th November</i>	<i>4</i>
C29	1951, 3rd November	2
C35	1955, 15th March	4
C36	1955, 21st April	6
C40	1957, 19th April	6
<i>C41</i>	<i>1957, 12th June</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>C55</i>	<i>1960, 25th September</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>C57</i>	<i>1960, 24th October</i>	<i>3</i>
C60	1960, 16th December	1
C61	1961, 18th April	1
C63	1961, 23rd July	1
C70	1962, 14th April	3
<i>C73</i>	<i>1962, 1st December</i>	<i>1</i>
C77	1963, 25th February	3
<i>C83</i>	<i>1964, 15th May</i>	<i>2</i>
C86	1964, 9th October	6
C87	1965, 7th January	1
C91	1965, 26th May	3

C103	1967, 13 th May	3
C120	1970, 31 st July	5
C124	1970, 29 th August	5
C128	1971, 5 th August	5
C129	1971, 27 th November	5
C136	1972, 24 th May	4
C141	1973, 11 th March	4
C143	1973, 19 th August	5
C147	1974, 21 st April	5
C149	1974, 15 th June	5
C151	1974, 6 th July	4
C160	1977, 24 th May	1
C164	1978, 16 th February	4
C179	1980, 2 nd March	1
C183	1980, 14 th July	1
C191	1981, 17 th August	5
C196	1982, 14 th October	4
C197	1983, 24 th May	1
C211	1985, 2 nd November	4
C213	1986, 19 th May	6
C220	1987, 26 th May	6
C221	1987, 23 rd August	5
C222	1987, 26 th December	5
C224	1988, 12 th February	6
C230	1989, 24 th May	1
C233	1990, 13 th April	8
C234	1990, 27 th May	6
C241	1993, 11 th August	5
C244	1995, 25 th May	3
C249	1999, 30 th December	4

C2, 1934

C2, 12th July, 1934, page 5

К 20-летию мировой империалистической войны.

“НАДО ОБ’ЯСНИТЬ ЛЮДЯМ РЕАЛЬНУЮ ОБСТАНОВКУ ТОГО, КАК ВЕЛИКА ТАЙНА, В КОТОРОЙ ВОЙНА РОЖДАЕТСЯ. (Ленин).

Роковой день приближается

12 ИЮЛЯ 1914 ГОДА.

Кто кого... перехитрит?

1. ДВОЙНАЯ ИГРА В БЕРЛИНЕ.

ИНСТРУКЦИИ В ВЕНУ: МОМЕНТ БЛАГОПРИЯТЕН—ДЕЙСТВУЙТЕ.

Австро-венгерский посол в Берлине СЕГЕНИ — министру иностранных дел графу БЕРХТОЛЬДУ.

Берлин, 12 июля.

Как император Вильгельм, так и все прочие здешние компетентные факторы не только полны решимости поддержать монархию в качестве ее верных союзников, но даже решительно подстрекают нас не упустить теперешний момент, выступить самым энергичным образом против Сербии и раз навсегда

ликвидировать находящееся там гнездо революционных заговорщиков, предоставляя нам полную свободу в выборе средств...

(К.К.).

ИНСТРУКЦИИ В ЛОНДОН: УДЕРЖАТЬ АНГЛИЮ!

Статссекретарь германского министерства иностранных дел ЯГОВ — германскому послу в Лондоне:

Берлин, 12 июля) 1914 г.

Возможно, что Австрия... решится принять более серьезные меры против Сербии, которые вызовут общие осложнения. Мы желаем во всяком случае локализовать конфликт. Для этого необходимо, чтобы общественное мнение Европы дало возможность соответствующим правительствам следить за урегулированием разногласий между Австрией в Сербией, не принимая в нем участия...

(“Г. Д.”).

2. ВЕНА В МАСКЕ “МИРОЛЮБИЯ”.

БЕРХТОЛЬД ВЫЖИДАЕТ ОТЪЕЗДА ПУАНКАРЕ.

12 июля я беседовал с графом Берхтольдом. Он заявил, что... французский президент Пуанкаре находится с визитом у царя, и он (граф Бертольд) хотел бы подождать отъезда Пуанкаре и отложить на 23 июля предъявление ультиматума. Сербии...

(Фельдмаршал Конрад. “Годы моей службы. 1906—1918 гг.”. Т. IV.

Вена. 1923 г.).

ДИПЛОМАТЫ В ГЕНЕРАЛЬСКИХ ПОГОНАХ.

Письмо начальника австро-венгерского генерального штаба — министру иностранных дел графу БЕРХТОЛЬДУ.

12 июля.

Ссылаясь на мнение, высказанное мною на недавнем совещании...

(Фельдмаршал Конрад. “Годы моей службы. 1906—1918 гг.”. Т. IV.

Вена. 1923 г.).

12 июля 1914 г. Неожиданно наступает затишье. Печать о Вене, Лондоне,

...

Один день,—но как ярко раскрывается сущность империалистической дипломатии!

Составлено по официальным документам за 12 июля 1914 г. Сокращения “Г.Д.” означает “Германские документы”, “К.К.” — дополнения к австрийской “Красной книге”.

ФОТОДОКУМЕНТЫ МИРОВОЙ ИМПЕРИАЛИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ВОЙНЫ

Мобилизация французских колониальных войск в Северной Африке.

See Chapter 6 for the layout of the column and for the photograph at its foot.

For the 20th anniversary of the First World War.

"WE MUST EXPLAIN TO THE PEOPLE THE REAL SITUATION OF HOW GREAT THE SECRET IS IN WHICH WAR IS BORN." (Lenin).

The fateful day approaches

12 JULY 1914.

... Who will outwit who?

1. DOUBLE GAME IN BERLIN.

INSTRUCTIONS TO VIENNA: WHEN THE MOMENT IS RIGHT - ACT.

From the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador to Berlin Segeni, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Count Berchtold.

Berlin, 12 July.

As the Emperor Wilhelm, and all other local competent factors not only are committed to support the monarchy as its staunchest allies, but even strongly incite us not to miss the present moment, to act most energetically against Serbia, and once and for all eliminate the nest of revolutionary conspirators situated therein, giving us complete freedom in the choice of means ...

(KK).

INSTRUCTIONS TO LONDON: KEEP ENGLAND!

State Secretary German Foreign Ministry Yagov to the German Ambassador in London:

Berlin, July 12, 1914

It is possible that Austria ... may dare to take more serious measures against Serbia, which will cause common complications. We wish at least to localize the conflict. For this it is necessary that public opinion in Europe enables the Governments concerned to monitor the settlement of disputes between Austria in Serbia, without taking part in it ...

("GD").

2. VIENNA MASKED AS "PEACEFULNESS".

BERCHTOLD IS WAITING FOR POINCARE'S DEPARTURE.

On July 12, I talked with Count Berchtold. He said that ... the French President Poincaré is on a visit to the king, and he (Count Berchtold) would like to wait for Poincaré's departure and postpone July 23's ultimatum. Serbia ...

(Field Marshal Conrad. "The years of my life. 1906-1918." T. 1V., Vienna. 1923).

Diplomats in general's epaulettes.

Letter from the Chief of the Austro-Hungarian General Staff to Minister of Foreign Affairs Count Berchtold.

July 12.

Referring to the opinion expressed by me at a recent meeting of the ...

(Field Marshal Conrad. "The years of my life. 1906-1918". T. IV. Vienna. 1923).

July 12, 1914 Suddenly, a lull. Vienna, London,

...

One day, as a bright-but the essence of imperialist diplomacy!

Compiled from official documents of the July 12, 1914 The abbreviation "GD" stands for "German documents", "KK" – addendum to the Austrian "Red Book".

Documentary photographs of First World War

Mobilizing French colonial troops in North Africa.

C9, 1940

C9, 23rd October, 1940, page 5

Англо-итальянская война

РИМ, 22 октября. (ТАСС). Агентство Стефани передает следующую сводку итальянского командования:

“В ночь на 21 октября наши миноносцы вышли в южную часть Красного моря, чтобы обнаружить большой караван судов противника, шедший под сильной охраной крейсеров и эсминцев, о котором сообщила до этого воздушная разведка. Около полуночи нашим миноносцам удалось обнаружить караван. Они решительно атаковали и торпедировали некоторые суда, несмотря на

ожесточенный огонь с крейсеров и эсминцев противника.

Немного спустя после этого первого сражения другая группа наших миноносцев также атаковала конвоируемый караван судов противника, при чем им также удалось торпедировать несколько пароходов. После этого завязалось ожесточенное ночное сражение между нашими миноносцами и преобладающими силами противника, конвоировавшими караван судов, которое продолжалось до рассвета. В это время один крейсер противника типа “Сидней” водоизмещением в 8.000 тонн попал под обстрел итальянских береговых батарей, расположенных на островах в Красном море. Серьезно поврежденный крейсер медленно удалился. Позже было замечено, как крейсер стоит неподвижно в море, в то время как другие английские корабли спешили к нему на помощь. В результате этих действий было потоплено шесть пароходов противника; несколько пароходов серьезно повреждено. Только один из наших миноносцев поврежден: несмотря на серьезные повреждения, ему удалось уйти под защиту итальянских береговых батарей. Потери среди экипажа, незначительны.

На рассвете караван противника подвергся еще раз нападению со стороны итальянской авиации, которая вступила в бой с истребительными самолетами противника, повредив несколько самолетов типа “Глостер”.

В Северной **Африке** наша авиация бомбардировала Фука, Маатен Багуш, лагерные баржи в Месса-Матрух и в Эл-Даба, авиационные базы Эль Хамман (к западу от Александрии), Хельвач (к югу от Каира) и морские базы Александрии. Всюду были достигнуты положительные результаты, несмотря на интенсивный огонь зенитной артиллерии противника.

Авиация противника атаковала наши Войска, ранив несколько человек. Неприятельские самолеты совершили также нападение на военные госпитали в районе Бакбак, где было ранено 8 человек.

В Восточной **Африке** одному из наших разведывательных отрядов удалось напасть врасплох и обратить в бегство механизированные части противника близ Либоп (Кения).

Наша авиация бомбардировала портовые сооружения Азена, группу грузовиков близ Локитанга (Кения) и в Гарасе, а также некоторые укрепления и аэродромы, уничтожив на земле самолеты противника и сбив один потребитель в бою. Один из наших самолетов не вернулся на свою базу.

Авиация противника атаковала Акта, Гура, Деклассре и Массая без всяких результатов, Кассалу, где ранен один человек, а также Асмару, где ранено три человека и причинены незначительные повреждения.”

ЛОНДОН. 22 октября. (ТАСС). Агентство Рейтер передает из Каира коммюнике министерства национальной обороны, в котором говорится, что вечером 20 октября во время налета итальянских самолетов несколько бомб было сброшено в окрестностях Каира. 1 человек убит и 6 легко ранены. Материального ущерба не причинено.

НЬЮ-ЙОРК, 22 октября. (ТАСС). Каирский корреспондент агентства Юнайтед Пресс сообщает, что ночью 21 октября один итальянский самолет бомбардировал окраины Каира.

ЛОНДОН. 22 октября. (ТАСС). Корреспондент газеты “Таймс”, находящийся в Западной Пустыне, сообщает, что итальянцы занимают позиции в Сиди-Баррани и в Бир Энбра, находящемся в 20 милях к югу. Далее эти позиции тянутся к юго-западу на Бир Зофофи (южнее Бакбак). За последние дни итальянцы предприняли из этих пунктов ряд вылазок разведывательного характера, которые были отражены английскими патрулями и артиллерией, при чем итальянцы понесли серьезные потери. Тактика итальянцев рассматривается либо как их подготовка к

наступлению, либо как желание оттянуть побольше английских сил, чтобы облегчить действия немцев на каком-либо другом фронте. Корреспондент добавляет, что итальянцы редко применяют танки, а патрульную службу поручают местным ливийским частям.

The English-Italian War

ROME, October 22. (TASS). The agency Stephany gives the following summary of the Italian command:

"On the night of October 21, our destroyers went to the southern part of the Red Sea, to detect a large convoy of the enemy, under heavy guard from destroyer cruisers and, as reported previously, aerial reconnaissance. Around midnight, our destroyers managed to find the convoy. They strongly attacked and torpedoed some vessels, despite fierce fire from the enemy cruisers and destroyers.

Shortly after this first battle another group of our destroyers also attacked the escorted convoy of vessels of the enemy, and then they also managed to torpedo several steamers. After that ensued a night of bitter battle between our destroyers and the overwhelming forces of the enemy, an escorted convoy of vessels, which lasted until dawn. At this time, one type of enemy cruiser "Sydney" with a displacement of 8,000 tons, came under attack by Italian coastal batteries located on islands in the Red Sea. Seriously damaged, the cruiser slowly withdrew. Later, it was observed that a cruiser was standing motionless in the sea, while other British ships hurried to help it. As a result of these actions six enemy ships were sunk, and several ships were severely damaged. Only one of our destroyers was damaged, and in spite of the serious damage, it managed to escape under the protection of the Italian shore batteries. Losses of crew were insignificant.

At dawn the enemy convoys again suffered attack by the Italian air force, which clashed with enemy fighter planes, damaging several "Gloucester" aircraft.

In **North Africa**, our aircraft bombed **Fuca Bagush Maat, camp Bareges Mass in Matruh and El-Daba, airbases El Hamman (west of Alexandria), Helvach (south of Cairo) and naval bases of Alexandria**. Everywhere positive results were achieved despite intense fire by anti-aircraft artillery.

Enemy aircraft attacked our troops, injuring several people. Enemy aircraft carried out an attack on a military hospital near Bakbak where eight people were injured.

In **East Africa**, one of our intelligence units attacked by surprise and managed to rout the enemy mechanized units near **Libop (Kenya)**.

Our aircraft bombed **Azena** port facilities, a group of trucks near **Lokitanga (Kenya) and Garas**, as well as some fortifications and airfields, destroying enemy aircraft on the ground and killing one user in battle. One of our aircraft did not return to its base.

Enemy aircraft attacked the **Act, Gura, Deklassre and Massawa** without results, **Kassala**, where one man was wounded, and **Asmara**, where three people were injured and caused minor damage."

LONDON. October 22. (TASS). Reuters reports from Cairo the communiqué of the Ministry of National Defence, which states that in the evening of October 20 during a raid by Italian planes a few bombs were dropped in the vicinity of **Cairo**. 1 person was killed and six were lightly wounded. Material damage was not caused.

NEW YORK, October 22. (TASS). The **Cairo** correspondent for United Press reported that night on October 21, an Italian aircraft bombed the outskirts of **Cairo**.

LONDON. October 22. (TASS). The correspondent of the newspaper "The Times", located in the Western Desert, said that the Italians are taking positions at Sidi Barrani and Bir Enbra, located 20 miles to the south. Further, these positions are drawn to the southwest at Bir Zofofi (south of Bakbak). In recent days, the Italians have made from

these points a number of raids of a reconnaissance nature, which were rebuffed by British patrols and artillery, during which the Italians suffered serious losses. The Italians' tactics are regarded either as their preparation for an attack, or as a desire to pull more British forces in to facilitate the actions of the Germans on some other front. The correspondent adds that Italians rarely use tanks and charge local Libyans with conducting patrol services.

C16, 1943

C16, 1st June, 1943, page 4

Выступление Смэтса по радио

ЛОНДОН, 31 мая. (ТАСС). Премьер-министр Южно-Африканского Союза Смэтс в речи по радио, обращенной к народам Европы, заявил: "Освобождение союзниками Средиземного моря — это только первый этап освобождения Европы. Армии, которые прогнали врага от Каира до Триполи и берегов Туниса и прошли от Алжира до огромных гаваней Бизерты и Туниса, продолжают осуществление стратегического плана, кульминационный пункт которого будет достигнут вторжением в Европу."

Указав, что оборонительные линии противника растянуты вдоль обширного морского побережья Европы, в то время как основная масса его войск занята на русском фронте, Смэтс сказал, "Растерявшийся враг со страхом следит за нами. У наших врагов есть основания опасаться. Они не знают, где и как союзники нанесут им удар. Инициатива нападения окончательно вырвана из их рук, и мы никогда не отдадим ее. Мы можем сейчас использовать элемент неожиданности. В стратегии войны это является бесценным преимуществом."

Smuts's Speech on the Radio

LONDON, May 31. (TASS). The Prime Minister of the Union of **South Africa** Smuts, in a speech on the radio addressed to the peoples of Europe, said: "The liberation by the allies of the Mediterranean Sea is only the first stage of the liberation of Europe. The armies which drove the enemy from Cairo to Tripoli and the coast of Tunisia and Algeria have been to the large harbours of Bizerte, Tunisia, and continue the implementation of the strategic plan, the culminating point of which will be achieved through the invasion of Europe."

Pointing out that the enemy's defensive line stretched along the coast of the vast sea of Europe, while the bulk of its forces were engaged on the Russian front, Smuts said, "The confused enemy is watching us in fear. Our enemies have reason to fear. They do not know where and how the allies will strike them a blow. The initiative of attack has finally been taken out of their hands, and we will never give it back to them. We can now use the element of surprise. In the strategy of war, that is an invaluable asset."

Встреча де Голля с Жиро в Алжире

ЛОНДОН, 30 мая. (ТАСС). Специальный корреспондент агентства Рейтер в Алжире сообщает, что генерал де Голль прибыл в Алжир на самолете в сопровождении членов Французского Национального Комитета Массилии и Андрэ Филипа. На аэродроме де Голль был встречен генералом Жиро и многочисленными представителями гражданских и военных французских властей в Северной Африке.

Жиро заявил, что переговоры, происходившие в последние дни, показали, что между Французским Национальным Комитетом в Лондоне и Французским

верховным командованием в Алжире достигнуто соглашение. “Я счастлив,— сказал Жиро,— встретить генерала де Голля на этой земле в атмосфере, свободной от фракционности, и с единственным желанием — завершить объединение наших сил. Мы немедленно примемся за работу. Сейчас время не для речей, а для действий во имя Франции, которая нас ждёт.”

ЛОНДОН. 31 мая. (ТАСС). Как передает алжирское агентство Франс **Африк**, генерал де Голль сделал представителям печати заявление, в котором подчеркнул, что “французские владения принадлежат одной Франции и что французы должны служить только Франции. Поэтому необходимо восстановить французский суверенитет там, где он нарушен.” Этим, заявил де Голль, будет оказана услуга и союзникам Франции, которые заинтересованы в том, чтобы поддерживать отношения с французами, держащимися в борьбе с врагом гордо и непреклонно.

“Все проводимые мероприятия,— сказал де Голль,— должны находиться в полной соответствии с французским общественным мнением. Было бы опасно действовать иначе. Все знают, каково общее настроение Франции. Я твёрдо надеюсь, что мы, придерживаясь этой линии, быстро сумеем создать основы центральной власти. Мы начинаем практическую работу. С одной стороны в переговорах будут участвовать Катру, Массильи, Филип и я, с другой стороны — Жиро и его представители, которых он назначит.”

Де Голль заявил, что он тронут горячим приемом, оказанным ему населением Алжира. “Я рассматриваю,— сказал он,— этот приём, как выражение высших патриотических чувств.”

ЛОНДОН, 31 мая. (ТАСС). Как передает агентство АФИ, сегодня утром генералы Жиро и де Голль начали переговоры в присутствии генерала Катру.

• • •

ЛОНДОН, 1 июня. (ТАСС). Как передаёт агентство Рейтер, алжирское радио сообщило вечером 1 июня, что переговоры между Жиро и де Голлем о сформировании французского национального исполнительного комитета продолжаются.

Meeting of de Gaulle and Giraud in Algeria

LONDON, May 30. (TASS). The special correspondent of Reuters news agency in Algeria reports that General de Gaulle arrived in Algiers by plane, accompanied by members of the French National Committee Massigli and Andre Philip. At the airport de Gaulle was greeted by General Giraud and numerous representatives of the civil and military authorities in French North **Africa**.

Giraud said the negotiations that took place in recent days have shown that an agreement has been reached between the French National Committee in London and the French High Command in Algeria. "I'm happy - said Giraud - to meet General de Gaulle on this earth in an atmosphere free from factionalism, and our only desire is to complete the unification of our forces. We will immediately get to work. Now is the time not for speeches, but for actions for the sake of France, which is waiting for us."

LONDON. On 31 May. (TASS). As Algerian agency France-**Afrique** reports, General de Gaulle made a statement to the press, in which he stressed that, "French possessions belong to France alone and that French people should serve only France. It is therefore necessary to restore the sovereignty of the French, where it is broken." For this, said de Gaulle, services will be provided to the allies of France, who are interested in how to maintain a relationship with the French, who have kept fighting the enemy with pride and determination.

"All activities carried out, - said de Gaulle, - must be in full accordance with French public opinion. It would be dangerous to do otherwise. Everyone knows what the

general mood is in France. I firmly hope that we are adhering to this line, and will be able to create quickly the foundations of central government. We are starting practical work. The negotiations will involve on the one hand Catroux, Massigli, Philip and I, and on the other hand Giraud and his representatives whom he may designate."

De Gaulle said that he was touched by the warm reception accorded to him by the population of Algeria. "I see, - he said - this welcome as a high expression of patriotic feelings."

LONDON, May 31. (TASS). As reported by agency AFI, this morning Generals Giraud and de Gaulle began talks in the presence of General Catroux.

...

LONDON, 1 June. (TASS). As Reuters reports, Algerian radio reported in the evening of June 1, that negotiations between Giraud and de Gaulle on the formation of the French National Executive Committee continue.

Водобоязнь

Водовоязнь — инфекционная болезнь преимущественно животных семейства собачьих.

(Из энциклопедии)

Только 70 тысяч человек в Германии ведут себя достойно: не разговаривают, не спрашивают, не занимаются распространением слухов, не проявляют всездорового любопытства по части прорванных дамб и плотин.

Только 70 тысяч человек — это те немцы, которые благополучно утонули в гостеприимных водах Эдера и Мыне, выпущенных на волю английскими футысхаими??.

Утопленники безмолвствуют, словно воды в рот вобрали.

Что же касается остального немецкого населения, то оно своим неразумным поведением доставляет сильное беспокойство германским властям. Население, несмотря на принятые меры, пытается разговаривать.

Против этой вредной привычки решительно выступает газета "Дейче альгемейне цейтунг":

"Когда несколько дней тому назад в сводке верховного командования сообщалось о том, что вражеская авиация обрушила бомбы на две германские плотины, во всей стране разлился поток догадок и неправильно истолкованных сведений".

Хлынули воды со всех сторон. И фашистские главари заболели водобоязнью:

"Подобно водам, прорвавшимся через обвалившуюся стену, слухи несутся широким потоком, увлекая за собой все, что встречается на пути".

Население имеет наглость интересоваться наводнением, "африканской" болезнью Роммеля, налетами союзной авиации, потерями на советско-германском фронте, исходом войны. Вообще, слава те, господя, есть о чем поговорить.

— Молчать! — истерично кричит гитлеровская газета.— Ты не спрашивай, ее выпытывай!

"По необходимости целый ряд вопросов сейчас окружен глубокой тайной. А этими вопросами особенно интересуется народная молва".

Широкие потоки слухов продолжают бушевать. Волна набегает на волну. И растерявшаяся газета неожиданно делает следующее любопытное признание:

"То, что видно через щели, обычно является лишь слабым отражением действительности. Но и это подхватывается и передается дальше".

Есть все основания полагать, что эта фраза из "Дейче альгемейне цейтунг" будет подхвачена и станет передаваться дальше и дальше. И после этого всякий немец ещё раз поймет, что меланхолические сообщения властей и даже самые страшные слухи являются лишь слабым отражением действительности.

Г. РЫКЛИН.

Hydrophobia

Rabies - an infectious disease primarily of animals of the canine family.

(From the encyclopedia)

Only 70 thousand people in Germany behave with dignity: do not talk, do not ask, do not engage in spreading rumours, do not show a healthy curiosity about broken dams.

Only 70 thousand people - those Germans who happily drowned in the hospitable waters of the Eder and Mohne, released by the will of British ???.

The drowned are silent as if they'd absorbed water in their mouths.

As for the rest of the German population, its unreasonable behaviour gives great concern to the German authorities. The population, despite measures taken, is trying to talk.

The newspaper "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" speaks strongly against this bad habit:

"When a few days ago the summary of the High Command reported that the enemy's airforce had unleashed bombs on two German dams, throughout the country poured a stream of speculation and misunderstood information."

Gushing water from all sides. And the fascist leaders were ill with hydrophobia:

"Like water which has broken through a collapsed wall, rumours rush in spate, carrying everything that gets in their way."

The population has the audacity to be interested in the flood, in Rommel's "African" disease [amoebic dysentery], in Allied air raids, losses on the Soviet-German front, the outcome of the war. Generally, thanks to those gentlemen, there is something to talk about.

- Shut up! – screams Hitler's newspaper hysterically. "Don't ask, just drink it!"

"By necessity, a number of issues are now surrounded by profound mystery. And popular rumour is particularly interested in these issues."

Broad streams of rumours continue to rage. Wave comes upon wave. And the confused newspaper suddenly makes the following curious confession:

"What can be seen through the gap, is usually only a weak reflection of reality. But it is picked up and passed on."

There is every reason to believe that this phrase from the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" will be picked up and will be passed on and on. And after this every German will understand that the melancholy announcements of the authorities, and even the worst rumours are just a pale reflection of reality.

G. RYKLIN.

Присоединение французской эскадры в Александрии к союзникам

ЛОНДОН, 31 мая. (ТАСС). Как передаёт агентство Рейтер, в Лондоне объявлено, что французская эскадра, находящийся в Александрии присоединилась к союзникам.

...

ЛОНДОН. 1 июня. (ТАСС). Агентства Рейтер сообщает, что в состав французской александрийской эскадры,

... Полагают, что личный состав эскадры будет пополнен до прежнего числа из состава французских матросов, находящихся в настоящее время в Северной Африке.

The Joining of the French squadron with the Allies at Alexandria

LONDON, May 31. (TASS). As Reuters in London reports, it is announced that the French squadron, located in Alexandria, has joined the allies. ...

LONDON. 1 June. (TASS). Reuters reports that a member of the French squadron of Alexandria ... It is believed that the personnel of the squadron will be topped up from the previous number of French sailors who are now in North **Africa**.

Налёты на Неаполь, Пантеллерию и Сардинию

ЛОНДОН, 31 мая. (ТАСС). Штаб союзных сил в Северной **Африке** сообщает, что вчера крупные соединения “Летающих крепостей” атаковали Неаполь.

В ночь на 30 мая бомбардировщики “Веллингтон” атаковали Пантеллерию. Вчера средние бомбардировщики и истребители-бомбардировщики совершили налёт на Сардинию и Пантеллерию. На Пантеллерии в результате прямых попаданий бомб в намеченные объекты возникли пожары. На Сардинии бомбами поражены различные портовые сооружения, доки и железнодорожное строительство. Во время дневных...

Raid on Naples, Sardinia and Pantelleria

LONDON, May 31. (TASS). The headquarters of the Allied forces in North **Africa** reports that yesterday large combinations of "Flying Fortresses" attacked Naples.

On the night of May 30, "Wellington" bombers attacked Pantelleria. Yesterday, medium bombers and fighter-bombers raided Sardinia and Pantelleria. In Pantelleria fires started, as a result of direct bomb hits on targeted objects. In Sardinia, bombs struck different port facilities, docks and railway constructions. During the day ...

C23, 1946

C23, 10th June, 1946, page 8

Митинг в Нью-Йорке в защиту колониальных народов

НЬЮ-ЙОРК, 6 июня. (ТАСС). “Совет по **африканским** делам” организовал в Медисон-Сквер гардене митинг, на котором присутствовало около 15 тысяч человек. С речами выступили председатель совета негритянский артист Робсон, члены палаты представителей США Деласей (от штата Вашингтон) и Поуэлл (от штата Нью-Йорк), член муниципального совета города Нью-Йорка Давис, радиокомментатор Гейлмор, секретарь профсоюза моряков Смит и др.

Деласей в своей речи отметил, что Рузвельт, Уилки и Хэлл, призывая народы мира к борьбе против фашизма, заявляли, что с империализмом должно быть покончено раз и навсегда. Однако всего лишь через год после окончания войны английское и американское правительства, возобновили свою старую империалистическую политику. После первой мировой войны Черчилль с помощью армий 14 стран организовал интервенцию в Советский Союз, а Гувер использовал американскую помощь для снабжения продовольствием армий Юденича. Сегодня Гувер снова стремится снабжать продовольствием реакционеров и морить голодом прогрессивные элементы, Американские империалисты помогли Роксасу, сотрудничавшему с японцами, одержать победу на президентских выборах на Филиппинах, а морской флот Соединенных Штатов переправляет войска китайских националистов в Маньчжурию, где они могут наносить удары китайскому народу. В заключение Деласей заявил, что американский народ требует свободы для народов Азии, **Африки**, Греции, Порто-Рико, Испании и всего мира.

Робсон в своей речи охарактеризовал тяжелое положение колониальных народов в **Африке**, Вест-Индии и Азии. Он заявил, что нынешняя политика правительства Соединенных Штатов направлена против борьбы колониальных

народов за независимость, против борьбы европейских народов за демократию и борьбы американских негров за прогресс. Робсон заявил, что Советский Союз показал, как в течение одного поколения можно покончить с колониальной системой, и нет ничего удивительного, что империалисты кричат: "Остановите Россию!"

Выступавший на митинг Смит резко осудил угрозу Трумэна использовать армию и флот для подавления забастовок. Американский народ, сказал Смит, должен осуществлять общее дело мира вместе с другими народами мира, которому угрожает фашизм.

На митинге была принята резолюция, в которой говорится: Создание англо-американского блока, противостоящего интересам Советского Союза, практически в каждой области международной политики угрожает всеобщему миру и безопасности. Только на базе такого единства целей и действий, которое привело к победе над фашизмом, Соединенные Штаты и Англия могут работать совместно с Советским Союзом, а не против него, для того, чтобы в интересах обеспечения прочного мира одержать победу над существующим в настоящее время во всем мире голодом, нуждой и эксплуатацией не имеющих самостоятельности народов и слабых наций.

Резолюция требует, чтобы Труман, государственный департамент и американские представители в организации Объединенных наций следовали рузвельтовской политике международного сотрудничества и боролись за демократические права и самоопределение всех народов мира.

Rally in New York in support of colonial peoples

NEW YORK, June 6. (TASS). The "Council on African Affairs" organized a Madison Square Garden rally, which was attended by about 15,000 people. Speeches were given by the chairman, negro actor Robeson, U.S. Representatives Delacey (Washington State) and Powell (New York), member of the municipal council of the city of New York Davis, radio commentator Gilmore, secretary of the trade union of seafarers Smith and others.

Delacey noted in his speech that Roosevelt, Willkie and Hull, when calling peoples of the world to the fight against fascism, argued that imperialism must be stopped once and for all. However, only a year after the war, the British and American governments have renewed their old imperialist policy. After the First World War, Churchill, using armies of 14 countries, organized interventions in the Soviet Union, and Hoover used U.S. aid for the supply of food for Yudenich's army. Today Hoover again aims to supply reactionaries with rations and starve the progressive elements, U.S. imperialists have helped Roxas, who collaborated with the Japanese, to victory in the presidential elections in the Philippines, and the United States Navy is transporting troops of Chinese nationalists to Manchuria, where they can strike against the Chinese people. In conclusion Delacey said that the American people demand freedom for the peoples of Asia, **Africa**, Greece, Puerto Rico, Spain and around the world.

Robeson in his speech described the plight of colonial peoples in **Africa**, the West Indies and Asia. He said that the current policy of the government of the United States is directed against the struggle of colonial peoples for independence, against the struggle of European nations for democracy and against the struggle of American negroes for progress. Robeson said that the Soviet Union showed how in one generation the colonial system can be done away with, and it is not surprising that imperialists shout, "Stop Russia."

Speaking at the rally, Smith condemned Truman's threat to use the army and navy to suppress strikes. The American people, Smith said, should bring about peace

together with other nations of the world which are threatened by fascism.

At the rally a resolution was adopted, which states: The creation of an Anglo-American bloc opposing the interests of the Soviet Union threatens world peace and security in virtually every area of international politics. Only on the basis of such unity of purpose and action that were brought to the victory over fascism can the United States and Britain work together with the Soviet Union, rather than against it, to ensure a lasting peace, and to triumph over the current existing worldwide hunger, poverty and exploitation of non-independent nations and weak nations.

The resolution demands that Truman, the State Department and American representatives at the United Nations follow Roosevelt's policy of international cooperation and fight for democratic rights and self-determination of all peoples of the world.

C24, 1946

C24, 13th November, 1946, page 4

Отказ южно-африканской делегации считаться с решениями Генеральной Ассамблеи

В центре внимания на заседании комитета No. 4,—по вопросам опеки,—сегодня вновь стояли притязания правительства Южно-Африканского Союза на аннексию Юго-Западной Африки.

Представители Югославии, Украины, Белоруссии, Польши, Венесуэлы единодушно высказывались против этих захватнических притязаний. Они не оставили камин на камне от шатких аргументов, которыми южно-африканская делегация пыталась прикрыть свои империалистические планы. Выступая с фактами и цифрами в руках, члены комитета доказали, что пресловутая “консультация” с населением Юго-Западной Африки, которой козыряет правительство Южно-Африканского Союза, является грубой фальсификацией, что на территории Юго-Западной Африки царит режим грубого произвола и дискриминации. За присоединение к Южно-Африканскому Союзу высказались лишь представители европейцев, которые составляют лишь 5,7 проц. населения Юго-Западной Африки, да вожди племён, которые, как подчеркивали члены комитета, являются лишь чиновниками, отстаивающими интересы администрирующей страны. Мнения самого коренного населения Юго-Западной Африки никто не спрашивал.

Делегат Украины А. Войда указал, что на этой территории осуществляется политика так называемого “цветного барьера” и дискриминации с целью получения дешёвой рабочей силы. Туземцы лишены возможности получать образование. До 90 проц. туземного населения больны туберкулезом, цынгой, венерическими и другими болезнями. Это население живет в так называемых резервациях, на наихудших землях. В этих поселениях, обнесённых колючей проволокой и охраняемых полицией, царят запустение, грязь, нищета. Они напоминают фашистские концентрационные лагеря. Такой же режим расовой дискриминации применяется к коренному населению самого Южно-Африканского Союза.

Украинский делегат напомнил, что в марте этого года Объединенный комитет неевропейцев Южной Африки обратился ко всем нациям мира с декларацией о притеснениях, испытываемых коренным населением. Комитет требует от всех наций, чтобы “идеология народа господ была искоренена в Южной Африке, чтобы был положен конец системе, в силу которой права народа

попираются незначительным меньшинством, чтобы не было больше отдельной системы законности и морали для неевропейцев и другой системы, предназначенной для народа господ”.

— Если бы международная объективная комиссия смогла проверить положение коренного населения подмандатных территорий на месте.— сказал украинский делегат,— она выявила бы много такого, что напоминает остатки рабства. Эта комиссия с полным основанием могла бы поставить вопрос о передаче той или иной территории другому государству, способному честно и добросовестно выполнить взятые обязательства, соответствующие положениям и духу устава Объединенных наций.

В заключение украинский делегат заявил, что украинская делегация не может согласиться с явно противоречивым и неправильным толкованием термина “непосредственно заинтересованные страны”, данным делегатом США Даллесом. Даллес считает, что непосредственно заинтересованными странами являются только те, которые имели мандаты Лиги наций, и США. Это не соответствует уставу ЮНО.

Белорусский делегат Ф. Шмыгов, подвергший обстоятельной критике представленные проекты соглашений об опеке над бывшими подмандатными территориями подчеркнул обязательный характер опеки над этими территориями и опроверг??? рассуждения представителей некоторых стран, владевших мандатами, относительно того, будто бы передача бывших подмандатных территорий под опеку является лишь делом их доброй воли. “Подмандатные территории должны быть переданы под опеку без задержки или отсрочки”— сказал Шмыгов,— если только государства, владевшие мандатами, не хотят нарушить дух и букву устава, под которым стоит их подписи.” Касаясь притязаний Южно-Африканского Союза на Юго-Западную Африку, белорусский делегат указал: “Санкционировать аннексию — означало бы отказаться от принципов международной системы опеки, провозглашенной в уставе, и уронить престиж организации Объединенных наций в глазах мирового общественного мнения”.

Одни лишь делегат Великобритании счёл возможным выступить с откровенной поддержкой империалистических притязаний Южно-Африканского Союза. Игнорируя обильные фактические данные о произволе и расовой дискриминации, которые царят в Юго-Западной Африке, он голословно утверждал, будто бы туземному населению этой территории оказываются всяческие благодеяния и будто бы оно само желает присоединиться к Южно-Африканскому Союзу. Британский делегат заявил, что Генеральная Ассамблея “должна воздать должное” Южно-Африканскому Союзу за то, что он дал ей возможность вообще выразить мнение по обсуждаемому вопросу. По его мнению, этот британский доминион вправе не передавать под опеку организации Объединенных наций Юго-Западную Африку, которой он управлял по мандату бывшей Лиги наций.

Ободренный этим покровительственным заявлением, делегат Южно-Африканского Союза фельдмаршал Смэтс выступил с речью, в которой, об’явив все выступления против аннексии Юго-Западной Африки “злонамеренной пропагандой”, он утверждал, что правительство Южно-Африканского Союза вообще не намерена считаться с решением Генеральной Ассамблеи по рассматриваемому вопросу. “Если Генеральная Ассамблея не одобрит решения о включении Юго-Западной Африки в Южно-Африканский Союз, то мы все равно будем продолжать администрировать эту территорию, как неотъемлемую??? часть союза”,— сказал он. Единственное, на что согласен Смэтс,—это

предоставление, генеральному секретарю ЮНО информации о Юго-Западной Африке.

В последние дни некоторые американские газеты чересчур много рассуждают о так называемом “праве завоевателя”. Уж не эти ли рассуждения подогрели воинственный дух южно-африканского фельдмаршала? Так или иначе, но подобные демонстративные выпады против элементарных основ устава организации Объединенных наций и международного права, напоминающие приемы, применявшиеся 15 лет назад в покойной Лиге наций, отнюдь не способствуют укреплению авторитета новой, молодой международной организации.

Refusal of the South African delegation to come to terms with the decisions of the General Assembly

In the centre of attention at the meeting of committee number 4, about questions of guardianship, today again stood the claims of the government of the **South African Union** to annex South-West **Africa**.

Representatives of Yugoslavia, Ukraine, Belarus, Poland and Venezuela unanimously spoke out against these expansionist claims. They left no stone unturned in the shaky arguments that the **South African** delegation tried to cover up their imperialist plans with. Speaking with the facts and figures to hand, members of the committee showed that the notorious "consultation" with the population of South-West **Africa**, which the government of the **South African** Union vaunts, is a crude falsification, and that in the territory of South West **Africa** a regime of rough tyranny and discrimination reigns. Only representatives of Europeans spoke in favour of joining the **South African** Union, and they make up only 5.7 per cent of the population of South West **Africa**, plus the leaders of the tribes, which, as members of the committee stressed, are only officials, defending the interests of administering the country. Nobody asked the opinions of the indigenous population of South West **Africa**.

The delegate for the Ukraine, A. Voids, pointed out that on this territory exists a policy of the so-called “colour barrier” and discrimination with the aim of receiving cheap labour. People from here are deprived of the possibility of receiving an education. Up to 90% of the population here is ill with tuberculosis, scurvy, venereal and other diseases. This population lives in so-called reservations, on the worst land. In these settlements, surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by police hover desolation, dirt and poverty. They bring to mind fascist concentration camps. The same regime of racial discrimination applies also to the native population of the South-**African** Union itself.

The Ukrainian delegate pointed out that in March this year the General committee of non-Europeans of **South Africa** addressed all nations of the world with a declaration about the harassment experienced by the indigenous population. The committee calls on all nations that “the ideology of the ruling people should be that of the indigenous people of **South Africa**, that there should be an end to the system in which the rights of the people are considered an insignificant detail, that there should no more be a separate system of law and morality for non-Europeans and another system for the ruling people”.

“If an international commission could objectively verify the situation of indigenous people in the mandated territories,” the Ukrainian delegate said, “It would have revealed much that is reminiscent of the remnants of slavery. This Commission could rightly raise the question of the transfer of one territory to another state, capable of honestly and conscientiously fulfilling its obligations, complying with the provisions and the spirit of Charter of the United Nations.

In conclusion, the Ukrainian delegate said that the Ukrainian delegation could

not agree with the clearly contradictory and incorrect interpretation of the term "directly interested countries", according to US delegate Dulles. Dulles said that directly concerned countries are the only ones with the mandate of the League of Nations, and the United States. This does not comply with the charter of the UNO.

The Belorussian delegate F. Shmygov, having submitted the projects presented, of agreements about trusteeship over former mandated territories, to detailed criticism, emphasized the binding character of trusteeship over these territories and oproner??? the arguments of representatives of some countries, holding mandates, as if the transfer of former mandated territories under trusteeship is only a matter of their good will. "The mandated territories must be transferred to custody without delay or postponement," said Shmygov. "If only states which own mandates do not want to violate the spirit and letter of the Charter, under which is their signature." Regarding the claims of the **South African** Union over South-West **Africa**, the Belorussian delegate pointed out, "To authorize the annexation would be to abandon the principles of the international trusteeship system, proclaimed in the charter, and to drop the prestige of the organization of the United nations in the eyes of world public opinion."

Only the British delegate found it possible to speak in open support of the imperialist pretensions of the South-**African** Union. Ignoring the abundant evidence of arbitrariness and racial discrimination that prevail in South-West **Africa**, he alleged that all sorts of good deeds are done for the indigenous population of this territory, and that it itself wishes to join the South-**African** Union. The British delegate stated that the General Assembly, "should pay tribute to the" South-**African** Union for giving it the opportunity to express an opinion on the subject under discussion. In his opinion, this British dominion of South-West **Africa**, which it governed under the mandate of the former League of Nations, should by rights not be transferred to the custody of the organisation of the United Nations.

Encouraged by this patronizing statement, the delegate of the South-**African** Union, Field Marshal Smuts, made a speech in which, having declared all actions against the annexation of South-West **Africa** "malicious propaganda", he argued that the government of the **South African** Union does not intend to take into account the decision of the General Assembly on the issue. "If the General Assembly does not approve the decision on the inclusion of South-West **Africa** in the **South African** Union, we will still continue to administer the territory as inseparable??? part of the Union," he said. The only thing to which Smuts agreed was the provision of information about South-West **Africa** to the Secretary General of the UNO.

In recent days, some American newspapers have talked a lot about the so-called "law of the conqueror." Is it not these arguments which warmed the warlike spirit of the **South African** Field Marshal? One way or another, but such demonstrative attacks on the basic fundamentals of the charter of the organization of the United Nations and international law are reminiscent of techniques that were applied 15 years ago in the late League of Nations, and are not at all conducive to strengthening the authority of the new, young international organization.

C29, 1951

C29, 3rd November, 1951, page 2

ПОСЛАНИЕ сессии Всекитайского комитета совета второй сессии Всемирного Совета Мира в Вене

Пекин 1. (ТАСС). Агентство Синьхуа передает:

Третья сессия Всекитайского комитета народного политического

консультативного совета направила председателю Бюро Всемирного Совета Мира Фредерику Жолио-Кюри и участникам второй сессии Всемирного Совета Мира в Вене следующее послание:

В связи с открывающейся сегодня в Вене второй сессией Всемирного Совета Мира третья сессия Всекитайского комитета Народного политического консультативного совета шлет вам свои сердечные приветствия и выражает искреннее уважение.

В настоящее время над миром нависла серьезная угроза. Правительства США и их сателлитов прилагают все свои силы как для увеличения вооружений, так и для расширения сети военных баз, подготавливая новую мировую войну.

Проводя эту политику на Дальнем Востоке, правительство Соединенных Штатов продолжает вторгаться на нашу территорию и оккупирует территорию нашей страны – остров Тайвань, продолжает агрессивную войну против Кореи, применяя позорную тактику обструкции и обмана в отношении переговоров о перемирий в Корее. Правительство США незаконно подписало сепаратный “мирный договор” с Японией, направленный на оккупацию Японии в течение неопределенного периода, на возрождение японского милитаризма и на использование японских военных баз, материальных и людских ресурсов для ведения агрессивной войны. Правительство США использует так называемые двухсторонние и многосторонние пакты безопасности США для создания агрессивного блока на Дальнем Востоке. В колониальных и зависимых странах – Вьетнаме, Малайе, Филиппинах, Марокко – при полной поддержке американского правительства в широком масштабе осуществляются массовые убийства и подавление народного движения. На Среднем Востоке правящие клики Америки, Англии и Франции посягают на суверенные права Ирана, **Египта** и Ирака, пытаясь опутать весь Средний Восток паутиной своих военных планов.

Эти факты показывают, что поджигатели войны – враги всеобщего мира – пытаются свергнуть народы Азии и Северной **Африки**, Европы и Америки в бездну войны.

Однако в то время, когда существует серьезный военный кризис, силы, защищающие мир во всем мире, возросли до небывалых размеров. С каждым днем увеличивается могущество великого Советского Союза. Растет и укрепляется Китайская Народная Республика, процветают и развиваются страны народной демократии. В Азии и Северной **Африке** поднимается новая волна против агрессии. Поджигатели войны повсюду встречают решительное сопротивление сторонников мира. При таких условиях заговор поджигателей войны будет, несомненно, сорван, и возникновение новой мировой войны будет предотвращено, если миролюбивые народы мира объединяют все силы и возьмут дело защиты мира в свои собственные руки.

Третья сессия Всекитайского комитета Народного политического консультативного совета полностью поддерживает важные резолюции о мирном разрешении международных конфликтов, которые были приняты в феврале этого года первой сессией Всемирного Совета Мира. Сессия приняла сегодня резолюцию, выражающую полную поддержку движению за заключение Пакта Мира между пятью великими державами. В интересах всеобщего мира китайский народ будет вести решительную борьбу за достижение справедливого и разумного соглашения о перемирии в Корее и будет решительно выступать против японского “мирного договора”, подписанного в Сан-Франциско, против возрождений Соединенными Штатами японского милитаризма и германского фашизма и против грубых актов агрессии англо-американских захватчиков в Азии и в Северной **Африке**. Китайский народ обещает вместе с миролюбивыми

народами всего мира решительно бороться за окончательную победу сил мира в всем мире.

Желаем успехов в работе вашей сессии!

MESSAGE From the third session of the All-China Committee of the People's political consultative council to the second session of the World Peace Council in Vienna

Beijing 1. (TASS). Xinhua News Agency reports:

The third session of the All-China Committee of the People's political consultative council has sent to the president of the Bureau of the World Peace Council Frederick Joliot-Curie and the second session of the World Peace Council in Vienna the following message:

In connection with the opening today in Vienna of the second session of the World Peace Council, the third session of the National Committee of the All-China Committee of the People's political consultative council sends you its cordial greetings and expresses sincere respect.

Currently, the world is under serious threat. The U.S. government and its satellites are putting all their strength towards increasing their weapons and expanding their network of military bases, preparing for a new world war.

In carrying out this policy in the Far East, the United States government continues to encroach on our territory and occupies the territory of our country - the island of Taiwan continues its war of aggression against Korea, using shameful tactics of obstruction and deception against peace talks in Korea. The U.S. government illegally signed a separate "peace treaty" with Japan, aimed at the occupation of Japan for an indefinite period, the revival of Japanese militarism and the use of Japanese military bases, material and human resources to wage aggressive war. The U.S. government uses so-called bilateral and multilateral pacts of U.S. security to create an aggressive bloc in the Far East. In the **colonial and dependent countries** - Vietnam, Malaya, the Philippines, **Morocco** - with the full support of the U.S. government, massacres and suppression of popular movements are carried out. In the Middle East the ruling cliques of America, England and France infringe on the sovereign rights of Iran, **Egypt** and Iraq, trying to entangle the entire Middle East in a web of military plans.

These facts show that the warmongers – the enemies of world peace – are trying to plunge the peoples of Asia and North **Africa**, Europe and America into an abyss.

However, at a time when there is a serious military crisis, forces defending peace in the world have risen to unprecedented proportions. Every day the power of the great Soviet Union increases. The People's Republic of China is growing and strengthening, and the countries of people's democracies are thriving and developing. In Asia and North **Africa**, a new wave is arising against aggression. Warmongers everywhere are meeting strong resistance from defenders of the peace. Under such conditions, the plot of the warmongers will undoubtedly be frustrated, and the emergence of a new world war will be avoided if the peace-loving peoples of the world unite all their forces and take the defence of peace into their own hands.

The third session of the National Committee of the All-China Committee of the People's political consultative council fully supports the important resolutions on the peaceful resolution of international conflicts, which were adopted in February this year, at the first session of the World Peace Council. The session today adopted a resolution expressing full support to the movement for the conclusion of a peace pact between the five great powers. In the interests of peace in the world the Chinese people will wage a determined struggle to achieve a fair and reasonable agreement for armistice in Korea and will strongly oppose the Japanese "peace treaty" signed in San Francisco, the

rearmament by the USA of Japanese forces and German fascism and acts of gross Anglo-American aggression in Asia and **North Africa**. The Chinese people promises, together with the peace-loving peoples of the world, to resolutely fight for the final victory of the forces of peace in the world.

We wish you success in your work session!

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США ВООРУЖАЮТ СВОИХ САТЕЛЛИТОВ

Доклад Эйзенхауэра конгрессу США о военной помощи иностранным государствам

НЬЮ-ЙОРК, 14 марта. (ТАСС). 14 марта президент США Эйзенхауэр направил конгрессу США очередной доклад. “О выполнении программы взаимного обеспечения безопасности” (программа вооружения союзников и сателлитов США.— Прим. ред.) за второе полугодие 1954 года.

По данным доклада, львиная доля ассигнований по этой программе пошла на военные цели. Всего с октября 1949 года по декабрь 1954 года США поставили другим странам военного снаряжения на 10,5 млрд. долларов, в том числе свыше 6 тысяч самолетов, более 36 тысяч танков, свыше 36 тысяч орудий и т. д.

Во втором полугодии 1954 года вооруженным силам агрессивного Северо-атлантического союза в Европе было отправлено из США вооружения и снаряжения на 700 млн. долларов. Всего с 1949 года поставки этой категории составили примерно 7,5 млрд. долларов. В результате навязывания США гонки вооружений европейские страны — члены Северо-атлантического союза довели свои военные расходы до годового уровня примерно в 11 млрд. долларов.

На Дальний Восток с 1949 года было поставлено военных материалов на 1,9 млрд. долларов. По данным доклада, во второй половине 1954 года был увеличен объем военной помощи чанкайшистской клике на Тайване и лисынмановцам в Южной Корее.

Из доклада явствует, что США увеличивают поставки военного снаряжения тем странам, которые, по их замыслу, должны войти в агрессивный блок, сколачиваемый в настоящее время на Ближнем Востоке. В этой связи в докладе отмечается, что в 1954 году возросла военная “помощь” правительству Турции.

В докладе указывается, что Пакистан “предпринимает большое усилие” в области военных мероприятий.

По данным доклада, в текущем финансовом году, оканчивающемся 30 июня 1955 года, на Ближний Восток, в **Африку** и Южную Азию будет поставлено военного снаряжения на 383 миллиона долларов.

В докладе говорится, что во второй половине 1954 года в области военной помощи упор был перенесен на “**экономически слабо развитый район**” капиталистического мира. Объясняя повышенный интерес к этим странам американских империалистов, составители доклада указывают: “Слаборазвитые страны, вместе взятые..., представляют собой крупный источник важнейших минералов и сырья на земном шаре, и в них расположены наиболее ценные военные базы.”

В докладе выражается тревога по поводу того, что огромные экономические достижения СССР и Китайской Народной Республики могут

произвести впечатление на **слаборазвитые страны**. Эти страны, сетуют составители доклада, могут убедиться в том, что “коммунистический путь является для них лучшим путем достижения быстрого экономического прогресса.”

Авторы доклада явно озабочены тем, Советский Союз “увеличивает число конкретных предложений об оказании технической и финансовой помощи в промышленности и сельском хозяйстве” слаборазвитым странам на подлинно справедливых условиях.

THE U.S.A. IS ARMING ITS SATELLITES

Eisenhower's report to the U.S. Congress on military aid to foreign countries

NEW YORK, March 14. (TASS). On the 14th of March, U.S. President Eisenhower gave a progress report to the U.S. Congress "On the implementation of the mutual security program" (the programme of arming U.S. allies and satellites - Ed.) in the second half of 1954.

According to the report, the lion's share of disbursements under this programme went to military purposes. In total from October 1949 to December 1954, the United States provided other countries with military equipment worth 10.5 billion dollars, including more than 6,000 aircraft, more than 36,000 tanks, more than 36,000 guns, etc..

In the second half of 1954 the armed forces of the aggressive North Atlantic alliance in Europe received from the U.S. weapons and equipment worth 700 million dollars. Total deliveries since 1949 under this category accounted for about \$7.5 billion. As a result of the USA imposing the arms race, European countries - members of NATO - brought their military spending to an annual rate of about \$11 billion.

The Far East since 1949 has been given war materials worth 1.9 billion dollars. According to the report, during the second half of 1954 military assistance to the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan and “lisynmanovtsy” in South Korea was increased.

It is clear from the report that the United States is increasing the supply of military equipment to those countries which, in their judgment, should become part of an aggressive bloc, currently cobbled together in the Middle East. In this regard, the report notes that in 1954 military "**aid**" grew to the Government of Turkey.

The report states that Pakistan "is making a lot of effort" in military activities.

According to the report, in the current fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, the Middle East, **Africa** and South Asia will receive military equipment worth \$383 million.

The report says that in the second half of 1954 in military assistance, emphasis shifted to the "**economically underdeveloped regions**" of the capitalist world. Explaining the increased interest in these countries to U.S. imperialists, the authors of the report indicate: "**Underdeveloped countries** combined ... represent a major source of essential minerals and raw materials in the globe, and they are located in the most valuable military bases."

The report expresses alarm over the fact that the enormous economic achievements of the USSR and the People's Republic of China can impress **underdeveloped countries**. These countries, complain the report's authors, may become convinced that "the communist way is the best way for them to achieve rapid economic progress."

The report's authors are clearly concerned that the Soviet Union "is increasing the number of specific proposals for the provision of technical and financial **assistance** to industry and agriculture" to **underdeveloped countries** under truly fair conditions.

Речь Чжоу Эн-лая**на Конференции стран Азии и Африки в Бандунге**

ПЕКИН, 20 апреля. (ТАСС). Глава делегации Китайской Народной Республики Премьер Чжоу Эн-лай выступил с речью на пленарном заседании Конференции стран Азии и **Африки** в Бандунге 19 апреля.

Как сообщает агентство Синьхуа, основной текст речи Чжоу Эн-лая был распространен в письменном виде среди делегатов. Чжоу Эн-лай произнес с трибуны конференции дополнительную речь, в которой сказал:

“Прослушав речи, произнесенные главами многих делегаций, я хотел бы сделать несколько дополнительных замечаний.

Китайская делегация прибыла сюда для того, чтобы добиваться единства, а не ссориться. Мы, коммунисты, не скрываем, что верим в коммунизм и считаем социалистический строй хорошим строем. На этой конференции нет необходимости рекламировать свою идеологию и политический строй своей страны, хотя между нами и существуют расхождения.

Китайская делегация прибыла сюда, чтобы найти общую почву, а не создавать разногласия. Есть ли какие-либо основания искать общую для нас почву? Да, есть.

Подавляющее большинство народов и стран Азии и **Африки** страдало и продолжает страдать от бедствий колониализма. Это признано всеми нами. Если мы будем пытаться найти общую почву, покончив со страданиями и бедствиями, причиняемыми колониализмом, то нам будет очень легко найти взаимное понимание и уважение, взаимное сочувствие и поддержку вместо взаимной подозрительности и страха, взаимного исключения и вражды. Вот почему мы соглашаемся с четырьмя целями Конференции стран Азии и **Африки**, объявленными премьер-министрами пяти стран на совещании в Богоре, и не вносим никакого другого предложения.

Что касается напряженности, вызванной Исклчительно Соединенными Штатами в районе Тайваня, мы могли бы предложить на обсуждение конференции такой вопрос, как предложение Советского Союза добиваться урегулирования с помощью международной конференции. Стремление китайского народа освободить свою собственную территорию — Тайвань и прибрежные острова — это справедливое стремление, это вопрос исключительно нашей внутренней политики и осуществления нашего суверенитета. Это наше справедливое требование встретило поддержку многих стран. Мы могли бы также предложить на обсуждение конференции вопрос о признании и восстановлении законного статуса Китайской Народной Республики в Организации Объединенных Наций. Совещание в Богоре, в котором участвовали в прошлом году премьер-министры пяти стран Коломбо, поддержало восстановление законного статуса Китайской Народной Республики в Организации Объединенных Наций. То же сделали и другие страны Азии и **Африки**. Кроме того, мы могли бы также выступить здесь с критикой несправедливого отношения к Китаю со стороны Организации Объединенных Наций. Однако мы ничего этого не сделали, так как иначе наша конференция оказалась бы втянутой в споры по всем этим проблемам и не достигла бы никакого решения.

На нашей конференции мы должны искать для себя общей почвы, сохраняя наши расхождения. Что касается нашей общей почвы, то конференция должна подтвердить все наши общие стремления и требования. В этом

заключается наша главная задача здесь. Что касается наших расхождений, то никого из нас не просят отречься от своих собственных взглядов, потому что различие точек зрения представляет собой объективную реальность. Однако мы не должны допускать, чтобы наши расхождения помешали нам достичь соглашения относительно нашей главной задачи. На основе наших общих взглядов мы должны попытаться понять и оценить различные взгляды, которых мы придерживаемся.

Прежде всего, я хотел бы коснуться вопроса о различных идеологиях и социальных системах. Мы должны признать, что в наших странах Азии и **Африки** действительно существуют различные идеологии и различные социальные системы. Но это не мешает нам искать общей почвы и быть сплоченными. После второй мировой войны появилось много независимых стран. Одну группу составляют страны, руководимые коммунистическими партиями; другую группу – страны, руководимые националистами. В первой группе немного стран. Однако что не нравится некоторым людям, так это тот факт, что 600-миллионный китайский народ избрал политическую систему, которая является социалистической по существу и возглавляется Китайской коммунистической партией, и что китайский народ уже не находится больше под господством империалистов. Страны второй группы более многочисленны, к их числу относятся Индия, Бирма, Индонезия и многие другие страны Азии и **Африки**. Обе эти группы стран стали независимыми от колониального господства и все еще продолжают свою борьбу за полную независимость. Существует ли какая-либо причина, почему бы мы не могли понять и уважать друг друга и оказывать Поддержку и проявлять симпатию друг к другу? Имеются все основания для того, чтобы сделать пять принципов основой для установления дружественного сотрудничества и добрососедских отношений между нами. Все мы, страны Азии и **Африки**, включая Китай, отстаем в экономическом и культурном отношении. Поскольку наша Конференция стран Азии и **Африки** не исключает никого, почему бы нам не понять друг друга и не вступить в дружественное сотрудничество?

Мне хотелось бы коснуться также вопроса о том, существует ли свобода религиозных верований. Свобода религиозных верований – это принцип, признанный всеми современными нациями. Мы, коммунисты, являемся атеистами. Но мы уважаем всех тех, кто имеет религиозные верования. Мы надеемся, что люди, имеющие религиозные верования, также будут уважать тех, кто этих верований не имеет. Китай – страна, где существует свобода религиозных верований. В Китае – не только 7 миллионов коммунистов, но также десятки миллионов мусульман и буддистов и миллионы протестантов и католиков. Здесь в составе китайской делегации имеется один мусульманский верующий имам. Такое положение не является препятствием для внутреннего единства Китая. Почему же сообщество стран Азии и **Африки** не могла бы объединять тех, кто имеет религиозные верования, и тех, кто их не имеет? Дни разжигание религиозной междоусобицы миновали потому, что те, кому выгодно разжигание такой междоусобицы, не находятся среди нас.

В-третьих, я хотел бы коснуться вопроса о так называемой подрывной деятельности. Борьба китайского народа против колониализма продолжалась больше столетия. Национальная и демократическая революционная борьба, руководимая Китайской коммунистической партией, принесла, наконец, успех только после 30 напряженных и трудных лет. Описать страдания китайского народа под господством империализма, феодализма и Чан Ка-Ши – невозможно. Но, наконец, китайский народ избрал свою государственную систему и нынешнее

правительство. Китайская революция добилась победы именно благодаря усилиям китайского народа. Она, безусловно, не является импортированной из-за границы. Этого не могут отрицать даже те, кому не нравится победа китайской революции. Китайская поговорка гласит: “Не делайте другим того, чего вы не хотите для себя”. Мы против вмешательства извне; как могли бы мы желать вмешиваться во внутренние дела других? Некоторые люди заявляют: Имеется более 10 миллионов китайцев, которые проживают за пределами страны и двойное гражданство которых может быть использовано для ведения подрывной деятельности. Однако проблема двойного гражданства представляет собой нечто оставленное в наследство старым Китаем. До сих пор Чан Кай-ши все еще использует некоторых, очень немногочисленных, китайцев за границей для ведения подрывной деятельности против тех стран, в которых они проживают. Однако народное правительство нового Китая готово урегулировать с правительствами заинтересованных стран проблему двойного гражданства китайцев, проживающих за пределами страны. Некоторые другие люди заявляют, что автономный район так в Китае представляет собой угрозу для других. В Китае насчитывается более 40 миллионов лиц, принадлежащих к десяткам национальных меньшинств. Однако народ тай и народ чжуан, который относится к тому же племени, что и народ тай, насчитывают почти 10 миллионов человек. Поскольку они существуют, мы должны предоставить им право на автономию. Подобно тому как существует автономное княжество для народа шань в Бирме, каждое национальное меньшинство в Китае имеет свой автономный район. Поскольку национальные меньшинства в Китае осуществляют свое право на автономию в пределах Китая, как можно утверждать, что это является угрозой для наших соседей?

На основе строгого соблюдения пяти принципов мы готовы теперь установить нормальные отношения со всеми странами Азии и **Африки**, со всеми странами мира и, прежде всего, со странами, являющимися нашими соседями. В настоящее время проблема состоит не в том, что мы проводим подрывную деятельность против правительств других стран, но в том, что существуют люди, которые создают базы вокруг Китая для ведения подрывной деятельности против китайского правительства. Например, на границе между Китаем и Бирмой фактически существуют остатки вооруженных элементов клики Чан Кай-шм, которые ведут подрывную деятельность и против Китая, и против Бирмы. В силу дружественных отношений между Китаем и Бирмой и потому что мы всегда уважали суверенитет Бирмы, мы уверены в том, что правительство Бирмы решит эту проблему.

Китайский народ избрал и поддерживает свое собственное правительство. В Китае существует свобода религиозных верований. Китай совершенно не собирается подрывать положение правительств соседних с ним стран. Напротив, сам Китай страдает от подрывной деятельности, которая проводится открыто, без всякой маскировки, Соединёнными Штатами Америки. Те, кто не верит в это, пусть приедут в Китай или пошлют туда кого-нибудь, чтобы самим убедиться в этом. Мы понимаем, что некоторые люди, которые еще не знают правды, питают кое-какие сомнения. В Китае есть поговорка: “Лучше один раз увидеть, чем сто раз услышать”. Мы призываем делегатов всех стран, участвующих в этой конференции, посетить Китай в любое время, когда им захочется. У нас нет бамбукового занавеса, но кое-кто устанавливает между нами дымовую завесу.

1.600 млн. жителей Азии и **Африки** желают успеха нашей конференции. Все страны и народы земного шара, желающие мира, ожидают вклада, который конференция внесет в дело расширения зоны мира и установления коллективного

мира. Мы, азиатские и **африканские** страны, должны объединиться и сделать все, что только в наших силах, для того, чтобы Конференция стран Азии и **Африки** была успешной”.

The Speech of Chou En-Lai

At the Conference of Asian and African countries in Bandung

BEIJING, April 20. (TASS). The Head of Delegation of the People's Republic of China, Premier Chou En-Lai gave a speech at the plenary session of the Conference of Asia and **Africa** in Bandung on April 19.

According to the Xinhua News Agency, the main text of the speech by Chou En-Lai was circulated in writing to the delegates. Chou En-Lai gave from the podium an additional conference speech in which he said:

"After listening to speeches by the heads of many delegations, I would add a few additional comments.

"The Chinese delegation arrived here in order to achieve unity, and not to quarrel. We Communists do not conceal that we believe in communism and believe the socialist system is well built. At this conference, there is no need to advertise our ideology and political system of our country, even though there are differences between us.

"The Chinese delegation arrived here to find common ground, rather than create differences. Is there any reason for us to look for common ground? Yes, there is.

"The overwhelming majority of the peoples and countries of Asia and **Africa** have suffered and continue to suffer from the scourge of colonialism. It is recognized by all of us. If we try to find common ground, ending suffering and disasters inflicted by colonialism, then it will be very easy to find mutual understanding and respect, mutual sympathy and support, instead of mutual suspicion and fear, mutual exclusion and hatred. That is why we agree with the four goals of the Conference of Asia and **Africa**, announced by the Prime Ministers of the five countries meeting in Bogor, and do not make any other proposals.

"As for the tension caused exclusively by the United States in Taiwan, we could offer to the conference the Soviet proposal to seek a solution through an international conference. The aspiration of the Chinese people to liberate their own territory - Taiwan and its offshore islands - is a fair aspiration, a matter of our internal policy and exercise of our sovereignty. This, our just demand, is supported in many countries. We could also offer to the conference the issue of recognition and restore the legal status of the People's Republic of China at the United Nations. The meeting in Bogor, which was attended last year by prime ministers of five countries who had met in Colombo, supported the restoration of the legitimate status of China in the United Nations. So did other countries in Asia and **Africa**. In addition, we could also speak here criticizing the unjust treatment of China by the United Nations. However, we have not done this, because otherwise our conference would have been embroiled in controversy on all these issues and would not reach any decision.

"At our conference we must seek our common ground, while keeping our differences. As for our common ground, the conference should reaffirm our common aspirations and requirements. This is our main objective here. As for our differences, many of us do not ask to renounce our own views, because the difference in viewpoints is an objective reality. However, we must not allow our differences to prevent us from reaching agreement on our main task. On the basis of our shared vision, we must try to understand and appreciate the different views that we hold.

"First of all, I would like to address the question of different ideologies and social systems. We must recognise that in our countries of Asia and **Africa** there exist

different ideologies and social systems. But this does not prevent us from looking for common ground and being united. After the Second World War there were many independent countries. One group is the country governed by communist parties; another group is countries governed by nationalists. In the first group are a few countries. But what some people do not like is the fact that the 600-million-strong Chinese people has chosen a political system which is socialist in nature and is headed by the Chinese Communist Party and that the Chinese people are no longer under the rule of imperialists. Countries of the second group are more numerous, and include India, Burma, Indonesia and many other countries in Asia and **Africa**. Both of these groups of countries have become independent from colonial rule and still continue their struggle for full independence. Is there any reason why we could not understand and respect each other and support and show sympathy for each other? There is every reason to make the five principles a basis for establishing friendly cooperation and good neighbourly relations between us. All of us, **Africa** and Asia, including China, have lagged behind in economic and cultural relations. Because our conference of the countries of Asia and **Africa** excludes no one, why shouldn't we understand each other and not join together in friendly cooperation?

"I would also like to touch on the question of whether there is freedom of religious beliefs. Freedom of religious belief is a principle recognized by all modern nations. We Communists are atheists. But we respect all those who have religious beliefs. We hope that people who have religious beliefs will also respect those who do not have these beliefs. China is a country where there is freedom of religious beliefs. In China are not only 7 million communists but tens of millions of Muslims and Buddhists and millions of Protestants and Catholics. Here in the Chinese delegation there is one practising Muslim imam. This situation is not an obstacle for the internal unity of China. Why should the community of countries of Asia and **Africa** not unite those who have religious beliefs, and those who have not? The days of inciting such feuds are in the past because the people who benefited from inciting such feuds are not among us.

"Thirdly, I would like to address the question of so-called subversion. The Chinese people's struggle against colonialism lasted over a century. The national and democratic revolutionary struggle led by the Chinese Communist Party finally brought success only after 30 stressful and difficult years. Describing the suffering of the Chinese people under the rule of imperialism, feudalism and Chiang Kai-Shek is impossible. But at last the Chinese people have chosen their own state system and the current government. The Chinese revolution was victorious specifically thanks to the efforts of the Chinese people. It certainly was not imported from abroad. This cannot be denied even by those who do not like the victory of the Chinese revolution. A Chinese proverb says, "Do not do to others what you do not want for yourself." We are against outside interference; how could we want to interfere in the internal affairs of others? Some people declare: there are more than 10 million Chinese who live outside the country and whose dual citizenship could be used for subversive activities. However, the problem of dual citizenship is a legacy of old China. Until now, Chiang Kai-shek still uses some, a very few, overseas Chinese to undertake subversive activities against the countries where they live. However, the new People's Government of China is ready to settle with the governments of interested countries the problem of dual citizenship of Chinese living outside our country. Some other people declare that the Autonomous Region of Thai in China is a threat to others. China has more than 40 million people belonging to dozens of national minorities. However, the Thai people and the people of Zhuang, who belong to the same tribe as the Thai people, account for almost 10 million people. As long as they exist, we must give them the right to autonomy. Just as there exists an autonomous principality for the Shan people in Burma, each minority in China

has its own autonomous region. As national minorities in China aim to exercise their autonomy within China, how can it be argued that this is a threat to our neighbours?

“In strict compliance with the five principles we are now ready to establish normal relations with all the countries of Asia and **Africa**, with all countries of the world and, above all, with the countries which are our neighbours. Currently the problem is not that we are carrying out subversive activities against the governments of other countries, but that there are people who are creating bases around China to conduct subversive activities against the Chinese government. For example, on the border between China and Burma, there are actually remnants of armed elements of the cliques of Chiang Kai-Shek, which are subversive against China, and against Burma. Due to friendly relations between China and Burma, and because we have always respected the sovereignty of Burma, we are confident that the Burmese government will solve this problem.

“The Chinese people has elected and supports its own government. In China, there is freedom of religious beliefs. China is not going to completely undermine the position of the governments of its neighbours. On the contrary, China itself is suffering from subversion, which is open, without any disguise, from the United States. Those who do not believe this, let them come to China or send someone there to see for themselves. We understand that some people, who still do not know the truth, nourish some doubts. In China there is a saying, "It is better to see once than hear a hundred times." We encourage delegates of all countries participating in this conference to visit China at any time they want. We do not have a bamboo curtain, but some set between us smokescreens.

«The 1.6 million people living in Asia and **Africa** wish our conference success. All countries and peoples of the globe who wish peace are expecting the contribution that the conference will make to the business of expanding the zone of peace and establishing collective peace. We Asian and **African** countries should unite and do everything in our power to make the Conference of Asian and **African** countries a success."

На Конференции стран Азии и Африки в Бандунге

БАНДУНГ, 20 апреля. (Спец. корр. ТАСС). Сегодня в Бандунге на Конференции стран Азии и **Африки** состоялись закрытые заседания экономического комитета, комитета по вопросам культурного сотрудничества, а также заседание политического комитета, образованного из глав делегаций.

БАНДУНГ, 20 апреля. (Спец. корр. ТАСС). В коммюнике о состоявшемся сегодня заседании комитета по вопросам культурного сотрудничества говорится, что комитет рассматривал “рабочие документы”, предложенные делегациями Индии, Индонезии, Японии и Пакистана. Выступавшие делегаты “горячо поддерживали предложение о культурном сотрудничестве”.

Было решено создать подкомитет в составе 12 членов (Индия, Индонезия, Япония, Пакистан, Ирак, **Египет**, Китай, Филиппины, **Судан**, Южный Вьетнам, Демократическая Республика Вьетнам, **Либерия**), который должен будет, как указывается в коммюнике, “изучить проблему культурного сотрудничества и пути расширения этого сотрудничества”.

ПЕКИН. 20 апреля. (ТАСС). Как передает агентство Синьхуа, сегодня в Бандунг прибыл заместитель премьер-министра и министр иностранных дел Демократической Республики Вьетнам Фам Ван Донг, возглавляющий делегацию ДРВ на Конференцию стран Азии и **Африки**.

На аэродроме Фам Ван Донга встречали министр иностранных дел Индонезии Сунарьо, министр путей сообщения Гаин, члены китайской делегации

на конференции.

At the Conference on Asian and African countries in Bandung

BANDUNG, April 20. (Special correspondent of TASS). Today in the Bandung Conference of Asian and **African** countries closed sessions were held of the Economic Committee and the Committee on Cultural Cooperation, as well as a meeting of the political committee of the heads of delegations.

BANDUNG, April 20. (Special correspondent of TASS). The communiqué of today's meeting of the Committee on Cultural Cooperation said that the committee considered "working papers" proposed by India, Indonesia, Japan and Pakistan. The delegates "warmly supported the proposal on cultural cooperation."

It was decided to create a sub-committee composed of 12 members (India, Indonesia, Japan, Pakistan, Iraq, **Egypt**, China, the Philippines, Sudan, South Vietnam, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and **Liberia**), which should be as indicated in the communiqué, "to study the problem of cultural cooperation and ways to expand this cooperation."

BEIJING. April 20. (TASS). According to the Xinhua news agency, today the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Pham Van Dong, head of the delegation of the DRV to the Conference of Asia and **Africa**, arrived in Bandung.

At the airport Pham Van Dong met the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Sunar, the Minister of Railways, Gain, and members of the Chinese delegation at the conference.

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Дух Бандунга живет и побеждает

Народы, отмечают вторую годовщину Бандунгской конференции

КИТАЙСКАЯ НАРОДНАЯ РЕСПУБЛИКА

Общественность Китайской Народной Республики широко отмечает вторую годовщину Вандунгской конференции стран Азии и **Африки**. Этой знаменательной дате центральные газеты посвящают передовые статьи, в которых подчеркивается выдающееся международное значение конференции и жизненная сила принципов, разработанных ею.

Дух Бандунга, пишет "Женьминьжибао", вдохновляет народы всех стран в борьбе за мир, против колониализма. Отметив успехи, достигнутые народами стран Азии и **Африки** за последние два года в борьбе за свободу и независимость, а также в области экономического и культурного сотрудничества, развивающегося на основе решений Бандунгской конференции, "Женьминьжибао" подчеркивает, что эти успехи вызывают беспокойство и ярость империалистов, которые всеми силами пытаются подорвать единство азиатских и **африканских** стран. Империалисты, указывает газета, намеренно создают напряженную обстановку в районах Азии и **Африки** и не останавливаются даже перед вооруженной агрессией, стремясь подавить борьбу азиатских и **африканских** народов за свою независимость и свободу.

"Те исторические перемены,— пишет "Гуанминжибао",— которые переживают Азия и **Африка**, свидетельствуют о расширении зоны мира. Пять принципов мирного сосуществования, с которыми впервые выступили премьеры Китая и Индии, и десять принципов, выдвинутых конференцией стран Азии и **Африки**, отражают совместные стремления народов стран Азии и **Африки** к

защите мира, содействию развитию дружбы и сотрудничества. Эти принципы уже стали основой дружбы, сплоченности и укрепления сотрудничества между странами Азии и **Африки** и основными критериями, которыми руководствуются государства в международных отношениях”.

ИНДИЯ

В Дели проходила “Неделя Бандунга”, организованная Индийским обществом азиатской солидарности в связи со второй годовщиной Бандунгской конференции стран Азии и **Африки**.

На собрании общества выступили посол Египта Исмаил Камель и посол Сирии Абу Ришах. Секретарь женской организации Эфиопии Таэджис передала привет от женщин Эфиопии.

Выступивший на собрании посол Китайской Народной Республики Пань Цзы-ли подчеркнул важность укрепления солидарности стран Азии и **Африки** и указал на необходимость проявлять бдительность в отношении происков империалистических держав, направленных на подрыв этой солидарности.

Среди выступивших были также известная общественная деятельница Рамешвари Неру и депутат парламента Анап Сингх, посетивший недавно **Египет** в составе миссии азиатской солидарности.

Большой интерес вызвала выставка кустарных художественных изделий стран Азии и **Африки**, на которой, в частности, представлены экспонаты из среднеазиатских республик Советского Союза.

ИНДОНЕЗИЯ

Президент Индонезии Сукарно, выступая на митинге в Каранганьяре (Ява), заявил, что 18 апреля — день открытия Бандунгской конференции стран Азии и **Африки** — войдет в историю как “день борьбы против колониализма, империализма и угнетения”.

Бандунгская конференция оказала большое влияние на все человечество. 29 стран Азии и **Африки**, представленных на конференции, продолжают ныне борьбу в защиту свободы и независимости.

Среди этих стран находится и Индонезия, 80-миллионный народ которой продолжает свою борьбу за демократические идеалы революции 17 августа 1945 года.

ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКАЯ РЕСПУБЛИКА ВЬЕТНАМ

16 апреля в Ханое состоялось торжественное заседание, посвященное второй годовщине Бандунгской конференции стран Азии и **Африки**. На заседании присутствовали премьер-министр и министр иностранных дел Демократической Республики Вьетнам Фам Ван Донг, члены правительства ДРВ, представители общественности столицы, члены дипломатического корпуса.

С докладом, посвященным этой знаменательной дате, выступил министр культуры ДРВ Хоанг Минь Зиам.

18 апреля в ДРВ началась “Неделя Бандунга”.

ЕГИПЕТ

Газеты “Аш-Шааб”, “Аль-Гумхурня”, “Аль-Ахрам” и другие посвящают второй годовщине Бандунгской конференции редакционные статьи, в которых отмечается ее историческое значение.

Главный редактор газеты “Аш-Шааб” Хусейн Фахми пишет об успехах, которых добились народы стран Азии и **Африки**, объединившись на основе принципов, одобренных Бандунгской конференцией.

В статье говорится, что англо-франко-израильская агрессия против Египта “явилась испытанием принципов Бандунга, испытанием прочности азиатско-африканского блока и его способности отстоять дело мира”. Солидарность

народов стран Азии и **Африки** выдержала это испытание. События показали, что принципы Бандунга являются выражением глубокой веры миллионов людей Азии и **Африки** в возможность мирного сосуществования и смягчения международной напряженности.

The Bandung spirit is alive and well

Nations celebrate the second anniversary of the Bandung Conference

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

The People's Republic of China is widely marking the second anniversary of the Bandung Conference of the countries of Asia and **Africa**. National newspapers are devoting editorials to this date, which emphasise the outstanding international importance of the conference and the vitality of the principles developed by it.

The Bandung spirit, writes the "Zhenminzhibao", inspires people of all countries in the struggle for peace and against colonialism. Noting the achievements of Asian and **African** nations over the past two years in the struggle for freedom and independence, as well as in the field of economic and cultural cooperation developed on the basis of decisions of the Bandung Conference, "Zhenminzhibao" stresses that these successes cause anxiety and rage to imperialists who are trying with all their strength to undermine the unity of Asian and **African** countries. Imperialists, the newspaper points out, are deliberately creating tensions in parts of Asia and **Africa**, and do not stop even at armed aggression, trying to suppress the struggle of Asian and **African** peoples for their independence and freedom.

"Those historic changes – wrote "Guanminzhibao" – which Asia and **Africa** are experiencing, testify to the expansion of zones of peace. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, which the premiers of China and India first presented, and the ten principles moved by the Conference of countries of Asia and **Africa**, reflect the joint aspirations of the peoples of Asia and **Africa** in the defence of peace and the promotion of friendship and cooperation. These principles have become the basis of friendship, solidarity and cooperation between Asia and **Africa**, the main criteria which guide the state in international relations."

INDIA

In Delhi a "Bandung Week" was held, organised by the Indian Society of Asian solidarity in connection with the second anniversary of the Bandung Conference of countries of Asia and **Africa**.

At one meeting of the Society were the Ambassador of **Egypt**, Ismail Kamel Abu, and the Syrian Ambassador, Rishah. The Secretary of the women's organization of **Ethiopia**, Tazdhe, conveyed greetings from the women of Ethiopia.

Speaking at a meeting of the People's Republic of China, Ambassador Pan Tzu-li stressed the importance of strengthening the solidarity of Asia and **Africa** and the need to be vigilant against the machinations of the imperialist powers to undermine this solidarity.

Among the speakers were well known public figure Rameswaram Nehru and parliamentarian Anapa Singh, who recently visited **Egypt** as part of the Mission of Asian solidarity.

An exhibition of handicraft art products of Asia and **Africa** aroused great interest, in particular exhibits from the **Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union**.

INDONESIA

President Sukarno of Indonesia, speaking at a rally in Karanganyare (Java), said that April 18 - the opening day of the Bandung Conference of Asian and **African** countries - will go down in history as "the day of struggle against colonialism, imperialism and oppression."

The Bandung Conference had a great influence on the whole of humanity. The 29 Asian and **African** countries represented at the conference are now continuing the struggle for freedom and independence.

Among these countries is Indonesia, whose 80 million people continue to struggle for the democratic ideals of the revolution of August 17, 1945.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

On April 16 in Hanoi, a solemn meeting was held, dedicated to the second anniversary of the Bandung Conference of Asian and **African** countries. The meeting was attended by the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Pham Van Dong, members of the DRV, the public of the capital, and members of the diplomatic corps.

A report on this important date was given by the Minister for Culture of the DRV, Hoang Minh Ziamia.

On April 18 in the DRV began the "Week of Bandung".

EGYPT

The newspapers "**Al-Schaab**", "**Al-Gumhurnya**", "**Al-Ahram**" and others are devoting editorials to the second anniversary of the Bandung Conference, which celebrated its historic significance.

Chief editor of "Al-Schaab", Hussein Fahmy, writes about the success of the peoples of Asia and **Africa**, united on the basis of the principles endorsed by the Bandung Conference.

The article said that the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against **Egypt** "was a test of the principles of Bandung, testing the strength of the **African**-Asian bloc and its ability to defend the cause of peace." The solidarity of the peoples of Asia and **Africa** passed that test. Events have shown that the principles of Bandung are an expression of deep faith of millions of people in Asia and **Africa** in the possibility of peaceful coexistence and the easing of international tension.

НАУЧНАЯ СЕССИЯ В МОСКВЕ

Дух Бандунга живет и побеждает — эту мысль неоднократно подчеркивали в своих выступлениях ораторы на научной сессии, которая состоялась 18 апреля в Москве в ознаменование второй годовщины Бандунгской конференции.

В актовом зале Института востоковедения Академии наук СССР собрались многочисленные деятели советской науки, представители общественных организаций, Министерства иностранных дел СССР.

Среди гостей находились послы: Египта — Мохаммед А. Эль Кули, Сирии — Жамаль Е.-Д. Фарра, Таиланда — Шид Срестапутра, Республики Индонезии — Александер А. Марамис, посланник Ливана — Абдалла Нажжар; временные поверенные в делах: Республики Индии — П. Ратнам, Китайской Народной Республики — Чэнь Чу, Монгольской Народной Республики — Т. Пурэвжал, Корейской Народно-Демократической Республики — Пак Док Хван, Демократической Республики Вьетнам — Нгуен Тыэнг, а также сотрудники посольств.

Открывая заседание, вице-президент Академии наук СССР И. П. Бардин тепло приветствовал гостей.

С докладом "Вторая годовщина Вандунгской конференции" выступил доктор исторических наук Б. Г. Гафуров. Осуществляя решения конференции, сказал он, страны Азии и **Африки** значительно расширили политические, экономические и культурные связи, взаимовыгодную торговлю, техническое сотрудничество, упрочили свое международное положение. Народы и

правительство СССР приветствовали решения Бандунгской конференции. Советское правительство на международной арене всегда поддерживает справедливую борьбу народов Азии и **Африки** против колониализма. Свои экономические отношения со странами Востока СССР строит на основе принципов равноправия и взаимной выгоды.

С сообщениями “Народы **Африки** и дух Бандунга” и “Народы Азии и дух Бандунга” выступили доктор исторических наук И. И. Потехин и доктор исторических наук А. М. Дьяков.

К участникам сессии обратился речью посол Индонезии Александер А. Марамис, горячо встреченный собравшимися. Он выразил признательность организаторам сессии.

— Я уверен,— сказал он,— что это чувство благодарности испытывают так же все мои друзья, представители стран Азии и **Африки**, присутствующие здесь.

Я чувствую гордость в связи с тем, что могу выступать здесь как представитель одного из пяти государств — участников совещания в Коломбо, которые взяли на себя инициативу созыва Бандунгской конференции. Еще большую гордость я ощущаю в связи с тем, что эта конференция проходила на нашей родине.

Г-н Марамис подчеркнул, что Бандунгская конференция имеет “особенно важное значение сейчас, в этот напряженный период, когда слышны каждый день угрозы применения атомных и водородных бомб. На народы Азии и **Африки** ложится еще большая ответственность за мир во всем мире и безопасность цивилизации”.

Касаясь вопросов внешней политики Индонезии, посол сказал:

— Мы стремимся к дружбе со всеми, кто приходит к нам с добрыми намерениями. Мы готовы принять **помощь** от кого бы то ни было, если она предоставляется нам с добрыми намерениями и ничем нас не связывает.

С Советским Союзом,—продолжал г-н Марамис,—мы имеем хорошие отношения. Я помню, как торжественно принимали моего президента на советской земле. В скором времени президент Советского Союза, его превосходительство Ворошилов посетит мое государство, и я уверен, что индонезийский народ радостно встретит его,—заявил в заключение посол Марамис.

A SCIENTIFIC SESSION IN MOSCOW

The Bandung spirit is living and winning - speakers repeatedly stressed this idea in their speeches at the scientific session which took place on April 18 in Moscow to commemorate the second anniversary of the Bandung Conference.

In the auditorium of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR gathered numerous Soviet scholars, representatives of public organizations, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

Among the guests were ambassadors: of **Egypt** - Mohamed A. El Cooley, of Syria - Zhamalov E.-D. Farrah, of Thailand - Sid Srestaputra, of the Republic of Indonesia - Alexander A. Maramis, an Envoy of Lebanon - Abdullah Najjar; *chargés d'affaires*: of the Republic of India - P. Ratnam, of the People's Republic of China - Chen Chu, of the Mongolian People's Republic - T. Purevzhal, of the Korean Democratic People's Republic - Pak Hwang, of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam - Nguyen Tyeng, and also embassy staff.

Opening the meeting, the vice-president of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR Bardin warmly welcomed guests.

The report "The second anniversary of the Bandung conference" was delivered by Dr. of Historical Sciences B. Gafurov. In implementing decisions of the conference, he said, countries in Asia and **Africa** have greatly expanded political, economic and cultural relations, mutually beneficial trade, technical cooperation, and a strengthened international position. Nations and the Soviet government welcomed the decisions of the Bandung Conference. The Soviet government in the international arena has always supported the just struggle of the peoples of Asia and **Africa against colonialism**. Their economic relations with the countries of the East of the USSR build on the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

Doctor of historical sciences I.I. Potekhin and doctor of historical sciences A.M. Clerks gave papers called "The peoples of **Africa** and the spirit of Bandung" and "The peoples of Asia and the spirit of Bandung".

Indonesian Ambassador Alexander A. Maramis addressed a speech to the session participants, which was warmly greeted by those present. He acknowledged the session organizers.

"I'm sure - he said – that all my friends from Asia and **Africa** who are present here are also experiencing a sense of gratitude.

"I feel proud of the fact that I speak here as a representative of one of five states - participants of the meeting in Colombo, who took the initiative to convene the Bandung Conference. Yet I feel a lot of pride at the fact that this conference was held in our home country."

Mr. Maramis stressed that the Bandung Conference is "particularly important now, in this tense period when every day we hear threats of atomic and hydrogen bombs. The peoples of Asia and **Africa** hold an even greater responsibility for world peace and the security of civilisation."

Speaking about Indonesia's foreign policy, the ambassador said:

"We are committed to friendship with all who come to us with good intentions. We are ready to accept help from anyone, if it is given to us in good faith and does not bind us.

"With the Soviet Union," continued Mr. Maramis, "We have good relations. I remember how solemnly my president was accepted on Soviet soil. Soon the president of the Soviet Union, His Excellency Voroshilov, will visit my country, and I am sure that the Indonesian people will meet him with great gladness," said in conclusion Ambassador Maramis.

Беседа с председателем Советского комитета солидарности стран Азии тов. Мирао Турсун-заде

Принципы Бандунга вызвали к жизни мощное движение солидарности и единства народов Азии и **Африки**, вдохновили народы, все еще борющиеся за свою национальную независимость и свободу, вселили в них уверенность в Торжество их справедливой борьбы.

Движение солидарности народов Азии и **Африки** было организационно оформлено на Конференции азиатских стран за ослабление напряженности в международных отношениях, которая состоялась в апреле 1955 года в Дели (Индия). На этой конференции было провозглашено создание постоянного международного органа — Комитета солидарности стран Азии.

Вслед за этим национальные комитеты солидарности стран Азии были созданы в Индии, Японии, Китае, Корее, Вьетнаме, Сирии, Цейлоне, Египте и других странах. В мае 1956 года был создан Советский комитет солидарности стран Азии.

Советский комитет солидарности стран Азии за год своего существования

установил тесные контакты с национальными комитетами солидарности Китая, Индии, Японии, Египта, Кореи, Вьетнама и многих других стран.

Советский комитет солидарности стран Азии способствует развитию экономических и культурных связей со странами Азии и **Африки**, знакомит народы этих стран с достижениями советских республик Средней Азии и Закавказья в развитии их народного хозяйства, национальной культуры.

Советский комитет солидарности стран Азии горячо поддерживает мероприятия Советского правительства, направленные на достижение соглашения между заинтересованными державами о безотлагательном прекращении испытаний атомного и водородного оружия как первого шага на пути полного запрещения производства и применения оружия массового уничтожения.

В настоящее время комитет деятельно готовится к Конференции солидарности народов стран Азии и **Африки**, которую намечено провести в октябре в столице Египта — Каире.

В эти дни, когда все прогрессивное человечество широко отмечает вторую годовщину Бандунгской конференции, мне от имени Советского комитета солидарности стран Азии хотелось бы передать сердечный привет и пожелания успехов всем национальным комитетам солидарности в их благородной борьбе за мир и свободу народов Востока.

Дух Бандунга завоевывает все большее число сторонников. Он напоминает народам Востока о необходимости быть бдительными к проискам империалистов, крепить единство и солидарность народов в борьбе за свободу и мир.

A Conversation with the chairman of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian comrades, Mirzo Tursun Zade

The Bandung principles gave rise to a powerful movement of solidarity and unity of the peoples of Asia and **Africa**, and inspired those still fighting for their national independence and freedom, giving them confidence in the triumph of their just struggle.

The Movement of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia and **Africa** was institutionalized by the Conference of Asian countries, which took place in April 1955 in New Delhi (India), for the easing of tensions in international relations. At this conference the establishment of a permanent international body, the Committee of Solidarity of Asian countries was proclaimed.

Following this, national Asian Solidarity Committees were established in India, Japan, China, Korea, Vietnam, Syria, Ceylon, **Egypt** and other countries. In May 1956 the Soviet-Asian Solidarity Committee was created.

In the first year of its existence, the Soviet-Asian Solidarity Committee has established close contacts with the national committees of solidarity of China, India, Japan, **Egypt**, Korea, Vietnam and many other countries.

The Soviet-Asian Solidarity Committee promotes economic and cultural relations with the countries of Asia and **Africa**, and introduces the peoples of these countries to the achievements of the Soviet republics of Central Asia and the Caucasus in the **development** of their national economy and national culture.

The Soviet-Asian Solidarity Committee strongly supports the actions of the Soviet government aimed at reaching agreement between the powers concerned about the immediate cessation of atomic and hydrogen weapons as a first step towards a complete ban on the production and use of weapons of mass destruction.

The Committee is currently preparing for the activities of the Conference of Solidarity of the peoples of the countries of Asia and **Africa**, to be held in October in

the capital of **Egypt**, Cairo.

These days, when all progressive humankind is widely celebrating the second anniversary of the Bandung Conference, I, on behalf of the Soviet-Asian Solidarity Committee, would like to convey cordial greetings and wishes to all National Committees of solidarity in their noble struggle for peace and freedom of the peoples of the East.

The Bandung spirit is gaining more and more supporters. It reminds the peoples of the East to be vigilant to the machinations of the imperialists, to strengthen the unity of peoples in solidarity and struggle for freedom and peace.

В Советский Союз - по туристским путевкам

На улицах и площадях различных городов нашей страны, в колхозах и совхозах, на палубах морских судов все чаще и чаще можно встретить группы иностранцев с записными книжками, фотоаппаратами. Это — туристы, знакомящиеся с жизнью Советского Союза.

В последнее время за границей популярность туристских поездок в Советский Союз возросла. Всесоюзное акционерное общество “Интурист”, занимающееся приемом иностранных туристов в нашей стране, получает тысячи заявок из многих стран мира на посещение Советского Союза.

“Интурист” поддерживает деловые связи с 68 иностранными туристскими организациями и фирмами Европы, Америки, **Африки** и Азии.

“Интурист” стремится к тому, чтобы пребывание иностранных граждан в Советском Союзе было интересным и приятным. В этом году увеличивается количество маршрутов по стране. В них включены новые города: Рига, Смоленск, Владимир, Иваново и другие.

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На снимке: группа чехословацких туристов на Ленинградском вокзале.
Фото В. Володкина.

To the Soviet Union - on tourist flights

In the streets and squares of different cities of our country, on collective and state farms and on the decks of ships it is more and more possible to meet a group of foreigners with notebooks and cameras. These are tourists, getting to know life in the Soviet Union.

In recent years, the popularity of overseas tourist trips to the Soviet Union has increased. The All-Union Joint-Stock Company "Intourist" engaged in the reception of foreign tourists to our country receives thousands of applications from around the world to visit the Soviet Union.

"Intourist" maintains business ties with 68 foreign tourist organizations and companies in Europe, America, **Africa** and Asia.

"Intourist" seeks to ensure that the stay of foreign citizens in the Soviet Union is interesting and enjoyable. This year there is an increasing number of destinations in the country. They include new cities: Riga, Smolensk, Vladimir, Ivanovo and others.

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Photograph caption: **In the photograph**, a group of Czechoslovakian tourists at Leningrad railway station. Photograph by V. Volodkin

C60, 1960

C60, 16th December, 1960, page 1

ПОЛНЫЙ КРАХ КОЛОНИАЛИЗМА НЕМИНУЕМ!

В борьбе против варварского колониализма миролюбивые народы одержали крупную победу: Генеральная Ассамблея Организации Объединенных Наций приняла Декларацию о предоставлении независимости колониальным странам и народам, проект которой был внесен 43 странами Азии и **Африки**.

Советская общественность горячо приветствует этот важный итог “великой дискуссии”, которая развернулась в стенах ООН по инициативе делегации Советского Союза.

В сентябре этого года глава Советского правительства Н. С. Хрущев внес на рассмотрение Генеральной Ассамблеи Декларацию о предоставлении независимости колониальным странам и народам. Эта великая хартия свободы вскрыла перед всей миром тяжкие последствия преступного хозяйничанья колонизаторов в странах Азии, **Африки**, Латинской Америки; показала всю несостоятельность утверждений, будто народы, оказавшиеся в колониальном ярме, “не способны” управлять своими странами; разоблачила маневры современных колонизаторов; дала яркую картину борьбы народов за национальную независимость и призвала к безотлагательной ликвидации колониального режима во всех его формах и проявлениях.

“Всем должно быть ясно,— говорил Н. С. Хрущев,— что нельзя никакими средствами и силами остановить борьбу народов за свое освобождение, так как это великий исторический процесс, происходящий со все возрастающей и необратимой силой...”

Декларация была встречена с огромным энтузиазмом народами Азии, **Африки**, Латинской Америки, всем прогрессивным человечеством. Она явилась программой действий для народов колониальных и зависимых стран, вдохновляла представителей **афро**-азиатских стран на дискуссию, в которой приняли участие представители более семидесяти государств.

Эта дискуссия вылилась и беспощадный суд народов над колониализмом. В памяти каждого из нас — яркие выступления президента Ганы Кваме Нкрума, президента Гвинеи Секу Туре, президента ОАР Насера, президента Индонезии Сукарно, премьер-министра Индии Неру, премьер-министра Кубы Фиделя Кастро, представителей многих других стран Азии и **Африки** делегатов социалистических стран, которые не оставили камня на камне от жалких попыток делегатов США, Англии, Франции и их подголосков обелить и оправдать позорную колониальную систему.

Срывая маски с адвокатов колониального рабства, представитель молодой **африканской** республики Мали говорил на пленарном заседании Генеральной Ассамблеи: “Недостаточно только осудить колониальную систему. Речь идет о судьбе десятков миллионов людей, эксплуатируемых во имя идей “**гуманизма**”. Колониализм—это пиратство, авантюризм, оптовая торговля чужим богатством. Пусть представители колониальных стран не разыгрывают здесь из себя ягнят; колониализм — это волк в овечьей шкуре”.

В ходе бурной дискуссии посланцы многих стран вновь и вновь подчеркивали огромное значение инициативы Советского Союза. “Колониализм, — заявил представитель Марокко, — представляет собой постоянную угрозу миру и безопасности народов. Этот **анахронизм** должен быть ликвидирован, и как можно скорее. Вот почему мы благодарны Советскому Союзу, поставившему этот вопрос и потребовавшему принятия торжественной декларации о предоставлении независимости всем колониальным странам и народам. Инициатива Советского Союза представляет собой историческую веху

на пути развития человечества”.

Советский проект декларации послужит хорошей основой для дискуссии, еще невиданной в стенах ООН. Основные принципы этого проекта нашли отражение в декларации **афро-азиатских** стран.

Голосование по вопросу о предоставлении независимости колониальным странам и народам, полной и окончательной ликвидации колониализма еще раз показало всему миру, кто именно является оплотом преступной системы современного рабства. Скамьи “воздержавшихся” стали, по сути дела, скамьей подсудимых. И их обитателей трудно не встретить возгласом из известной комедии: “Ба, знакомые все лица!”

Это американский империализм, который является главным оплотом мировой реакции и международным жандармом, врагом народов всего мира. Участникам дискуссии о Генеральной Ассамблее не было нужды заглядывать в историю, хотя это тоже очень полезно, чтобы познакомиться с американским колониализмом: он предстал перед ними в гнусном облике организатора преступлений в Конго. “Мы утверждаем, — пишет нигерийская газета “Уэст **африкэн** пайлот”, выражая мнение миллионов **африканцев**, — что вина за трагедию в Конго ложится главным образом на США и что США поступают таким образом потому, что они не заинтересованы в судьбе конголезского народа, преследуя в Конго свои чисто империалистические цели”. США — вдохновитель провокаций против героической Кубы, опора мятежников в Лаосе, соратник Французских колонизаторов в борьбе против алжирского народа.

Рядом с американским империализмом — английский империализм — душитель народов Кении, Ньясаленда, Родезии и других **африканских** стран, французский империализм — ведущий безнадежную грязную войну в Алжире и убивший славного **африканского** трибуна Феликса Мумье, бельгийский империализм, до конца разоблачивший себя в Конго. Рядом с империалистами США на скамье подсудимых — австралийские душители Новой Гвинеи, португальские колонизаторы в Анголе и Мозамбике, режим генерала Франко, американские прихвостни из Доминиканской Республики.

На скамье подсудимых — участники агрессивных военных блоков — НАТО, СЕАТО, СЕНТО — те, чьи действия представляют угрозу не только для народов колониальных и зависимых стран, но и для всего мира. Припертые к стенке, колонизаторы неистовствуют. Чего стоит, например, письмо американских куклуксклановцев, разосланное представителям азиатских и **африканских** стран в ООН, содержащее прямые угрозы физической расправы над ними? Чего стоят попытки США и их партнеров протащить в Совет Безопасности одного из самых лютых врагов **африканских** народов — португальских колонизаторов и таким образом “ответить” на Декларацию о предоставлении независимости колониальным странам и народам? А разве не ярким примером неистовства колонизаторов служат статьи “Нью-Йорк таймс” и других реакционных американских газет, подстрекающие банды Мобуту к новым преступлениям или клеветующие на миролюбивые страны?

Бесчинства империалистов в Конго, Алжире, Лаосе подняли невиданную волну народного гнева. Нет такого уголка на земле, где сегодня не звучали бы призывы “Вон колонизаторов из Конго!”, “Свободу Патрису Лумумбе, свободу всем конголезским патриотам!”, “Независимость Алжиру!”, “Прекратить вмешательство США в дела Лаоса!” С протестом против бесчинств банд Мобуту и их покровителей в Конго сегодня выступает ВЦСПС от имени 55 миллионов членов профсоюзов СССР. Советский комитет солидарности стран Азии и **Африки** клеймит позором преступления французских колонизаторов в Алжире.

По всей Советской стране проходят митинги, на которых трудящиеся нашей страны выражают солидарность с народами, борющимися против колониализма.

Неистовство колонизаторов показывает, что они не даруют свободы народам колоний, не покидают добровольно эксплуатируемые ими страны. Прочной победы народы колониальных и зависимых стран могут добиться на основе мощного национально-освободительного движения. Симпатии и поддержка трудящихся всего мира — на стороне народов, борющихся за свою свободу и независимость.

В Заявлении Совещания представителей коммунистических и рабочих партий огромной силой и убедительностью показано, что полный крах колониализма неминуем. Полная и окончательная ликвидация колониального режима во всех его формах и проявлениях диктуется всем ходом мировой истории.

Принятие Генеральной Ассамблеей по инициативе Советского Союза декларации, отвергающей колониализм, является еще одним подтверждением этого. Ни пушки, ни бомбы, ни доллары не помогут колонизаторам. Бьет последний час колониализма!

The complete collapse of colonialism is inevitable!

In the fight against barbaric colonialism, peaceful nations have won a major victory: the General Assembly of the United Nations has adopted the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the draft of which was submitted by 43 countries of Asia and **Africa**.

The Soviet public warmly welcomes this important result of the "great debate", which was developed in the walls of the UN on the initiative of the delegation of the Soviet Union.

In September this year, the head of the Soviet government, Khrushchev, introduced to the General Assembly the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This great charter of freedom revealed to the whole world the serious consequences of the criminal rule of colonialists in Asia, **Africa** and Latin America; showed the inadequacy of allegations that people who find themselves under the colonial yoke are "unable" to manage their countries; exposed the manoeuvring of modern colonizers; gave a vivid picture of the struggle of peoples for national independence; and called for the immediate abolition of the colonial regime in all its forms and manifestations.

"It should be clear," said Khrushchev, "that no means or forces can stop the struggle of peoples for their liberation, since it is a historic process that is taking place with ever increasing and irreversible power..."

The declaration was met with great enthusiasm by the peoples of Asia, **Africa** and Latin America, and all progressive humanity. It was a programme of action for the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, and inspired the representatives of Afro-Asian countries to discussion, in which representatives of more than seventy countries participated.

This discussion resulted in merciless judgment by people on colonialism. In the memory of each of us are bright performances by President Kwame Nkrumah of **Ghana**, the President of **Guinea**, Sekou Toure, the President of the **UAR** Nasser, the President of Indonesia Sukarno, the Indian Prime Minister, Nehru, the Prime Minister of Cuba, Fidel Castro, and representatives of many other Asian and **African** countries and delegates of the socialist countries, which left no stone unturned in opposing the pathetic attempts of delegates of the United States, Britain, France and their henchmen to whitewash and justify the shameful colonial system.

Tearing the mask from the advocates of colonial slavery, the representative of the young **African** Republic of **Mali** spoke at the plenary session of the General Assembly: "It is not enough to condemn the colonial system. We are talking about the fate of tens of millions of people, ideas exploited in the name of "**humanitarianism**". Colonialism is piracy, adventurism, wholesale stranger wealth. Let representatives of colonial countries not kid themselves - colonialism is a wolf in sheep's clothing."

During the heated debate many countries' delegates again and again underlined the great importance of the initiative of the Soviet Union. "Colonialism," said the representative of **Morocco**, "represents a constant threat to the peace and security of nations. This anachronism must be eliminated as soon as possible. That is why we are grateful to the Soviet Union for raising this issue and calling for a solemn declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and all peoples. The initiative of the Soviet Union is a milestone in the **development** of humankind."

The Soviet draft declaration served as a good basis for discussion, as yet unseen in the walls of the UN. The basic principles of the outcome of the project are reflected in the declaration of the Afro-Asian countries.

The vote on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the complete and final elimination of colonialism, once again showed the world exactly who is the mainstay of the criminal system of modern slavery. The benches of "abstentions" were, in fact, the bench of the defendants. And it is hard not to meet their inhabitants with the exclamation of a famous comedy, "Bah, all the familiar faces!"

This is American imperialism, which is the main bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme, the enemy of the peoples of the world. Panellists on the General Assembly did not need to look into the story, though it is also very useful to meet with American colonialism: it stood before them in the guise of an organizer of infamous crimes in Congo. "We say," writes the Nigerian newspaper "West **African** Pilot", expressing the opinion of millions of **Africans**, "that the blame for the tragedy in the Congo falls mainly on the United States and that the United States does so because they are not interested in the fate of the Congolese people in Congo and are pursuing their purely imperialist aims." The U.S. provokes against the mastermind of the heroic Cuban, supports rebels in Laos, and associates with French colonialists in the fight against the Algerian people.

Next to U.S. imperialism are English imperialism – the strangler of the peoples of **Kenya, Nyasaland, Rhodesia and other African countries** - French imperialism - leading the hopeless dirty war in **Algeria** and having killed the glorious **African** Tribune Felix Mume - and Belgian imperialism, exposed in the **Congo**. Near the U.S. imperialists in the dock are the Australian stranglers of New Guinea, the Portuguese colonialists in **Angola and Mozambique**, the regime of General Franco, and American henchmen of the Dominican Republic.

The defendants - members of the aggressive military blocs NATO, SEATO and CENTO – are those whose actions are a threat not only to the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, but also to the whole world. Up against the wall, the colonizers are not pleasant. What should we make, for example, of the American Ku Klux Klan letter sent to representatives of Asian and **African** countries in the UN, containing direct threats of physical violence against them? Why is it worth the efforts of the USA and their partners in the Security Council to push through one of the fiercest enemies of **African** peoples - the Portuguese colonizers and in this way "answer" the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples? And is not a shining example of the fury of colonialists the article of the "New York Times" and other reactionary American newspapers inciting Mobutu's gang to new crimes or slandering a peaceful country?

The outrages of the imperialists in the **Congo, Algeria** and Laos have raised an unprecedented wave of popular anger. Everywhere on earth sound out calls of "Colonisers out of the **Congo**," "Freedom for Patrice Lumumba, freedom to all **Congolese** patriots," "Independence for Algeria," and "Stop U.S. intervention in the affairs of Laos". Today, on behalf of all 55 million trade union members of the USSR, the ACSTU [All-Union Central Soviet of Trade Unions] is speaking in protest against the depredations of the gangs and patrons of Mobutu in Congo. The Soviet Committee for the Solidarity of Asian and **African** countries denounces the crimes of French colonialists in Algeria. Throughout the Soviet Union meetings are being held, at which workers of our country are in solidarity with peoples fighting colonialism.

The fury of colonizers shows that they do not grant freedom to the peoples of the colonies and do not voluntarily leave countries which they exploit. Lasting victory for the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries can be achieved by a powerful national liberation movement. The sympathy and support of the workers of the world are with the peoples fighting for their independence and freedom.

In the Statement of the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties it is shown with great force and conviction that the complete collapse of colonialism is inevitable. Full and final liquidation of the colonial regime in all its forms and manifestations is dictated by the entire course of world history.

The adoption by the General Assembly of the initiative of the Soviet Union of a declaration of rejection of colonialism is further confirmation of this. Neither cannons nor bombs nor dollars will help the colonialists. The last hour of colonialism is ringing!

Алжирский народ не поставит на колени

ПАРИЖ, 15 декабря. (ТАСС). В течение сегодняшнего дня в Алжире продолжало сохраняться напряженное положение. На улицах городов Алжир, Бон, Константина, Оран стоят наготове воинские части и жандармерия. Полиция производит обыски и аресты в арабских кварталах. Жизнь этих городов в значительной степени парализована: закрыты многие магазины, рынки, с перебоями работает транспорт. В городе Алжир вновь состоялась большая демонстрация патриотов, прошедшая под лозунгом предоставления Алжиру независимости.

Никакие вооруженные репрессии не в состоянии сломить поднявшийся на борьбу народ. Алжирцев не поставят на колени!

На снимке: демонстрация жителей г. Белькура (Алжир) против колониализма. (Снимок из газеты "Юманите").

The Algerian people are not brought to their knees

PARIS, Dec. 15. (TASS). In the course of today the tense situation in Algiers persisted. On the streets of the towns of Algiers, Bone, Constantine and Oran, military units and gendarmerie stand ready. Police are conducting searches and arrests in Arab neighbourhoods. Life in these cities is largely paralyzed: many shops and markets are closed, and transport is working intermittently. In Algiers another big demonstration of patriots was held, under the slogan of providing independence to Algeria.

No military repression can break a people which has risen to fight. Algerians, do not fall to your knees!

Pictured: demonstration of residents of Bellecour (Algeria) against colonialism. (Picture from the newspaper "L'Humanite").

Декларация Генеральной Ассамблеи о предоставлении независимости колониальным странам и народам

НЬЮ-ЙОРК, 15 декабря. (ТАСС). Генеральная Ассамблея приняла вчера на своем пленарном заседании следующую декларацию, проект которой был внесен делегациями 43 стран Азии и **Африки**:

“Генеральная Ассамблея, помня о решимости, провозглашенной народами мира в Уставе Организации Объединенных Наций, вновь утвердить веру в основные права человека, в достоинство и ценность человеческой личности, в равноправие мужчин и женщин и в равенство прав больших и малых наций и содействовать социальному прогрессу и улучшению условий жизни при большей свободе”.

Etc...

General Assembly Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

NEW YORK, Dec. 15. (TASS). The General Assembly adopted yesterday in a plenary session the following declaration, a draft of which was submitted by the delegations of 43 countries of Asia and **Africa**:

"The General Assembly, mindful of the determination proclaimed by the peoples of the world in the Charter of the United Nations, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

Etc ...

ПРИГОВОР ПОЗОРНОЙ СИСТЕМЕ

на Генеральной Ассамблее ООН

НЬО-ЙОРК, 14 декабря. (ТАСС). Пленум Генеральной Ассамблеи Организации Объединенных Наций закончил обсуждение поставленного Советским Союзом вопроса об окончательной ликвидации колониализма. Голосами подавляющего большинства делегаций была принята декларация **афро-азиатских** государств о предоставлении независимости колониальным странам и народам, включающая ряд принципиальных положений, внесенных Советским Союзом в его проекте декларации. За **афро-азиатскую** декларацию голосовали 89 делегации. В делегаций — США, Англии, Франции, Австралии, Бельгии, Португалии, Испании, **Южно-Африканского** Союза и Доминиканской Республики - - воздержались.

Etc.

VERDICT on the disgraceful system

At the UN General Assembly

NEW YORK, December 14. (TASS). The plenum of the General Assembly of the United Nations ended with a judgement of the questions supplied by the Soviet Union on the final elimination of colonialism. The voices of the vast majority of delegations adopted a declaration of Afro-Asian states on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which includes a number of fundamental provisions made by the Soviet Union in its draft declaration. 90 delegations voted for the **Afro-Asian** Declaration. The U.S., Britain, France, Australia, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, **South African** Union and Dominican Republic abstained.

Etc.

ЗА ПОЛНУЮ И ОКОНЧАТЕЛЬНУЮ ЛИКВИДАЦИЮ КОЛОНИАЛИЗМА

Прием у африканских послов

Послы **африканских** стран, аккредитованные в Советском Союзе, устроили 17 апреля большой прием по случаю Дня свободы **Африки**.

С советской стороны на приеме были товарищи А. Н. Косыгин, Н. А. Мухитдинов, Е. А. Фурцева, секретарь Президиума Верховного Совета СССР М. П. Георгадзе, министры СССР П. Я. Антропов, литовский, председатели Государственных комитетов СССР А. П. Волков, С. В. Кафтанов, В. С. Емельянов, Г. И. Зеленко, заместитель министра иностранных дел СССР Я. А. Малик, Маршалы Советского Главного маршала авиации К. А. Вершинин, секретарь ВЦСПС Л. Н. Соловьев, председатель правления Советской ассоциации дружбы с народами **Африки** И. И. Потехин и другие.

На приеме были главы дипломатических представительств, аккредитованные в Советском Союзе, советские и иностранные журналисты, представители духовенства.

Во время приема Чрезвычайный и Полномочный Посол Марокко в СССР Башир Бен Аббес и первый заместитель Председателя Совета Министров СССР А. Н. Косыгин обменялись речами.

For the complete and final elimination of colonialism

Reception of African ambassadors

The ambassadors of **African** countries accredited in the Soviet Union organized on April 17 a big reception on the occasion of Freedom Day in **Africa**.

On the Soviet side at the reception were comrades Kosygin, N. Mukhitdinov, EA Furtseva, secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, MP Giorgadze, the Ministers of the USSR PY Antropov, Lithuanian, Chairman of State Committee of the USSR AP Volkov, SV Kaftanov, VS Yemelyanov, GI Zelenko, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Malik, Marshals of the Soviet Air Chief Marshal Vershinin, Secretary of the All L. Solovyov, Chairman of the Soviet Association of Friendship with the Peoples of **Africa** I.I. Potehkin and others.

At the reception were heads of diplomatic missions accredited in the Soviet Union, Soviet and foreign journalists, and religious leaders.

During the reception, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of **Morocco** in the USSR Bashir Ben Abbes and First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Alexei Kosygin exchanged words.

Речь г-на БАШИР БЕН АББЕСА

Ваше Превосходительство!

Дамы и господа!

От имени всей **Африки**, представленной здесь посольствами Эфиопии, Ганы, Гвинеи, Мали, Марокко, Судана, Туниса и Объединенной Арабской Республики, я имею честь сказать вам “добро пожаловать” и поблагодарить за то, что вы почтили своим присутствием этот прием, который впервые устраивается в Москве по случаю Дня **Африки**.

Это великий день для нас, **африканцев**, черных и белых. Мы празднуем его не только для того, чтобы отметить славу наших предков, построивших пирамиды или самые древние в мире университеты, такие, как “Аль-Азхар”, “Зитуна” или “Карауин”, отметившего свою 1100-летнюю годовщину, или для того, чтобы

пожаловаться на долгие года рабства или колонизации, временно остановивших наше развитие и явившихся причиной серьезной отсталости некоторых районов нашего континента. Мы празднуем также пробуждение освобождающейся **Африки**, независимость 25 государств, уже ставших членами Организации Объединенных Наций, с тем, чтобы оказать неограниченную помощь нашим братьям, которые еще ведут борьбу за свою независимость, где бы это ни происходило - в Алжире, в Анголе, в Родезии, в Руанда-Урунди, Танганьике или в любом другом месте. Мы поднимаем свой голос протеста против расовой сегрегации, боремся с апартеидом в Южно-**Африканском** Союзе, боремся за восстановление мира и законности в Конго, высказываемся против ядерных испытаний в **африканской** Сахаре и не даем обмануть себя марионеточным правительствам, которые насаждают неоко-
(Окончание на 2-й стр.)

Speech by Mr. Bashir Ben Abbes

Your Excellency!

Ladies and Gentlemen!

On behalf of all of **Africa**, represented here by the embassies of **Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia and the United Arab Republic**, I have the honour to say to you "welcome" and thank you for honouring with your presence this reception, which for the first time is arranged in Moscow on the occasion of **Africa Day**.

This is a great day for us, **Africans**, black and white. We celebrate it not only to celebrate the glory of our ancestors who built the pyramids or the oldest university in the world, such as "Al-Azhar", "Zitouna" or "Karaouine", which celebrated its 1100th anniversary, or to complain about the long years of slavery and colonization, which temporarily stopped our **development** and gave cause for serious **underdevelopment** of some areas of the continent. We celebrate also the awakening of **Africa** liberating itself, the independence of the 25 States which have already become members of the United Nations, in order to provide unlimited assistance to our brothers who are still fighting for their independence, wherever it happens - in Algeria, Angola, Rhodesia, Rwanda-Urundi, Tanganyika or anywhere else. We raise a voice of protest against racial segregation, struggle against apartheid in the Union of **South Africa**, fight for the restoration of peace and justice in the **Congo**, are against nuclear testing in **sub-Saharan Africa**, and do not allow the deception of puppet governments which promote neocolonialism...

(Continued on the 2nd page.)

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Встреча Президента и главы правительства Республики Гана д-ра Кваме Нкрума с советскими руководителями

22 июля в Кремле состоялась встреча Президента и главы правительства Республики Гана д-ра Кваме Нкрума с советскими руководителями.

Во встрече приняли участие. Председатель Президиума Верховного Совета СССР Л. И. Брежнев, первый заместитель Председателя Совета Министров СССР А. И. Микоян.

Встреча проходила в теплой, дружественной обстановке.

На встрече присутствовали первый заместитель министра внешней торговли

СССР С. А. Борисов, заместитель министра иностранных дел СССР Я. Л. Малик, первый заместитель председателя Государственного комитета Совета Министров СССР по внешним экономическим связям И. В. Архипов, посол Советского Союза в Республике Гана М. Д. Сытенко, заведующий Вторым **африканским** отделом МИД СССР В. А. Брыкин.

Вместе с д-ром Кваме Нкрума во встрече участвовали министр по президентским делам, член парламента Тавиа Адамафио, исполняющий обязанности секретаря кабинета Е. К. Око, главный секретарь в секретариате по **африканским** делам М.Ф. Дей-Ананг, заместитель управляющего банка Ганы К. Амоако-Атта, главный секретарь министерства торговли Дж. Аджиеман. (ТАСС)

Meeting of the President and Prime Minister of the Republic of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah with Soviet leaders

On July 22 in the Kremlin there was a meeting of the President and Prime Minister of the Republic of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah with Soviet leaders.

The Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid Brezhnev, and First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Anastas Mikoyan participated in the meeting.

The meeting was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

The meeting was attended by First Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade S.A. Borisov, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR J.L. Malik, the first deputy chairman of the State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for Foreign Economic Relations I.V. Arkhipov, Soviet Ambassador to the Republic of Ghana M.D. Sytenko, and Head of the **African** Department of the Second Soviet Foreign Ministry V.A. Brykin.

Together with Dr. Kwame Nkrumah were the Minister of Presidential Affairs, Member of Parliament Tavia Adamafio, Acting Secretary to the Cabinet E.K. Oko, chief secretary of the Secretariat for **African** Affairs M.F. Day-Ananga, Deputy Governor of the Bank of Ghana K. Amoako-Atta, Chief Secretary of the Ministry of Commerce John Adzhieman. (TASS)

Обед у Н. С. Хрущева в честь И. Аббуда

СОЧИ, 22 июля. (ТАСС). Председатель Совета Министров Союза ССР Н. С. Хрущев дал сегодня обед в честь Председателя Верховного совета вооруженных сил и премьер-министра Республики Судан, генерал-лейтенанта И. Аббуда, а также сопровождающих его в поездке по стране члена Верховного совета вооруженных сил, министра общественных работ и природных ресурсов, генерал-майора Ахмеда Рида Фарида, министра финансов и экономики Абдель Маджида Ахмеда, министра иностранных дел Ахмеда Хейра, министра сельского хозяйства, ирригации и гидроэлектроэнергии Мекки эль-Манна.

На обеде присутствовали заместитель Председателя Президиума Верховного Совета СССР Н. Байрамов, заместитель министра иностранных дел СССР А. Л. Орлов, посол СССР в Судане М. А. Силин, генерал армии Г. К. Маландин, заведующим Отделом стран Ближнего Востока МИД СССР Е. Д. Киселев, заместитель заведующего Протокольным отделом МИД СССР К. Н. Колычев, председатель исполкома Сочинского городского Совета депутатов трудящихся А. Н. Чуркин и член исполкома городского Совета депутатов трудящихся С. Ф. Медунов.

На обеде с речью выступил Н. С. Хрущев.

Dinner of N.S. Khrushchev in honour of J. Abboud

SOCHI, July 22. (TASS). Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Nikita Khrushchev gave a dinner today in honour of the Chair of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces and the Prime Minister of the Republic of Sudan, Lieutenant General A.I. Abboud. Member of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, Minister of Public Works and Natural Resources, Major General Ahmed Rida Farid, Finance and Economy Minister Abdul Majid Ahmed, Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmed Hare, and the Minister of Agriculture, Irrigation and hydropower Mecca Al Mann accompanied him on a trip to the country.

The dinner was attended by the Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR N. Bayramov, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR A.L. Orlov, Soviet Ambassador to Sudan, Mr. M.A. Seeley, General of the Army G.K. Malandin, head of the Middle East department of the MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] of the USSR E.D. Kiselev, deputy director of the Protocol Department of the Foreign Ministry K.N. Kolychev, Chair of the executive committee of Sochi City Council's commitment to workers' Soviets A.N. Churkin and member of the executive committee of the City Soviet S.F. Medunov.

At dinner N.S. Khrushchev gave a speech.

Речь Н. С. ХРУЩЕВА

Уважаемый господин Председатель!

Уважаемые гости из Судана!

Дорогие друзья!

К сожалению, я не имел возможности быть в Москве при встрече нашего высокого гостя из Судана, но знаю, что москвичи встретили вас тепло и радушно. Вы, вероятно, уже почувствовали, с какой искренней симпатией встречают советские люди своих гостей.

Хочу воспользоваться возможностью, чтобы поблагодарить Вас, господин Аббуд, за высказанные Вами в Москве теплые слова приветия советскому народу, за высокую оценку усилий Советского Союза в борьбе против колониализма и оказание помощи народам, которые встали на путь самостоятельного развития.

С первых лет создания нашего государства советские люди воспитываются в духе великих ленинских принципов интернационализма и дружбы народов. Для советского общества чужды расовая дискриминация и национальный гнет, эксплуатация одних наций другими.

Вы, господин Аббуд, в своей речи на московском аэродроме сказали, что добиться экономического и социального развития можно лишь путем индустриализации, направленной против происков монополий, которые хотят сохранить за собой **Африку** в качестве сырьевой базы.

Я полностью согласен с этими справедливыми словами. Советский Союз всегда считал и считает своим долгом помогать молодым государствам в их борьбе против господства империалистов и колонизаторов, в борьбе народов всех стран за развитие их национальной экономики, создание отечественной индустрии. При этом Советский Союз решительно отвергает какое-либо вмешательство во внутренние дела этих государств, всегда с уважением относится к национальным традициям и особенностям народов.

Мы оказывали и будем оказывать содействие молодым независимым государствам, понимая те трудности, с которыми им приходится сталкиваться в борьбе за ликвидацию экономических и других последствий колониализма.

Мы довольны теми дружественными отношениями, которые складываются между Советским Союзом и многими азиатскими и **африканскими** странами.

Мы искренне хотим, чтобы дружественные, существующие между

Советским Союзом и Республикой Судан, развивались и укреплялись. По мнению Советского правительства, для этого имеются все возможности. Советский Союз впервые принимает главу суданского государства, и можно надеяться, что Ваш визит, господин Председатель, и те переговоры, которые ведутся между государственными деятелями наших обеих стран, заложат прочную основу для расширения советско-суданского сотрудничества.

Мы можем еще шире торговать друг с другом на взаимовыгодной основе, развивать технико-экономическое сотрудничество. Имеются большие возможности для обмена в области культуры и искусства, науки и образования.

Проводимая Суданом политика нейтралитета, близость наших позиций по многим вопросам борьбы против колониализма, за всеобщее и полное разоружение, за укрепление мира и ликвидации холодной войны открывают широкие возможности для нашего сотрудничества в вопросах международной жизни. Мы приветствуем Ваши слова о том, что Судан никогда не согласится вступить в какие бы то ни было военные блоки, не позволит создавать какие-либо военные базы на своей территории.

Мы за то, чтобы советско-суданские отношения стали еще одним образцом практического осуществления великих принципов мирного сосуществования!

Уважаемые гости!

Борьба суданского народа за укрепление своей независимости вливается в общий поток освободительного движения **африканских** народов. Мы с большим удовлетворением отмечаем, что суданский народ настойчиво борется за ликвидацию остатков колониализма в **Африке**.

Сейчас империалисты делают все возможное, чтобы затормозить движение народов колониальных и зависимых стран к свободе. Но уроки Конго, Алжира, Анголы многому учат народы **африканского** континента. Они все больше понимают, что крах системы колониализма не придет сам собой. Только в результате активных действий крепнущего единства всех стран, которые борются против колониализма, возможна полная и окончательная победа великого освободительного движения в **Африке**.

Разрешите провозгласить тост за всемирное развитие и упрочение советско-суданской дружбы!

За полный и окончательный крах колониализма!

За Ваше здоровье, господин Председатель!

За здоровье наших уважаемых суданских гостей!

За дружественный суданский народ!

• * *

N.S. Khrushchev's speech

Dear Mr. Chairman!

Distinguished guests from Sudan!

Dear friends!

Unfortunately, I have not had the opportunity to be in Moscow at a meeting of our high-ranking guest from Sudan, but I know that Muscovites met you cordially. You probably already have felt the sincere sympathy with which the Soviet people greet their guests.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you, Mr. Abboud, for your warm words in Moscow of welcome to the Soviet people, for the appreciation of the efforts of the Soviet Union in the struggle against colonialism and in helping nations that are on the path of independent development.

From the first years of the establishment of our state, Soviet people have been brought up in the spirit of the great Leninist principles of internationalism and friendship among peoples. For Soviet society is alien to racial discrimination, national oppression and

exploitation of some nations by others.

You, Mr. Abboud, in your speech at Moscow airport said that to achieve economic and social development is possible only through industrialization, against the machinations of the monopolies that want to retain **Africa** as a source of raw materials.

I fully agree with these fair words. The Soviet Union has always considered and considers it its duty to help young states in their struggle against domination by imperialists and colonialists, and in the struggle of peoples of all countries to develop their national economies and create domestic industry. At the same time the Soviet Union categorically rejects any interference in the internal affairs of these countries, and always respects the national traditions and peculiarities of nations.

We have cooperated with, and will cooperate with the newly independent states, aware of the difficulties they face in their struggle for the elimination of the economic effects of colonialism.

We are pleased with the friendly relations that are developing between the Soviet Union and many Asian and **African** countries.

We sincerely want friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Sudan to be developed and strengthened. According to the Soviet government, there are many possibilities for this. The Soviet Union is receiving the first head of the Sudanese state, and we can hope that your visit, Mr. President, and those negotiations that are underway between the statespeople of our two countries will lay a solid foundation for the expansion of Soviet-Sudanese cooperation.

We can even broaden trade with each other on a reciprocal basis, to develop economic and technological cooperation. There are great opportunities to share in the field of culture and art, science and education.

Sudan pursued a policy of neutrality, and our positions are close on many issues of the struggle against colonialism and for general and complete disarmament and the strengthening of peace and the elimination of the Cold War, opening opportunities for our cooperation in international affairs. We welcome your words that Sudan will never agree to enter into any agreement to host military units, and will not allow the creation of any military bases on its territory.

We would like Soviet-Sudanese relations to be another great example of the practical implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence!

Dear guests!

The struggle of the Sudanese people to strengthen independence joins the general flow of the liberation movement of the **African** peoples. We note with great satisfaction that the Sudanese people persistently fight for the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism in **Africa**.

The imperialists are doing their best to slow down the movement of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries towards freedom. But the lessons of the Congo, Algeria and Angola have taught the people of the **African** continent a lot. They are increasingly aware that the collapse of the colonial system will not come by itself. Only through proactively growing the unity of all countries that are struggling against colonialism, can there be complete and final victory of the great liberation movement in **Africa**.

Let me propose a toast to the worldwide development and consolidation of Soviet-Sudanese friendship!

To a complete and final collapse of colonialism!

To your health, Mr. President!

To the health of our valued Sudanese guests!

To the friendly Sudanese people!

С ответной речью выступил И. Аббуд.

Речь И. АББУДА

Ваше Превосходительство, господин Хрущев — Председатель Совета Министров Советского Союза!

Дорогие друзья!

Благодарю вас за радушный прием и дружескую встречу, которые не являются простой случайностью, вызванной приглашением посетить Советский Союз. Также не является случайностью и тот факт, что я с радостью принял приглашение посетить вашу страну и совершить по ней поездку.

Подобный шаг является ответом на взаимное желание наших народов развивать дружбу, глубокие корни которой мы находим в прошлом, еще до достижения Суданом своей независимости.

Мы находим корни этой дружбы в восхищении суданского народа борьбой народов Советского Союза, поднившихся на защиту своей земли и показавших чудеса героизма в Ленинграде, Москве и Сталинграде. В этой борьбе советский народ защищал не только независимость своей страны. Он защищал поработанные народы в Европе и во всем мире, защищал идеалы свободы. Еще раньше мы находим корни этой дружбы в борьбе Советского Союза против империализма. Эта борьба явилась высоким принципом, провозглашенным великим Лениным и во имя которого твердо и настойчиво боролся и борется Советский Союз. Эта борьба нашла свое отражение в декларации Генеральной Ассамблеи ООН, имеющей особое значение для угнетенных народов, ибо эта декларация помогает им в их борьбе за ликвидацию колониализма.

Мы находим корни этой дружбы в поддержке Советским Союзом прав Судана на самоопределение в 1947 году и просьбы Судана о принятии его в международную семью — ООН.

Не удивительно поэтому, что суданцы, будучи нацией, ценящей героизм, верящей в принципы гуманизма и справедливости и умеющей быть благодарной, протянули вам свои руки сразу же после достижения независимости и установили с вами дипломатические отношения.

Не удивительно также, что всего через несколько недель после провозглашения независимости суданское революционное правительство заключило с вами первое торговое соглашение в современной истории Судана.

И вот сегодня мы от имени Судана пользуемся этим первым случаем, чтобы совершить поездку по вашей великой стране, ближе ознакомиться с ней и завести дружбу с советскими народами.

Нет ничего удивительного и в том, что Судан встречает со стороны народов Советского Союза искренние братские чувства и благородное проявление дружбы. Мы добились взаимопонимания и договорились без слов, ибо у наших народов много общего в различных областях.

Мы, господин Председатель, являемся нацией, которая свою длинную и трудную историю борется против колониализма. Мы — нации миролюбивая, ибо войны мешают развитию нации, лишают людей достойной жизни и могут привести их к новой колониализации.

Мы также не верим, что сила может служить средством или путем для урегулирования международных проблем, ибо сила приведет к тем же преступным действиям, как агрессия в Алжире, которая два дня назад распространилась и из Тунис.

Исходя из этого, мы отказываемся вступать в военные блоки и пакты любого рода и формы. Также мы не допустим создания военных баз на любой части нашей территории.

Мы выступали и выступаем против испытаний ядерного оружия и твердо поддерживали и поддерживаем требование о всеобщем и полном разоружении.

Положение нашей страны в сердце **африканского** материка возлагает на нас определенные обязательства в отношении народов, населяющих **Африку**. Но отнюдь не потому, что мы стремимся к установлению в других **африканских** странах своего влияния.

Такое положение Судана заставляет нас проявлять серьезную озабоченность в отношении политического и экономического подъема всего **африканского** материка, в сотрудничестве со всеми стремящимися к этой же цели странами. И так как мы верим в бодрые намерения Советского Союза и в его искреннее желание внести свой вклад в это благородное дело и знаем, что народы Советского Союза не являются поработителями, мы призываем его к сотрудничеству с нами во имя этой цели.

Я очень рад, господин Председатель воспользоваться случаем, который предоставили нам господин Брежнев и Вы, чтобы посетить Советский Союз. Этот визит убедил меня в том, что Советский Союз стремится к миру и дружбе, основанной на взаимном доверии и уважении.

Я не сомневаюсь, что этот визит оставит глубокий след в истории отношений между нашими народами. Особенно потому, что я подробно и откровенно расскажу обо всем суданскому народу.

Я много слышал о Вас, господин Председатель, как о выдающемся государственном деятеле, и давно мечтал о встрече с Вами. И вот, встретившись с Вами, я убедился, что Вы не только выдающийся государственный деятель, но и очень скромный и простой в обращении с другими людьми человек.

В заключение позвольте провозгласить тост:

За здоровье Председателя Хрущева и уважаемых гостей!

За дружбу между советским и суданским народами!

За мир во всем мире и дружбу между всеми народами!

Речи Н. С. Хрущева и И. Аббуда неоднократно прерывались аплодисментами.

После обеда между И. С. Хрущевым и И. Аббудом состоялась продолжительная беседа, которая прошла в обстановке дружбы и взаимопонимания.

I. Abboud replied with a speech

The speech of I. Abboud

Your Excellency, Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union!

Dear friends!

Thank you for the warm welcome and friendly meeting, which is not a simple accident caused by an invitation to visit the Soviet Union. Nor is it an accident that I gladly accepted the invitation to visit your country and make a trip to it.

The move is a response to the mutual desire of our people to develop friendship, whose deep roots which we find in the past, even before Sudan's independence.

We find the roots of this friendship in the awe of the Sudanese people at the struggle of the peoples of the Soviet Union, who rose up in defence of their land and showed the wonders of heroism in Leningrad, Moscow and Stalingrad. In this struggle the Soviet people not only defended the independence of their country. They defended the enslaved peoples of Europe and the world, defended the ideals of freedom. Earlier, we find the roots of this friendship in the fight of the Soviet Union against imperialism. This fight was highly principled and proclaimed by the great Lenin, in whose name the Soviet Union firmly and persistently fought and is fighting. This struggle is reflected in

the declaration of the UN General Assembly, which has special significance for oppressed peoples, since this declaration helps them in their struggle for the elimination of colonialism.

We find the roots of this friendship in the Soviet Union's support of Sudan's right to self-determination in 1947, and of Sudan's request for international acceptance in the family of the UN.

It is not surprising, therefore, that we Sudanese, being a nation which values heroism, believes in the principles of humanism and justice, and knows how to be grateful, stretched out our hands immediately after independence and established diplomatic relations with you.

It is no wonder also that just a few weeks after the proclamation of independence of the Sudanese Revolutionary Government, we concluded with you the first trade agreement in the modern history of Sudan.

And today, we on behalf of Sudan use this opportunity to visit your great country to become better acquainted with it and start a friendship with the Soviet people.

There is nothing surprising in the fact that Sudan finds in the peoples of the Soviet Union sincere fraternal feelings and a noble expression of friendship. We have mutual understanding and agreement without words, because our peoples have much in common in various areas.

We, Lord President, are a nation that has throughout its long and difficult history struggled against colonialism. We are a peace-loving nation, since wars prevent the development of our nation, deprive people of a decent life and can bring them to a new colonization.

We also do not believe that force can serve as a means to resolve international problems, for power will lead to the same criminal acts as the aggression in Algeria, which two days ago, spread from Tunisia.

Accordingly, we decline to enter into military alliances and pacts of any kind or form. Also, we will not allow the establishment of military bases in any part of our territory.

We were and are against the testing of nuclear weapons and firmly supported and support the demand for general and complete disarmament.

The position of our country in the heart of the **African** continent imposes on us certain obligations to the peoples of **Africa**. But not because we seek to establish influence in other **African** countries.

This situation of Sudan gives us serious concern regarding the political and economic recovery of the entire **African** continent, in cooperation with all countries striving for this same goal. And because we believe in the vigorous intentions of the Soviet Union and its sincere desire to bring its influence to this noble cause, and we know that the people of the Soviet Union are not oppressors, we call it to cooperate with us in the name of this goal.

I am very pleased, Mr. Chair, to take this opportunity, which Mr. Brezhnev presented to us, to visit the Soviet Union. This visit has convinced me that the Soviet Union is committed to peace and friendship, based on mutual trust and respect.

I have no doubt that the visit will leave a deep mark in the history of relations between our peoples. Especially because I shall tell you in detail and frankly about all the Sudanese people.

I've heard a lot about you, Mr. Chairman, as an outstanding statesman, and have long dreamed of seeing you. And now, meeting you, I am convinced that you are not only an outstanding statesman, but also very humble and easy to get along with.

In conclusion, let me propose a toast:

To the health of President Khrushchev and distinguished guests!

To friendship between the Soviet and the Sudanese people!

To world peace and friendship among all nations!
The speeches of Khrushchev and I. Abboud were repeatedly interrupted by applause.

In the afternoon, Khrushchev and I. I. Abboud had a long conversation, in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

СОЧИ, 22 июля. (ТАСС). Во второй половине дня Ахмед Хасай Эль-Дав, Ахмед Эль-Муртада Фадл эль-Мули, эль-Фатих Мухаммед эль-Бушара и другие официальные лица, сопровождающие генерал-лейтенанта Ибрашима Аббуда в поездке по стране, познакомились с городом-курортом Сочи и его достопримечательностями.

Гости побывали в санатория «Металлург», совершили морскую прогулку на катере вдоль побережья.

SOCHI, July 22. (TASS). In the afternoon, Ahmed Hassan El-Dove, Ahmed El-Murtada Fadl Al Muli, El-Fatih Mohamed el-Bouchard and other officials accompanying Lieutenant General Ibrashima Abboud travelled around the country, and got to know the city of Sochi and its attractions.

The guests visited the sanatorium "Metallurg", and had a boat ride along the coast.

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День свободы Африки

Свободу и независимость всем народам **африканского** континента потребовали, выражая волю советских людей, участники собрания, посвященного Дню свободы **Африки**. Оно было устроено вчера Советским комитетом солидарности стран Азии и **Африки**, Советской ассоциацией дружбы с народами **Африки**, ВЦСПС и Комитетом молодежных организаций СССР.

Вместе с представителями общественности Москвы в Центральный Дом литераторов пришли главы и временные поверенные в делах посольств стран **Африки** и Азии, аккредитованные в СССР, а также **африканские** студенты.

— От имени миллионов советских людей мы шлем свой братский привет всем народам **африканского** континента, говорится в резолюции, единодушно принятой собравшимися. Мы требуем, указывается в резолюции, безотлагательного выполнения Декларации ООН о предоставлении независимости колониальным странам и народам.

Мы уверены, что созываемый в июле этого года Всемирный конгресс за всеобщее разоружение и мир, в котором примут участие и представители **африканских** народов, будет способствовать нахождению путей к разоружению и миру и избавлению человечества от угрозы опустошительной ядерной войны.

Участники собрания направили телеграмму исполняющему обязанности генерального секретаря ООН г-ну У Тану, в которой требуют безотлагательного и полного выполнения решений Совета Безопасности ООН об обеспечении единства и территориальной целостности Республики Конго, прекращения террора против патриотических сил и полной безопасности верного сына конголезского народа — Антуана Гизенги.

(ТАСС).

Africa Freedom Day

The participants of a meeting devoted to Freedom Day in **Africa**, expressing the will of the Soviet people, demanded freedom and independence for all peoples of the **African** continent. The meeting took place yesterday, organised by the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and **African** countries, the Soviet Association of Friendship with the Peoples of **Africa**, Trade Unions and the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR.

Representatives of the public in Moscow, heads and Chargés d'Affaires of Embassies of **Africa** and Asia accredited in the USSR and **African** students all came together in the Central House of Writers.

“On behalf of millions of Soviet people we send our fraternal greetings to all the peoples of the **African** continent,” says the resolution, adopted unanimously by the gathering. “We demand,” says the resolution, “immediate implementation of the UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

“We are confident that convened in July of this year, the World Congress for Peace and Disarmament, which will be attended by representatives of the **African** peoples, will help find ways to disarmament and peace and the emancipation of mankind from the threat of a devastating nuclear war.”

Participants of the meeting sent a telegram to the Acting Secretary General of the UN, Mr. U. Tan, requiring immediate and full implementation of UN Security Council resolutions on ensuring the unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of the Congo, the ceasing of terror against patriotic forces and the full safety of the faithful son of the Congolese people, Antoine Gizenga.

(TASS).

РАЗОРУЖЕНИЕ - МОСТ В БУДУЩЕЕ

Джеймс ЭНДИКОТТ

**Член президиума Всемирного Совета Мира,
председатель Канадского конгресса защиты мира**

Недавно один ученый обнаружил в **Африке** кости первобытного человека. Возможно, что им исполнилось 14 миллионов лет. Возможно также, что это именно те «недостающие кости», которые так пытался найти Чарльз Дарвин.

Несомненно, прежняя история человека представляет большой интерес, но в наши дни тем, кто борется за мир, приходится заниматься в первую очередь настоящим и будущим человечества. Сейчас каждому ясно, что «недостающим звеном» между настоящим и будущим является разоружение. Ведь если существующая гонка вооружений будет продолжаться, она может завершиться гигантской катастрофой.

Сегодня ни один здравомыслящий человек не может считать войну средством разрешения противоречий. Единственные люди, которые возлагают надежды на вооруженные конфликты,— это либо сумасшедшие, либо те, кто потерял голову от ненависти и страха.

К сожалению, эти люди представляют собой «элиту сильных мира сего», владельцев и заправил могущественных монополий, раскинувших щупальца как в своих странах, так и в колониях. Эти люди предпочитают оставаться в тени, но с помощью своих политических представителей они используют любую возможность для того, чтобы не допустить заключения соглашения о разоружении.

Эта мысль была прямо выражена в заявлении Всемирного Совета Мира. В нем отмечалось, что недоверие и подозрения используются для того, чтобы замаскировать заинтересованность некоторых держав в гонке вооружений и

укреплении позиций господства и эксплуатации всех колониальных народов. Такие стремления необходимо разоблачать и выставлять напоказ, для того, чтобы проложить действительный путь к разоружению.

В настоящее время основной задачей движения сторонников мира является мобилизация широкого общественного мнения в защиту идей разоружения.

Правительство США развернуло широкую кампанию за строительство противоатомных убежищ, однако американский народ отнесся к этой идее отрицательно. Во многих американских журналах появились статьи, которые охарактеризовали эту программу строительства противоатомных бомбоубежищ как мистификацию и обман. Недавно в США была опубликована книга «Шутка с противоатомными бомбоубежищами и внешняя политика», которая призывает к разоружению и к мирному сосуществованию. В этой книге напечатаны статьи фельдмаршала Монтгомери и ученого атомника Лео Силарда.

Канадский конгресс защиты мира опубликовал брошюру под названием. Разоружение — это единственное убежище, которая разошлась тиражом, превышающим любую нашу публикацию за последние шесть лет. Один инженер канадского министерства обороны подал в отставку в знак протеста против политики правительства. В ряде статей он заявил, что так называемый план обороны является не чем иным, как планом подготовки термоядерной войны и национального самоубийства.

И все же, как бы сильны ни были тревоги нашего поколения, надежда на будущее живет. Кто не знает о соглашении между Советским Союзом и США, заключенном в сентябре 1961 года о принципах всеобщего и полного разоружения?

Разоружение должно быть мостом из настоящего в будущее. Сейчас в Женеве на заседаниях Комитета 18 стран по разоружению, как мне кажется, все участники переговоров, хотя бы на словах, согласны с идеей всеобщего и полного разоружения. Это уже новое веяние. Раньше кое-кто говорил лишь о контроле над вооружением, о сокращении и уравнивании вооружений.

Те, кому разоружение не по душе, пытаются противиться его осуществлению, фетишизируя инспекцию, контроль и проверку. Многие еще не осознают той связи, которая существует между требованиями Соединенных Штатов о контроле и определенными планами Пентагона о первом ядерном ударе. В статье, опубликованной недавно в английском журнале «Нью стейтсмен» профессор Блэкетт отмечает: «У этих планов есть много названий: «массовое возмездие», «способность к опережающему контрудару», а просто говоря по-английски "это подготовка к ядерной агрессии". Совершенно ясно, что если бы «проверка» со стороны США смогла установить расположение советских оборонительных баз, то соблазн нанести удар первым мог бы стать непреодолимым.

Хочу еще сказать, что народ США отчетливее начинает понимать: старая колониальная система в странах Азии, **Африки** и Латинской Америки уже обречена и доживает последние дни.

23 марта президент Кеннеди, выступая в Калифорнийском университете, сказал, что весь ход нынешней истории свидетельствует о том, что революция народов, их стремление к национальной независимости, является основным признаком нашей эпохи. Эту революцию нельзя остановить. Он заявил даже, что успех национально-освободительной борьбы народов — в интересах Соединенных Штатов Америки. Подобные взгляды, несомненно, будут распространяться в США, все больше лишая поддержки тех, кто еще лелеет планы агрессии против Кубы, Вьетнама, Конго и т. д.. Оппозиция военным

авантюрам возрастет.

Конечно, нет наивных людей, которые думали бы, что борьба народов за национальную независимость будет недолгой и легкой. Для нас, канадцев, это совершенно ясно. Я лично еще раз убедился в этом во время своего пребывания в Британской Гвиане в феврале этого года. Я был гостем в семье доктора Чедди Джагана в тот момент, когда силы реакционной оппозиции попытались насильственным путем свергнуть возглавляемое им правительство, которое трижды избиралось народом Гвианы, и даже хотели физически расправиться с Джаганом и со всем его кабинетом.

Действия Соединенных Штатов в Британской Гвиане заставили меня понять, что президент Кеннеди пока только на словах признает исторические перемены и революционное движение народов за свою национальную независимость. В октябре 1961 года доктор Чедди Джаган встретился с Кеннеди и вел с ним переговоры относительно экономической помощи для Гвианы, которая способствовала бы ее независимости. Д-р Джаган очень искренне сказал тогда: «Наш визит в эту страну и наше обращение к вам за помощью являются в некотором смысле испытанием основных принципов. Правительство Соединенных Штатов ясно заявило о том, что оно поддерживает и защищает демократию. Какова будет позиция США, если какой-то народ путем честного всеобщего голосования проголосует за социалистическую систему? Отнесутся ли Соединенные Штаты с уважением к этому решению?» Он закончил свое выступление словами: «Можете поверить, господа, сейчас мы испытываем не наше понятие о демократии, а ваше».

Какую же помощь получил доктор Чедди Джаган? Двух подозрительного вида американцев (я лично совершенно уверен, что это были агенты Центрального разведывательного управления). Один из них немедленно установил радиомикрофон для реакционеров, побуждавших толпу убить доктора Джагана.

Группа американцев, которых я именую «библейскими бутлегерами» (бутлегер — торговец контрабандными или самогонными спиртными напитками.'— Прим, ред.) и которые сами окрестили себя «христианскими антикоммунистическими крестоносцами», израсходовала (по их собственному признанию) 45 тысяч долларов на пропаганду ненависти и физической расправы с представителем народа Гвианы.

Действия США по отношению к Кубе и в Южном Вьетнаме еще более отвратительны и позорны. И тем не менее движение за ликвидацию колониализма приобретает все более широкую поддержку.

Идея созыва в Москве Всемирного конгресса за всеобщее разоружение и мир получила повсеместную широкую поддержку, особенно со стороны народов Азии, **Африки** и Латинской Америки. Народы этих континентов прекрасно отдадут себе отчет в том, что именно разоружение является самым надежным фундаментом, на котором он. могут развивать свою борьбу за национальную независимость.

DISARMAMENT – a bridge to the future

James Endicott

Member of the Presidium of the World Peace Council,

Chair of the Canadian Congress of the Defence of Peace

Recently, a scientist discovered in **Africa** some bones of a prehistoric human. Perhaps they were 14 million years old. It is also possible that these are "the missing bones" which Charles Darwin tried so hard to find.

Sure, the old story of humankind is of great interest, but today those of us who are fighting for peace have to deal in the first place with the present and future of humanity. Now it is clear to everyone that the “missing link” between the present and the future is disarmament. After all, if the current arms race continues, it may terminate in a giant catastrophe.

Today, no sane person can consider war as a means of resolving conflicts. The only people who pin their hopes on armed conflicts are either crazy or have lost their heads with hatred and fear.

Unfortunately, these people consider themselves the “elite of the powerful of this world”, owners and bosses of powerful monopolies, spreading tentacles in their countries and in the colonies. These people prefer to remain in the shadows, but through their political representatives, they use every opportunity to prevent an agreement on disarmament.

This idea was expressed in a statement at the World Peace Council. It noted that distrust and suspicion are used to disguise the interest of some states in the arms race and strengthen the position of governance and ownership by all colonial peoples. Commitment is needed to expose this, to pave the way for real disarmament.

Currently, the main task of the peace movement is to mobilize broad public opinion in defence of the ideas of disarmament.

The US government has launched a major campaign for the construction of fallout shelters, but the American people reacted negatively to the idea. Many American magazines published articles that describe the programme of construction of anti-nuclear shelters as a hoax and deception. Recently, a book was published in the USA called “The joke about anti-nuclear bomb shelters and foreign policy”, which calls for disarmament and peaceful coexistence. This book contains articles by Field Marshal Montgomery and atomic scientist Leo Szilard.

The Canadian Congress of Defence of Peace published a pamphlet called “Disarmament - the only refuge”, which has sold more than any of our other publications over the last six years. One engineer of the Canadian Department of Defence resigned in protest against government policies. In a series of articles, he said that the so-called defence plan is nothing but a plan of preparation for nuclear war and national suicide.

But still, however strong our alarm may be, there is hope for the future. Who does not know about the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States, concluded in September 1961, on the principles of general and complete disarmament?

Disarmament must be a bridge from the present to the future. Now in Geneva at meetings of the Committee on Disarmament, I think that the negotiators participating from 18 countries all agree with the idea of general and complete disarmament. This is the new trend. Earlier people spoke only of arms “control”, reduction and arms equality. Those who do not like disarmament are trying to resist its implementation, and have a fetish of inspection, monitoring and verification. Many do not realize the connection that exists between the demands of the United States’ control and specific plans of the Pentagon's first nuclear strike. In an article published recently in the British magazine “New Statesman”, Professor Blackett said: “These plans have many names: “massive retaliation”, and “advanced counterattack capability”, but simply mean in English “is preparing for nuclear aggression”. It is clear that if the “verification” by the United States was able to establish the location of the Soviet defence bases, the temptation to strike first could become irresistible.

I would like to say that the people of the United States are beginning to understand more clearly: the old colonial system in Asia, **Africa** and Latin America is already condemned and is living its last days.

On March 23, President Kennedy, speaking at the University of California, said that the

entire course of current history demonstrates that the “revolution” of peoples and their desire for national independence is the main feature of our age. This revolution cannot be stopped. He even said that the success of people’s national liberation struggles is in the interests of the United States. Such views will doubtless spread in the United States, increasingly depriving those who still cherish plans of aggression against Cuba, Vietnam, Congo, and so on of support. Opposition to military adventures is increasing. Of course there is nobody naïve enough to think that the struggle of peoples for national independence will be short and easy. For us Canadians, it is quite clear.

I personally was convinced of this yet again during my stay in British Guyana in February this year. I was a guest in the home of Dr. Cheddi Jagan at the very moment when the forces of the reactionary opposition tried forcibly to overthrow government of which he is head, which has been three times elected by the people of Guyana, and even wanted to deal physically with Jagan and the whole of his Cabinet.

The actions of the United States in British Guyana made me realize that President Kennedy is only paying lip service to the historic changes and revolutionary movement of peoples for their national independence. In October 1961, Dr. Cheddi Jagan met with Kennedy and led talks with him about economic **aid** to Guyana, which would contribute to its independence. Dr. Jagan very sincerely said then: “Our visit to this country, and our appeal for help is in a sense a test of basic principles. The United States government has made clear that it supports and defends democracy. What will be the position of the USA, if a people through honest universal suffrage votes for the socialist system? Will the United States accept this decision with respect?” He ended his speech with the words: “Can you believe, ladies and gentlemen, that today we are experiencing not our concept of democracy, but yours.”

What kind of assistance did Dr. Cheddi Jagan receive? It came from two suspicious-looking Americans (I am personally quite sure that they were agents of the Central Intelligence Agency). One of them immediately took the radio microphone for the reactionaries, who urged the crowd to kill Dr. Jagan.

The group of Americans, which I call “biblical bootleggers” [a bootlegger is a trader in contraband liquor or moonshine. Note from the eds.], and who themselves have christened themselves “Christian anti-Communist crusaders”, spent (by their own admission) 45 thousand dollars on propaganda of hatred and physical violence against a representative of the people of Guyana.

US actions against Cuba and in South Vietnam are even more disgusting and shameful. Nevertheless, the movement for the abolition of colonialism is gaining broader support. The idea of convening in Moscow the World Congress for Peace and Disarmament received widespread support, especially on the part of the peoples of Asia, **Africa** and Latin America. The peoples of these continents are well aware that disarmament is the surest foundation on which it can develop its fight for national independence.

Cartoon Captions

США и Англия решили осуществить в порядке реализации планов военных кругов Соединенных Штатов новую серию испытаний ядерного оружия в атмосфере. Они пытаются прикрыться несостоятельными в наше время техническими соображениями о необходимости международного контроля за соблюдением соглашения о прекращении испытаний ядерного оружия. (Из газет).

Американо-английский ядерно-«спасательный» круг.

Рисунок Кукрынины.

Cartoon Captions

The USA and Britain have decided to carry out an exercise of implementing the plans of

the military circles of the United States with a new series of nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere. They are trying to cover themselves with nowadays untenable technical considerations about the need for international control over observation of the agreement on the cessation of nuclear tests. (From newspapers.)

American-British nuclear-“rescue” ring.

Drawing by Kukryninsy.

C77, 1963

C77, 25th February, 1963, page 3

Новое в жизни в Африке

БАНК АФРИКАНСКОГО РАЗВИТИЯ

32 африканских государства согласились участвовать в создании Африканского банка развития с капиталом с 200 миллионов долларов. Каждый участник должен будет внести наличными от 2,5 до 5 миллионов долларов и открыть кредит на остальную причитающуюся с него сумму. В ближайшее время министры финансов стран—участниц банка обсудят его устав. Финансовая и административная структура банка будет выработано комитетом 9-ти, куда входит представители Камеруна, Эфиопии, Гвинеи, Либерии, Мали, Нигерии, Судана, Танганьики и Туниса.

ВЕЛИКОЛЕПНЫЙ ПОДАРОК

В Бахр-Даре заканчиваются последние работы по сооружению технической школы на 1.000 мест. Эта школа — дар Советского Союза народу Эфиопии. В будущем учебном году она примет своих первых учащихся. Со всех концов страны в адрес школы и министерства просвещения Эфиопии поступают заявления от юношей и девушек с просьбой принять их на учебу.

«Эта замечательная школа будет центром по подготовке среднего технического персонала для промышленности и сельского хозяйства Эфиопии. В ней также будут готовиться техники и мастера для обслуживания нефтеперерабатывающего завода в Ассабе, строительство которого начнется в ближайшее время под руководством советских специалистов. Трудно найти слова благодарности советскому народу и правительству за такой великолепный подарок,— заявил директор школы А. Абдупахи.

РАЗРАБОТКА НОВОЙ КОНСТИТУЦИИ

Исполком Африканского национального союза Танганьики (ТАНУ) обратился к президенту республики с просьбой создать национальный комитет для разработки новой конституции. По мнению Африканского национального союза Танганьики, нынешняя конституция Танганьики должна быть приведена в соответствие со стремлением страны к более быстрому политическому и экономическому развитию. Кроме того, в конституции должны получить более широкое отражение традиции народа, что означает более прогрессивную форму правления во многих областях.

ПОДГОТОВКА К КАМПАНИИ ПО ЛИКВИДАЦИИ НЕГРАМОТНОСТИ

Как сообщает ганская печать, для участия в трехмесячной общенациональной кампании по ликвидации неграмотности в Гане, которая начинается 1 августа, привлечено более 180 тысяч учителей.

Учителя, отобранные из начальных и средних школ, получают подготовку на специальных курсах.

Организация этих курсов будет первым этапом кампании по ликвидации неграмотности; за этим последует кампания по регистрации всех неграмотных — с 1 апреля по 31 мая. Затем начнется широкая кампания по ликвидации неграмотности среди взрослого населения — с 1 августа по 14 сентября. Четвертый этап кампании — с 16 сентября по 21 октября — будет проходить под лозунгом «Учись сам».

ДЕНЬ АФРИКАНСКОЙ ЖЕНЩИНЫ

Отныне 31 июля во всех **африканских** государствах — членах **Всеафриканской** конференции женщин (ВКЖ) будет отмечаться День **африканской** женщины. Решение об этом принято Постоянным секретариатом **Всеафриканской** конференции женщин, учредительный конгресс которой состоялся в Дар-эс-Саламе (Танганьика) в июле 1962 года.

New life in Africa

African Development Bank

32 **African** states have agreed to participate in the creation of the **African** Development Bank with a capital of 200 million dollars. Each participant will be required to invest from 2.5 million to 5 million dollars and provide credit for the rest of the sum due from them. In the near future finance ministers of member countries of the bank will discuss its charter. The financial and administrative structure of the bank will be elaborated by a committee of 9, consisting of representatives from Cameroon, Ethiopia, Guinea, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Sudan, Tanganyika and Tunisia.

A GREAT GIFT

In Bahir Dar work is finishing on the construction of a technical school with 1,000 places. This school is a gift from the Soviet Union to the people of Ethiopia. Next academic year, it will take in its first students. From all corners of the country schools and the Ministry of Education of Ethiopia are receiving applications from young people asking to be accepted to school.

"This is a wonderful school centre for training mid-level technical personnel for industry and agriculture in Ethiopia. It will also prepare technologists and masters to serve the refinery in Assab, whose construction will begin in the near future under the leadership of Soviet specialists. It is difficult to find words of gratitude to the Soviet people and the government for such a wonderful gift," said the headmaster A. Abdupahi.

Drafting a new constitution

The governing committee of the Tanganyika **African** National Union (TANU) has appealed to the President of the Republic with a request to establish a national committee to draft a new constitution. According to the Tanganyika **African** National Union, the present constitution of Tanganyika should be brought into line with the country's desire for more rapid political and economic development. In addition, the Constitution should better reflect the traditions of the people, which means a more progressive form of government in many areas.

Preparing for a literacy campaign

According to the Ghanaian press, the three-month nationwide campaign to eradicate illiteracy in Ghana, which begins on 1 August, has attracted more than 180 thousand

teachers.

Teachers selected from primary and middle schools will receive training in special courses.

The organization of these courses will be the first step in the campaign to eradicate illiteracy; this will be followed by a campaign to register all illiterate people, from 1 April to 31 May. Then begins a broad campaign to eliminate illiteracy among the adult population - from 1 August to 14 September. The fourth stage of the campaign - from 16 September to 21 October - will be held under the slogan "Teach yourself".

DAY OF AFRICAN WOMEN

From now on, on July 31 in all **African** countries, members of the **Pan-African Women's Conference (PAWC)** will celebrate the Day of **African Woman**. This decision was adopted by the Permanent Secretariat of the **Pan-African Women's Conference**, at a constituent congress held in Dar es Salaam (Tanganyika) in July 1962.

C86, 1964

C86, 9th October, 1964, page 6

ЭТО ГОВОРЯТ ОНИ САМИ

Если сравнить советскую и американскую **помощь**

Парижский буржуазный журнал **“Африк”**:

“Многие обозреватели указывают на характерную особенность советской программы помощи: она концентрируется на строительстве длительных сооружений (металлургические заводы, плотины). В то же время значительную часть американской помощи составляют поставки сельскохозяйственных продуктов в рамках программы

“Продовольствие для дела мира” (нередко такие поставки критикуются как способ для США сбыть излишки продуктов сельского хозяйства). Более того, частные американские инвестиции в странах **третьего мира**, чаще всего в форме участия в смешанных компаниях, в глазах населения этих стран имеют колониалистскую окраску. Советский же Союз осуществляет проект и полностью передает построенное предприятие в распоряжение правительства страны”.

“В 29 странах, получающих **помощь** социалистического блока, — продолжает журнал, — технических специалистов больше, чем в 94 странах, которым оказывают помощь США. Главная причина такого положения в том, что коммунистическая помощь направляется, в первую очередь, в области планирования, строительства, технической консультации.

Что касается американского Корпуса мира, его деятельность неубедительна и вызывает разноречивые толки”.

Американский профессор-экономист Хорват в журнале “Ист Юроп”:

“При сравнении программ советской помощи и американской первая выглядит в более выгодном свете. Это проявляется прежде всего в том, что советские представители заключают с **развивающимися странами** соглашения о кредитах, о торговом и техническом сотрудничестве как с равными, суверенными партнерами, без каких-либо политических условий”.

THEY SAY SO THEMSELVES

Comparing Soviet and U.S. aid

The bourgeois Parisian magazine **"Africa"**:

"Many observers point to the characteristic feature of the Soviet **aid** programme: it concentrates on building long-term facilities (steel mills and dams). At the same time, a significant portion of U.S. aid includes supplies of agricultural products within the framework of "Food for Peace" (such supplies are often criticized as a way for the U.S. to sell its surplus agricultural products). Moreover, private U.S. investment in Third World countries mostly in the form of participation in mixed companies in the eyes of the population of these countries has colonialist overtones. When the Soviet Union implements a project, it hands over the completely built undertaking to the management of the government of the country."

"In the 29 beneficiary countries of the socialist bloc - continues the magazine - there are more specialist technicians than in the 94 countries which the United States assists. The main reason for this situation is that Communist assistance is directed, most of all, at planning, construction and technical advice.

"As for the American Peace Corps, its activities are unconvincing and give rise to contradictory rumours."

American economics professor Horvath in the journal "East Europe":

"When comparing the programmes of Soviet and American aid, Soviet aid appears in a more favourable light. This manifests itself primarily in the fact that Soviet representatives conclude agreements with developing countries on credit, trade and technical cooperation as with equals, sovereign partners, without any political conditions."

ПЕРВЫЕ УСПЕХИ НЕЗАВИСИМОЙ УГАНДЫ

УНИВЕРСИТЕТСКИЙ КОЛЛЕДЖ МАКЕРЕРЕ - крупнейшее высшее учебное заведение Уганды. В этом году в его стенах учится 1.127 студентов. Многие из них прибыли на учебу из различных стран **Африки**.

Перед зданием Национального собрания на главной улице Кампалы вывешены национальные флаги Уганды и дружественных ей стран мира. Среди пестрой гирлянды флагов развевается алое полотнище Государственного флага Советского Союза - большого и искреннего друга народов **Африки**. 9 октября расположенная в сердце тропической **Африки** Уганда отмечает вторую годовщину провозглашения независимости. Правительство и правящая партия Народный конгресс Уганды решили ознаменовать это событие широким наступлением на неграмотность и отсталость.

В Уганде имеются хорошие возможности для развития национальной промышленности. Однако до сего времени большинство промышленных предприятий контролируется иностранными компаниями. Правительством предпринимаются первые шаги, цель которых добиться экономической независимости.

Важное место правительство Уганды уделяет задачам развития сельского хозяйства. Планируется создание государственных ферм, оснащенных тракторами и другой техникой

Сознавая, что быстрая ликвидация тяжелого наследия колониализма, нищеты, болезней, экономической отсталости невозможна на капиталистической основе, правительство Уганды не раз подчеркивало, что Уганда пойдет по некапиталистическому пути развития. В своей борьбе за подлинную экономическую независимость, за новую жизнь правительство Уганды предпринимает шаги к налаживанию деловых и культурных связей с Советским Союзом и другими социалистическими странами. На днях в Кампале создано общество культурных связей "Уганда - СССР".

Правительство премьер-министра Милтона Оботе последовательно придерживается политики неприсоединения, выступает за мирное сосуществование, за мир и дружбу со всеми народами, за всеобщее и полное разоружение, а также за окончательную ликвидацию колониализма на **африканском** континенте.

В. КАШИРОВ

(Корр. ТАСС)

Кампала, 8 октября

Photo caption: УНИВЕРСИТЕТСКИЙ КОЛЛЕДЖ МАКЕРЕРЕ - крупнейшее высшее учебное заведение Уганды. В этом году в его стенах учится 1.127 студентов. Многие из них прибыли на учебу из различных стран Африки.

“Политическое и экономическое сотрудничество с Советским Союзом приносит хорошие плоды”, - заявил посол Уганды в СССР Йоко-сафати Аноки Энгур, выступая вчера на вечере в Доме дружбы с народами зарубежных стран.

THE FIRST SUCCESSES OF INDEPENDENT UGANDA

Makerere University College is the largest institution of higher education in Uganda. This year, within its walls 1,127 students are studying. Many of them came to study from various **African** countries.

In front of the National Assembly on the main street of Kampala in Uganda are hung national flags of friendly countries. Among the garlands of colourful flags hangs the scarlet cloth State Flag of the Soviet Union, the large and sincere friend of the peoples of **Africa**. On October 9th, in the heart of tropical **Africa**, **Uganda** is celebrating the second anniversary of the declaration of its independence. The government and ruling party of Uganda's People's Congress have decided to commemorate this event with a wide offensive against **illiteracy and backwardness**.

In Uganda, there are good opportunities for the development of national industry. To date, however, most industrial enterprises are controlled by foreign companies. The government is taking the first steps to achieve economic independence.

The Ugandan government gives prominent attention to the tasks of **developing** agriculture. They plan to create state farms equipped with tractors and other machinery.

Aware that the rapid liquidation of the heavy legacy of colonialism, poverty, disease and underdevelopment is not possible on a capitalist basis, the Ugandan government has repeatedly stressed that Uganda will go the **non-capitalist path of development**. In their struggle for genuine economic independence and a new life, the Ugandan government is taking steps towards the establishment of business and cultural ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Recently in Kampala the Society of Cultural Relations "Uganda-USSR" was formed.

The government of Prime Minister Milton Obote therefore adheres to a policy of non-alignment in favour of peaceful coexistence, peace and friendship with all nations, for general and complete disarmament, and the final elimination of colonialism on the **African** continent.

V. Kashira

(Corr. TASS)

Kampala, October 8

Photo caption: THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF MAKERERE is the biggest higher education institute in Uganda. This year in its walls 1,127 students are studying. Many

of them have come to study from different countries of **Africa**.

"Political and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union bears good fruit," - said the Ugandan Ambassador to the USSR, Yokosefati Atoki Engur, speaking yesterday at an evening at the House of Friendship with Peoples of Foreign Countries.

C87, 1965

C87, 7th January, 1965, page 1

ДОЛГ ПЕРЕД АФРИКОЙ

АЛЖИР, 6. (Соб. корр. ..Правды.). «Да, мы помогаем конголезским повстанцам. Делая это, мы считаем, что выполняем свой долг по отношению к Конго и к **Африке** в целом.»,— заявил Ахмед Бен Белла в интервью тунисскому еженедельнику «Жен **Африк**», Процесс, который развивается в Конго — сердце **Африки**,— угрожает всему нашему континенту, **африканским** странам, которые борются за свою независимость, а также странам, уже завоевавшим и отстаивающим свою независимость.

Бен Белла отметил, что решение конголезской проблемы может быть достигнуто политическим, а не военным путем. Я говорю это, сказал он, отдавая отчет в том, что повстанцы отныне не могут быть побеждены. Любое политическое решение конголезской проблемы должно учитывать три момента: устранение Чомбе, участие в этом решении патриотов без какого бы то ни было давления на них, оно должно быть осуществлено в рамках Организации **африканского** единства.

Н. ПРОЖОГИН.

DEBT TO AFRICA

ALGIERS, 6. (Own. Corr. "Pravda"). "Yes, we are helping the Congolese rebels. In so doing, we believe that we are doing our duty to Congo and to **Africa** overall," Ahmed Ben Bella said in an interview with the weekly Tunisian newspaper "Jeune **Afrique**". "The process which is developing in Congo - the heart of **Africa** - threatens all of our continent, and **African** countries, which are fighting for their independence, as well as countries that have already won and are defending their independence."

Ben Bella said that the solving of the Congolese problem may be achieved by political and not by military means. "I say this," he said, "while stating that the rebels cannot be defeated. Any political solution to the Congolese problem must consider three points: the elimination of Tshombe, participation in this solution by patriots without any pressure on them, and it must be implemented within the Organization of **African** Unity."

N. Prozhogin.

ТЕНЬ НАТО НАД КОНГО

ПАРИЖ, 6. (ТАСС). В Южно-**Африканской** Республике началась новая кампания вербовки белых наемников в армию Чомбе. Капитан Эрик Бриджес, который ведал делами вербовочного пункта в Йоганнесбурге, заявил, что он получил из Леопольдвилья указание отправить к концу этого месяца в Конго не менее 300 человек. Об этом сообщает корреспондент агентства Франс Пресс из Йоганнесбурга.

КАИР, 6. (ТАСС). По имеющимся сведениям, Чомбе для привлечения наемников намеревается увеличить месячное жалованье солдат в четыре раза — с 50 до 200

фунтов. В поисках денег марионеточный премьер Конго отправляется на днях в Бельгию.

ПАРИЖ. (5. (ТАСС). Заместитель государственного секретаря США по политическим вопросам Аверелл Гарриман прибыл в Париж для участия в заседании постоянных представителей в совете НАТО, которые обсудит вопрос о положении в Конго. По сообщению Франс Пресс, заседание созывается по просьбе министра иностранных дел Бельгии Спаака, который просил провести такую консультацию в совете НАТО прежде, чем он встретится 8 января с Чомбе.

NATO's SHADOW OVER CONGO

PARIS, 6th (TASS). A new campaign has begun in the **South African** Republic to recruit white insurgents into Tshombe's army. Captain Eric Bridges, who manages recruitment in Johannesburg, said that he has received from Leopoldville an order to kill at least 300 people this month in Congo. This is reported by France Presse's correspondent in Johannesburg.

CAIRO, 6th (TASS). According to witnesses, Tshombe intends to attract recruits to his army by increasing soldiers' salaries four times, from 50 to 200 pounds.

PARIS, 5th (TASS). The deputy to the government secretary of the USA on political questions, Averil Harriman, arrived in Paris to take part in a meeting of permanent representatives to NATO's council, which will discuss the question of the situation in Congo. According to France Presse, the meeting was called by the Belgian minister for foreign affairs, Spaak, who asked for this meeting of NATO's council before he meets Tshombe on 8th January.

Сенаторы обеспокоены

ВАШИНГТОН, 6. (ТАСС). Буквально на второй день после открытия 89-й сессии конгресса США сенатская комиссия по иностранным делам вызвала государственного секретаря США Раска, чтобы заслушать его объяснения по поводу неудач американской внешней политики в Южном Вьетнаме, Конго и провала так называемой американской «помощи» другим странам. Американские сенаторы глубоко обеспокоены тем, что в странах **Африки** и Азии громят американские пропагандистский центры и библиотеки, что эти страны требуют, чтобы США оставили их и покое со своей «помощью» и не вмешивались в их внутренние дела.

Почти трехчасовое заседания сенатской комиссии, которое состоялось вчера, проходило за закрытыми дверями, и многое, о чем там говорилось, останется в тайне. Председатель комиссии сенатор Фулбрайт охарактеризовал первое слушание как «предварительное» и заявил, что за ним последует еще ряд подобных слушаний.

После встречи с сенаторами государственный секретарь Раек заявил корреспондентам, что он по-прежнему возлагает надежды на то, что южновьетнамские генералы «смогут организовать и продемонстрировать единство в правительстве», хотя и отказался, наученный опытом прошлого, назвать какой-либо срок, когда это «единство» будет достигнуто.

Американская вооруженная интервенция в Конго, как известно, вызвала гневное возмущение и осуждение не только у народов **Африки**, но и во всех уголках мира. Раск явно старался уйти от этой неприятной для США темы. В беседе с корреспондентами он пытался увести общественное мнение в другую сторону, заявив, что задача сейчас якобы состоит в том, чтобы «установить контроль над поставками оружия повстанцам в Конго» из других стран.

Фулбрайт поддержал идею обмена визитами между руководителями Советского

Союза и Соединенных Штатов, выдвинутую президентом Джонсоном, а также высказался за расширение советско-американской торговли.

Фулбрайт заявил, что он согласен с недавним заявлением сенатора Мансфилда и том, что США должны прекратить предоставление «своей помощи» тем странам, которые заявляют Соединенным Штатам, чтобы они «пошли к черту».

The Senators are concerned

WASHINGTON, 6th (TASS). Just two days after the opening of the 89th session of Congress of the United States Senate, the Committee on Foreign Affairs called Secretary of State Rusk, to hear his explanation for the failure of US foreign policy in South Vietnam and Congo, and the failure of so-called American “aid” to other countries. US senators are deeply concerned about the fact that in **Africa** and Asia people are threatening US propaganda centres and libraries, and that these countries are demanding that the United States leave them in peace with their “aid” and not interfere in their internal affairs.

Yesterday’s almost three-hour meeting of the Senate committee was held behind closed doors, and much of what was said there will remain secret. Committee Chair Senator Fulbright described the first hearing as “preliminary” and said that it would be followed by a number of similar hearings.

After the meeting with senators, Secretary of State Rusk told reporters that he still holds hope that the South Vietnamese generals “will be able to organize and demonstrate unity in government,” although he refused, having learned from past experience, to name a period when the “unity” will be achieved.

American armed intervention in Congo, as we know, has caused outrage and angry condemnation not only by the peoples of **Africa**, but throughout the world. Rusk was obviously trying to escape this theme which is unpleasant for the US. In his interview with reporters, he tried to divert public opinion to the other side, saying that the challenge now is to “take control of the supply of weapons to rebels in the Congo” from other countries.

Fulbright supported the idea of exchange visits between leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States, put forward by President Johnson, and also called for expansion of Soviet-American trade.

Fulbright said that he agreed with the recent statement by Senator Mansfield that the US should stop giving “its help” to those countries which tell the United States that they can “go to hell.”

C91, 1965

C91, 26th May, 1965, page 3

День освобождения Африки

Торжественным собранием в Колонном зале Дома союзов москвичи отметили 25 мая День освобождения **Африки**. В зале вместе с представителями советской общественности — главы дипломатических представительств **африканских** государств, аккредитованные в Москве, сотрудники посольств и другие **африканские** гости.

Собрание открыл секретарь ВЦСПС П. Т. Пименов. Доклад «СССР и борьба за единство **Африки**» сделал член президиума Советского комитета солидарности стран Азии и **Африки**, директор Института **Африки** Академии наук СССР В. Г. Солодовников.

Работе недавно проходившей в Гане четвертой Конференции солидарности

народов Азии и **Африки** и принятым на ней важным решениям посвятил свое выступление писатель лауреат Ленинской премии Чингиз Айтматов.

Посол Республики Гана в СССР Джон Б. Эллиот назвал собрание новым свидетельством искренней поддержки, которую Советский Союз всегда оказывал освободительному движению **Африки**.

О борьбе **африканских** народов за национальную независимость и свободу рассказали первый политический секретарь Политбюро партии Национальное революционное движение Конго (Браззавиль) Албруаз Нумаалай и председатель Сомалийского демократического союза Хаджи Мухаммед Хусейн Хануд.

В единодушно принятой резолюции участники собрания выразили глубокое убеждение в том, что борьба народов за национальное освобождение, за социальный прогресс и обеспечение всеобщего мира сметет с лица земли последние оплоты колониализма и неоколониализма.

В резолюции подчеркивается, что сложившаяся в мире обстановка настоятельно требует укрепления солидарности и взаимной поддержки борцов за свободу, демократию и социальный прогресс. (ТАСС).

African Liberation Day

At a grand meeting in the Hall of Columns, Muscovites celebrated 25 May, **Africa** Liberation Day. In the hall, together with representatives of the Soviet public, were heads of diplomatic missions of **African** states accredited in Moscow, embassy staff and other **African** guests.

The meeting was opened by the Secretary of ACSTU [All-Union Central Soviet of Trade Unions], Pimenov. Member of the Presidium of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and **African** countries, the director of the **Africa** Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, V.G. Solodovnikov, made a speech "The USSR and the struggle for the unity of **Africa**".

Winner of the Lenin Prize Chingiz Aitmatov dedicated his speech to recent work in Ghana at the fourth Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia and **Africa** and decisions taken there.

The Ambassador of the Republic of Ghana to the USSR John B. Elliott called the meeting new evidence of the sincere support that the Soviet Union has always shown to the liberation movement in **Africa**.

The first political secretary of the Political Bureau of the National Revolutionary Movement of Congo (Brazzaville) party, Albruaz Numazalay, and chair of the Somali Democratic Union, Haji Mohamed Hussein Hanud, spoke about the struggle of the **African** peoples for national independence and freedom.

In the unanimously adopted resolution, meeting participants expressed their deep conviction that the struggle of peoples for national liberation and social progress and ensuring peace in the world will sweep from the face of the earth the last bastions of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The resolution stresses that the current situation in the world urgently requires strengthening of solidarity and mutual support of fighters for freedom, democracy and social progress. (TASS).

C103, 1967

C103, 13th May, 1967, page 3

Бесцеремонный Этвуд

НАЙРОБИ, 12. (Соб. корр. "Правды"). Бывший посол Соединенных Штатов в Кении Уильям Этвуд выпустил книгу под тенденциозным названием "Красные и черные". Эта книга вызвала справедливые протесты **африканской** общественности.

За последние два года, пишет газета "Ист **Африкэн** стандарт", число американцев в Кении увеличилось во много раз. **Африканцам** хорошо известны последние разоблачения деятельности ЦРУ, сделанные американской прессой. Поэтому нетрудно положить, что значительное число его агентов находится в Кении.

Газета отмечает, что в период американо-бельгийской агрессии в Конго посол США проявил необыкновенную активность, пытаясь оправдать эту агрессию.

Бывший посол не скрывает своего активного вмешательства во внутренние дела Кении, пытается поучать всех, как надо действовать, рассказывает, как действовал он сам, чтобы не допустить «влияния красных на черных». Американские послы, пишет газета, очень часто, покинув свой пост, выступают с мемуарами, которые довольно откровенно показывают, какую роль играют представители США за границей. Касаясь замечания Этвуда о том, что он своими глазами видел лозунг «Янки, не уходите домой», газета ядовито замечает: «Нет более ошибочной политики, чем выдавать этот лозунг, который, может быть, и был на проводах господина Этвуда, за генеральную политику континента».

С резкой критикой книги бывшего американского посла выступил бывший министр информации Кении, ныне секретарь по пропаганде оппозиционной партии Союз народа Кении Ачиенг Онеко. Он сказал, что американский посол и представители американской разведки бесцеремонно вмешивались в события в Кении, стараясь изо всех сил подорвать влияние и изолировать бывшего вице-президента Кении Огингу Одингу. А генеральный прокурор Кении выступил по поводу книги Этвуда со специальным заявлением, в котором указывается на недобросовестность автора и на искажение им политики правительства и президента Кении.

Книга Этвуда «Красные и черные» ставит своей целью напугать **Африку** пресловутой "красной опасностью». Автор преподносит на сей предмет одну нелепую выдумку за другой. Но в приступе антикоммунистической истерии он выболтал такое, что действительно не может не насторожить многих в **Африке**, — грубое, ничем не прикрытое вмешательство американских дипломатов во внутренние дела **африканских** стран.

Книга Этвуда вызвала в Кении столь бурную реакцию, что новый посол США Г. Фергюсон поспешил созвать пресс-конференцию, на которой отрекся от своего слишком болтливой предшественника и заверил, что сам он... не напишет книги о своей деятельности в Кении по крайней мере в течение пяти лет после отъезда из страны.

М. Домогацких

Unceremonious Attwood

NAIROBI, 12th (Own. Corr. "Pravda"). Former United States Ambassador to Kenya, William Attwood, has published a book with the tendentious title "The Reds and The Blacks". This book has sparked justifiable protests in the **African** community.

Over the past two years, says the newspaper "East **African** Standard", the number of Americans in Kenya has increased many times. **Africans** know well the latest revelations of the CIA's activities, made in the American press. Therefore, it is easy to suppose that a significant number of its agents are in Kenya.

The newspaper notes that during the US-Belgian aggression in Congo, the US ambassador was unusually active, trying to justify this aggression.

The former ambassador does not hide his active intervention in the internal affairs of Kenya, he tries to teach everyone how to act, and he tells us how he acted to prevent "the influence of reds on blacks". US ambassadors, the newspaper writes, very often on leaving their posts, come out with a memoir, which quite openly shows the role played by the representatives of the United States abroad. Regarding Attwood's comment that he had seen with his own eyes the slogan "Yanky, don't go home," the newspaper acidly observes: "There is no greater political mistake than to take this slogan, which perhaps was on the wires from Mr. Attwood, for the general policy of the continent".

Former information minister, now secretary of propaganda of the opposition party Union of the people of Kenya, Achieng Oneko, criticised the book of the former US ambassador to Kenya harshly. He said the US ambassador and US intelligence officials rudely interfered in events in Kenya, and tried their best to undermine and isolate the influence of former Vice-President of Kenya, Oginga Odinga. And the Attorney General of Kenya made a special statement about Attwood's book, pointing out the author's dishonesty and his distortion of the policies of the government and the President of Kenya.

The aim of Attwood's book "The Reds and The Blacks" is to scare **Africa** with the notorious "red danger". The author brings to this task one ridiculous fabrication after another. But in a fit of anti-communist hysteria, he blurts out something that really cannot leave many in **Africa** undisturbed – the rough, undisguised intervention of American diplomats in the internal affairs of **African** countries.

Attwood's book has caused such a violent reaction in Kenya that the new US ambassador H. Ferguson hastened to convene a press conference at which he distanced himself from his too talkative predecessor, and assured people that he himself ... would not write a book about his activities in Kenya until at least five years after leaving the country.

M. Domogatskii

C120, 1970

C120, 31st July, 1970, page 5

ИГНОРИРУЯ ПРОТЕСТЫ

ЛОНДОН, 30. (ТАСС). Английское правительство явно игнорирует протесты стран Содружества наций и мировой общественности против его намерения возобновить поставки вооружения расистским властям Южной **Африки**.

Это косвенно подтвердил премьер-министр Англии Э. Хит, выступая вчера на митинге консерваторов в Алнике. Он заявил, что политика его правительства в **Африке** основывается на учете английских интересов в этой части света. Англия, продолжал он, готова консультироваться с членами содружества в отношении этой политики, но в конечном счете она должна сама принимать решения.

Премьер сказал, что политика консервативного правительства направлена также на достижение "почетного урегулирования" отношений с Родезией.

В своей речи Хит утверждал, что "английское военное присутствие" в районах "к востоку от Суэца", и в частности в Юго-Восточной Азии, является жизненно важным для национальных интересов страны.

IGNORING PROTESTS

LONDON, 30. (TASS). The British government has blatantly ignored the protests of the Commonwealth of Nations and the world community against its intention to resume arms shipments to the racist government of **South Africa**.

This is indirectly confirmed by the Prime Minister of England, E. Heath, speaking yesterday at a meeting of Conservatives in Alnwick. He said that his government's policy in **Africa** is based on a calculation of British interests in this part of the world. Britain, he continued, is ready to consult with members of the community in relation to this policy, but ultimately must make its own decisions.

The Prime Minister said that the policy of the Conservative government also aims at achieving an "honourable settlement" of relations with Rhodesia.

In his speech, Heath argued that "British military presence" in areas "east of Suez", particularly in Southeast Asia, is vital to the country's national interests.

ЭКСПАНСИЯ ПОД ВИДОМ “ПОМОЩИ”

В последнее время **африканские** журналисты отмечают все более частое появление гостей из Тель-Авива в разных точках континента к югу от Сахары. Израильские политики, генералы, банкиры, торговцы, советники, строителя проявляют необычайную активность в **Африке**.

Небезынтересно вспомнить недавнюю историю. Израиль появляется в **Африке** по мере того, как бывшие колонии становятся независимыми. В свое время президент Бен-Цви, затем премьер-министр Левв Эшкол совершили большие поездки по целому ряду стран континента. Нынешний премьер-министр Израиля Голда Меир пять раз совершала длительные турне по всей **Африке**. Сейчас совершенно очевидно, что целью этой активности было установление связей прежде всего со странами, непосредственно примыкающими в арабскому миру.

Из всех соглашений о “сотрудничестве” и “помощи”, заключенных Израилем с **развивающимися странами**, две трети приходится на **африканские** государства, расположенные к югу от Сахары. Количество миссий экспертов, различных специалистов, направляемых в тылы арабских стран, за десятилетие с 1956 года увеличилось в 16 раз.

Быстро растет торговый оборот Израиля с **Африкой**. Любопытно отметить в этой связи, что самым крупным торговым партнером Израиля является Южная **Африка**, где он наряду с другими товарами в больших количествах закупает необработанные алмазы.

Надо сказать, что “присутствие” Тель-Авива в **Африке** более замаскировано, нежели грубые действия иных неокolonизаторов. Израильские пропагандисты всю рекламируют гостиницы, которые их соотечественники построили здесь в некоторых городах, административные здания, дороги, цитрусовые плантации, созданные с помощью экспертов из Тель-Авива. Однако они предпочитают ничего не говорить об израильском проникновении в армии некоторых **африканских** стран, а оно приобрело значительные масштабы.

Израильцы, как правило, демонстративно не требуют от своих **африканских** партнеров права на контроль над совместно строящимися предприятиями, как это часто делают западные кредиторы. Они всем рассказывают, что довольствуются лишь скромной долей в 40 процентов. Остальное, мол, забирают сами **африканцы**. Им-де и принадлежит контроль.

Однако при более внимательном рассмотрении оказывается, что в подобного рода совместных предприятиях, Израиль — не больше, чем ширма для тех же западных монополий. **Африканская** печать давно уже обратила внимание на то, что под израильской вывеской часто действуют известные западные

картели, что степень проникновения Израиля в ту или иную страну находится в прямой зависимости от степени проникновения в ту же страну монополий США. Скажем, роскошный отель “Слоновая кость” в Абиджане (Берег Слоновой кости) расписывается как израильское творение. Однако, если посмотреть поглубже, то окажется, что здесь заложен капитал всем знакомой фирмы “Пан-Америкэн” (США).

Усилия Израиля в **Африке** приносят ему солидные дивиденды. И не только в конкретном денежном выражении. Наиболее важна для Тель-Авива политическая поддержка, которую ему удалось заполучить со стороны ряда стран **Африки**.

В израильско-африканском “сотрудничестве” есть еще одна специфическая сторона. Тель-Авив приглашает к себе молодых **африканцев** на учебу. Прежде всего это затрагивает военную область. Считают, что Израиль к настоящему времени успел подготовить около десяти тысяч **африканских** военных.

Затем следует область социальная: израильтяне стремятся – распространить – свое влияние на нарождающийся рабочий класс **Африки**.

За восемь лет с 1956 года через Тель-Авив было пропущено четыре с половиной тысячи **африканских** стажеров. Лишь менее одной сотой из них преподавали экономический курс.

Подготовкой **африканских** кадров в Тель-Авиве занимается **Афро-Азиатский институт**, финансируемый сионистской профсоюзной организацией “Гистадрут”. Здесь-то и стремятся израильтяне “обратить в свою веру” будущих **африканских** специалистов.

Случается, однако, что **африканские** слушатели этою **Афро-Азиатского** института находят в себе силы разобраться в истинном положении вещей и покинуть Израиль, как это сделал стажер из Верхней Вольты Бонифас Д. Наборе. Он пишет в письме в журнал “Жен **Африк**”:

“Курсы касаются изучения профсоюзов и сотрудничества. В 80 случаях из ста их преподают не специалисты в своих областях, а большие ловкачи, которых называют инструкторами, или же просто “разлюбезные люди”, оказавшиеся здесь с целью поправить свои денежные затруднения.

Прежде всего о профсоюзах. Лекции в семинары в основном сводятся к изучению “великих свершений” “Гистадрута”, в котором представлены все политические партии, все религии и армия. Стажеры узнают в институте, что они должны вычеркнуть из своих уставов всякую возможность забастовки и должны увеличивать выпуск продукции. Что может подумать об этом **африканский** профсоюзный деятель, который знает, что излишки продукции — это сверхприбыль, и она увеличивает капитал в Париже, в Лондоне, в Тель-Авиве.

Самое красивое одиннадцатизэтажное здание Тель-Авива принадлежит тем, кто спекулирует алмазами — область, где израильтяне специализируются. Они едут в алмазодо-бывающие страны тропической **Африки**, покупают там необработанные алмазы, затем шлифуют их и перепродают уже в виде бриллиантов по всему свету, наживая огромные деньги”.

Верхневольтиец, учившийся в Тель-Авиве, в заключение письма называет **Афро-Азиатский институт** перманентным центром заговора против **Африки**.

Факты показывают, таким образом, что проникновение Израиля в страны **африканского** континента служит интересам империализма и неокOLONиализма. Здесь, как и на Ближнем Востоке, Израиль является орудием империалистической экспансии.

Ф. ТАРАСОВ.

(Соб. корр. "Правды").
Дакар, июль.

EXPANSION UNDER THE GUISE OF "AID"

Recently, **African** journalists are noticing the more and more frequent appearance of guests from Tel Aviv in different points of the continent south of the Sahara. Israeli politicians, generals, bankers, traders, advisers and builders are showing unusual activity in **Africa**.

It is interesting to look at recent history. Israel is appearing in **Africa** as the former colonies have become independent. At the time, President Ben-Zvi and then Prime Minister Eshkol Levvey made long journeys to a variety of countries on the continent. The current Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir has five times made a long tour across **Africa**. Now it is clear that the purpose of this activity was to establish relations especially with countries directly adjacent to the Arab world.

Of all the agreements on "cooperation" and "assistance" concluded by Israel with **developing countries**, two-thirds are with **African** countries located south of the Sahara. The number of expert missions and various experts sent to the rear of Arab countries has increased 16 times in the decade since 1956.

The volume of trade between Israel and **Africa** is rapidly growing. It is interesting to note in this regard that the largest trading partner of Israel is **South Africa**, where Israel buys rough diamonds and other goods in large quantities.

I must say that the "presence" of Tel Aviv in **Africa** is more disguised than the rude actions of other neo-colonialists. Israeli propagandists everywhere advertise the hotels that their compatriots have built here in some cities, and office buildings, roads and citrus plantations established with the help of experts from Tel Aviv. However, they prefer not to talk about Israeli penetration into the army of some **African** countries, which has acquired significant scale.

Israelis tend pointedly to not demand of their **African** partners the right to control jointly constructed facilities, as Western creditors often do. They tell everyone that they are content with a modest share of 40 percent. The rest, they say, **Africans** will take themselves. The control belongs to the **Africans**.

However, a closer look reveals that in such joint ventures, Israel is no more than a smokescreen for the same Western monopolies. **African** newspapers have long noted that under the guise of Israel are often well-known Western cartels, and that the degree of penetration of Israel in this or that country is in direct proportion to the degree of penetration in the same country by U.S. monopolies. Say, a luxury hotel "Ivory" in Abidjan (Ivory Coast) is registered as an Israeli creation. However, if you look more deeply, you will find that the capital came from the familiar company "Pan-American" (USA).

Israel's efforts in **Africa** have brought it solid dividends. And not just in specific monetary value. The most important for Tel Aviv is political support, which it has managed to get from a number of **African** countries.

There is another particular side to Israeli-**African** "cooperation". Tel Aviv invites young **Africans** to study in Tel Aviv. Most of all this affects the military sphere. It is reckoned that so far Israel has trained about ten thousand **African** soldiers.

And then there is the social area: Israelis aim to expand their impact to the emerging working class in **Africa**.

In the eight years after 1956 four and a half thousand **African** trainees passed through Tel Aviv. Only less than one hundredth of them was taught economics.

Training of **African** personnel in Tel Aviv is done by the Afro-Asian Institute, funded by the Zionist trade union organization "Histadrut". Here Israelis try to "turn to their faith" the future **African** professionals.

It happens, however, that **African** students of this **Afro-Asian** Institute find the strength to understand the true state of affairs and to leave Israel, as did an intern from Upper Volta Boniface D. Nabore. He writes in a letter to the magazine "Jeune Afrique":

"Courses are about trade unions and cooperation. In 80 cases out of a hundred they are taught not by experts in their fields, but rather by dodgers, who are called instructors, or just "any old people" who are there with the aim of improving their financial difficulties.

"First of all the trade unions. Lectures at seminars are mostly limited to the study of the "great achievements" of "Histadrut", in which all political parties, all religions and the army are presented. Trainees learn in the college that they should delete from their charters any opportunity of strikes and should increase output. What can the **African** trade unionist think of this, who knows that surplus production is excess profit, and increases capital in Paris, London and Tel Aviv?

"The most beautiful eleven-storey building in Tel Aviv belongs to those who speculate in diamonds - an area in which Israelis specialize. They go to the diamond-mining countries of tropical **Africa**, buy rough diamonds there, then grind them and resell them in the form of cut diamonds all around the world, collecting a lot of money."

The Upper Volta citizen who studied in Tel Aviv, at the end of his letter calls the Afro-Asian Institute a permanent centre of conspiracy against **Africa**.

And so the facts show that the penetration of Israel into **African** countries serves the interests of imperialism and neocolonialism. Here, as in the Middle East, Israel is the instrument of imperialist expansion.

VF Tarasov.

(Own Corr. "Pravda").

Dakar, July.

C128, 1971

C128, 5th August, 1971, page 5

Гвинея: ВНОВЬ УГРОЗА АГРЕССИИ

- Резкое осуждение Португалии
- Жалоба Гвинеи поддержана рядом стран
- В Конакри направляется специальная миссия ООН

НЬЮ-ЙОРК, 4 (ТАСС). По просьбе правительства Гвинейской Республики вчера состоялось экстренное заседание Совета Безопасности ООН в связи с угрозой новой агрессии Португалии против Гвинеи.

Постоянный представитель Гвинеи при ООН А. Туре огласил на заседании Совета письмо президента Гвинейской Республики председателю Совета Безопасности. В нем говорится, что силам государственной безопасности стали известны планы нападения Португалии на Гвинею. В частности, планировалось совершить нападение в нескольких ключевых пунктах на границе между Гвинейской Республикой и находящейся под португальским господством Гвинеей (Бисау), а также нанести удар по Конакри с целью освобождения наемников и диверсантов, захваченных гвинейскими войсками во время прошлой агрессии Португалии.

Жалоба Гвинеи была поддержана рядом других стран. Выступившие

представители Сирии и Сомали напомнили о непрекращающихся агрессивных действиях Португалии против независимых **африканских** стран, нападении, совершенном ею на Гвинею в ноябре прошлого года, недавней агрессии против Сенегала и других агрессивных действиях.

С резким осуждением португальских колонизаторов выступил представитель СССР В. Л. Исравлян. Не считаясь с резолюциями Совета Безопасности, сказал он, Португалия не желает оставить в покое независимые **африканские** страны, граничащие с ее колониями, где варварскими средствами подавляется национально-освободительное движение. Агрессивные действия Португалии являются прямым следствием проводимой ею колониальной политики. Суверенитет **африканских** государств, мир и безопасность в **Африке** могут быть обеспечены только при незамедлительном прекращении всех колониальных войн и неукоснительном соблюдении Декларации о предоставлении независимости колониальным странам и народам.

Совет Безопасности единогласно принял внесенный представителем Сомали от имени Бурунди, Сомали, Сьерра-Леоне и Сирии проект резолюции. В нем подтверждается необходимость уважения территориальной целостности и политической независимости Гвинейской Республики.

Совет Безопасности постановил также в принятой резолюции направить немедленно в Гвинею специальную миссию в составе представителей трех членов Совета Безопасности для проведения консультаций с правительством Гвинеи и представления доклада о сложившемся положении.

Guinea: Again the threat of aggression

- Sharp condemnation of Portugal
- Guinea's complaint is supported by a number of countries
- A special UN mission has been sent to Conakry

NEW YORK, 4 (TASS). Yesterday, at the request of the Government of the Republic of Guinea, the UN Security Council held an emergency meeting due to the threat of new aggression by Portugal against Guinea.

At the meeting, the Permanent Representative of Guinea to the United Nations, A. Touré, read out a letter from the President of Guinea to the Chairman of the Security Council. It says that the State security forces have become aware of plans by Portugal to attack Guinea. In particular, it planned to attack a few key points on the border between the Republic of Guinea and that part of Guinea under Portuguese domination (Bissau), and also strike Conakry to release mercenaries and saboteurs captured by Guinean forces during Portugal's last aggression.

Guinea's complaint was supported by several other countries. Speeches by representatives of Syria and Somalia recalled incessant aggressive Portuguese actions against independent **African** countries, the assault committed on Guinea in November last year, recent aggression against Senegal and other aggressive actions.

The representative of the USSR V.L. Isravlyan condemned the Portuguese colonialists sharply. In ignoring the resolutions of the Security Council, he said, Portugal is not willing to leave alone the independent **African** countries which border its colonies, where barbarous methods are used to suppress the national liberation movement. Portugal's aggressive actions are a direct result of the colonial policy which it pursues. The sovereignty of **African** states, peace and security in **Africa** can only be achieved if there is an immediate cessation of all colonial wars and absolute compliance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

The Security Council unanimously adopted the draft resolution introduced by

the representative of Somalia on behalf of Burundi, Somalia, Sierra Leone and Syria. It reaffirms the need to respect the territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of Guinea.

The Security Council also decided in the resolution to send a special mission to Guinea immediately, composed of three members of the Security Council, to hold consultations with the Government of Guinea and report on the situation.

ПРОГРАММНОЕ ЗАЯВЛЕНИЕ

АДЕН. 4 (ТАСС). Премьер министр Народной Демократической Республики Йемен Али Насер Мухаммед Хасани на состоявшемся здесь заседании верховного Народного совета страны огласил программное заявление нового правительства НДРЙ.

В заявлении подчеркивается настоятельная необходимость укрепления внутреннего фронта страны, отмечается важность претворения в жизнь при активном участии всех граждан трехлетнего плана экономического развития республики.

Во внешнеполитическом разделе заявления говорится, что обстановка на Ближнем Востоке требует объединения революционных арабских сил с тем, чтобы совместными усилиями противодействовать натиску империалистов.

В заявлении отмечается необходимость укрепления отношений НДРЙ с дружественными арабскими странами и государствами социалистического лагеря. Правительство НДРЙ заявляет о солидарности с национально-освободительными движениями в Азии, **Африки** и Латинской Америке, о поддержке борющихся народов Индокитая.

PROGRAMME ANNOUNCEMENT

ADEN. 4 (TASS). The Prime Minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Ali Nasser Mohammed Hasani, announced a policy statement of the new government of the PDRY at a meeting here of the Supreme People's Assembly of the country.

The statement stressed the current need to strengthen the internal front of the country, and highlights the importance to implementation of the active participation of all citizens in the three-year plan for **economic development** of the republic.

The foreign policy section of the statement says that the situation in the Middle East requires unity of revolutionary Arab forces in order to counter jointly the onslaught of NATO imperialists.

The statement noted the need to strengthen the PDRY's relations with friendly Arab countries and governments of the socialist camp. The PDRY government announces solidarity with national-liberation movements in Asia, **Africa** and Latin America, and support to the struggling peoples of Indochina.

Военные поставки НАТО используются Португалией для подавления национально-освободительного движения в **Африке**. Западногерманская газета "Франкфуртер рундшау" пишет, что португальские власти используют в колониях реактивные самолеты, поставляемые ее партнерами по НАТО. Так, в Мозамбике, в районе Тете, базируются истребители бомбардировщики типа "ФИАТ-Г-91". 40 самолетов этого типа в 1966 году Португалия получил от ФРГ.

Military supplies of NATO are being used by Portugal to suppress national liberation movements in **Africa**. The West German newspaper "Frankfurter Rundschau" writes that the Portuguese authorities in the colonies have used jets supplied by its NATO

partners. In Mozambique, near Tete, Portugal received 40 type "FIAT-G-91" fighter-bombers from Germany in 1966.

Под ширмой помощи

ПАРИЖ, 4 (ТАСС). Широковещательная программа “**помощи**” Соединенных Штатов иностранным государствам представляет собой один из способов “сохранения нужного для США политического статус-кво”, резюмирует выходящий здесь журнал “Жен **Африк**”.

Журнал указывает, что 40 процентов бюджета так называемого управления **международного развития** США за истекший год выделяется на военную “помощь” и 30 процентов — на полицейскую “помощь”. Таким образом, свидетельствует “Жен **Африк**”, “под экономическую помощь замаскирована полицейская помощь, которая является сегодня одним из главных направлений международной политики Вашингтона”.

Under the guise of aid

PARIS, 4 (TASS). The widespread programme of "**aid**" of the United States to foreign countries is one of the ways to "maintain the political status quo that the U.S. needs," summarizes the magazine published here, "**Jeune Afrique**".

The magazine points out that 40 percent of the budget of so-called **international development** of the U.S. over the past year is allocated to military "**aid**" and 30 percent - to police "**aid**." Thus, observes "**Jeune Afrique**", "**police aid**, which is today one of the main areas of international politics in Washington, is disguised as **economic aid**."

C129, 1971

C129, 27th November, 1971, page 5

Лондон-Солсбери: СГОВОР КОЛОНИЗАТОРОВ И РАСИСТОВ

- “Узаконение власти белого меньшинства
- Предоставление независимости **африканцам** отложено на неопределенный срок
- Английская общественность осуждает позорную сделку

ЛОНДОН, 26. (Соб. Корр. “Правды”). Детали соглашения между Лондоном и Солсбери, оглашенные вчера в английском парламенте, подтвердили опасения тех, кто полагал, что на переговорах Дуглас-Хьюма со Смитом была выработана формулировка едва замаскированного предательства интересов **африканского** населения Родезии. “Сговор!”, “Предательство!”, “Мюнхен!” — неслось со скамей лейбористской оппозиции в то время, как министр иностранных дел обрушивал на головы депутатов потоки туманных формулировок, противоречивых деталей, нарочито наивных предположений, призванных не столько прояснить суть англо-родезийского сговора, сколько затуманить ее. Характерно, что, в отличие от обычного, материалы, излагающие условия соглашения, подписанного в Солсбери, не были розданы депутатам до начала заседания.

Тщетно Дуглас-Хьюм пытался доказать, что Лондон добился от Смита уступок, которые обеспечивают “размягчение” нынешнего расистского режима и предоставление равных прав **африканскому** населению этой страны, и что посему английское правительство будет вправе в дальнейшем восстановить нормальные отношения с Солсбери и сможет предложить ООН отменить экономические санкции. Сегодня в Родезии, в частности, бывшей английской колонии, пять миллионов **африканцев** лишены **элементарных человеческих**

прав. Политическая и экономическая власть, лучшие земли, сама жизнь принадлежат четверти миллиона белых, точнее говоря, верхушке белых колонизаторов. Смехотворными выглядят в этих условиях утверждения английского министра, что расистский режим Смита отныне обязуется “начать беспрепятственное продвижение к власти большинства”. Сроки осуществления этого лозунга, комментирует в сообщении из Солсбери корреспондент лондонской “Тайм”, “не поддаются реальному определению”. Выработанный на переговорах сложный план четырехэтапного “продвижения к власти большинства”, добавляет корреспондент, приведет в лучшем случае к тому, что вместо шестнадцати специально подобранных властями “цветных”, заседающих в родезийской ассамблее, состоящей из 66 членов, их будет 18 или 20.

Англо-родезийская договоренность оставляет по сути дела без изменений расистскую конституцию Родезии, установившую в 1969 году юридические основы нынешнего колониалистского правопорядка. Неизменным остается и акт о землевладении, закрепивший такое распределение территории, при котором 95 процентам населения (**африканцам**) выделена лишь половина общей площади, самые непригодные для обработки земли.

Прежде чем получить утверждение парламента, приложения, выработанные в Солсбери, “должны быть представлены на одобрение родезийцам”. Выяснением мнения населения Родезии должна заняться специальная комиссия во главе с лордом Пирсом, назначенная английским правительством. Нетрудно представить себе, к каким заключениям придет лорд и с кем он будет общаться в стране, где **африканцы** обречены на бессловесность, где лидеры национально-освободительного движения томятся в тюрьмах, и весь полицейский аппарат находится а руках закоренелых расистов

Сложные предложения, разработанные английским лордом и родезийским парламентом, при ближайшем рассмотрении сводятся к очень простому итогу: прикрыть фиговым листком обещанной “реформы” постыдную наготу колониалистского полу-фашистского порядка в Родезии.

Доказывая “разумность” привезенных им условий, Дуглас-Хьюм говорил, что лучше малые реформы, чем ничего, что англо-родезийская договоренность “переводит Родезию на новый путь”, “спасает” ее от утверждения системы апартеида по **южноафриканскому** образцу. На самом же деле англо-родезийский сговор предназначен упрочить систему расистского произвола в Родезии. Тори спешат на подмогу родезийским плантаторам, стараясь вывести их из международной изоляции.

Самолетом, которым Дуглас-Хьюм прибыл из Солсбери, как сообщает “Ивнинг Стандарт”, кроме самого министра и текста его соглашения со Смитом, в Лондон было доставлено 36 ящиков белых персиков — подарок родезийских плантаторов самому сэру Алеку и премьер министру Хиту. Еще большие плоды надеются пожать банки Сити и английские монополии. Бокалами шампанского и взлетом курса родезийских акций они празднуют “победу в Солсбери”. Что касается отношения английской общественности, то оно наглядно проявилось вчера, когда премьер-министр Хит отправлялся в парламент. Сотни разгневанных демонстрантов штурмовали подъезд резиденции премьера на Даунинг-стрит. “Смит и Хит—партнеры по колониализму”, “Долой второй Мюнхен!”, “Освободите **африканских** борцов за независимость!” — требовали пикетирующие.

Г. ВАСИЛЬЕВ.

Cartoon caption:

Переговоры английского министра иностранных дел Дуглас-Хьюма с главарем расистского режима Яном Смитом завершились позорной сделкой.

Линкование в консервативно-расистском семействе.

Рис. В. Фомичева.

London - Salisbury: CONSPIRACY of colonialists and racists

- "The legalization" of the white minority government
- Granting of Independence to **Africans** postponed indefinitely
- British public condemns the shameful deal

LONDON, 26. (Own Corr. "Pravda"). The details of the agreement between London and Salisbury, read out yesterday in the British Parliament, have confirmed the fears of those who said that in the negotiations between Douglas Hume and Smith a formulation had been worked out which barely masked betrayal of the interests of the **African** population of **Rhodesia**. "Conspiracy", "Betrayal," "Munich" - swept from the benches of the Labour opposition when the foreign minister released over the heads of MPs flows of opaque wording, conflicting details, and deliberately naive proposals, designed not so much to clarify the nature of the Anglo-**Rhodesian** collusion as to obfuscate it. It is characteristic that, unlike the usual process, materials outlining the conditions of the agreement signed in Salisbury were not distributed to MPs before the meeting.

Douglas Hume in vain tried to prove that London got from Smith concessions which would provide a "softening" of this racist regime, providing equal rights for the **African** population of this country, and that therefore the British government would have the right to further restore normal relations with **Salisbury** and would offer to cancel the UN economic sanctions. Today in **Rhodesia**, in particular, a former British colony, five million **Africans** are deprived of basic human rights. Political and economic power, the best land, and life itself is owned by a quarter of a million whites, more precisely, the top white colonizers. Under these conditions, the insistence of the British minister that Smith's racist regime undertakes henceforth "to start unimpeded progress towards majority rule" looks ridiculous. The deadlines of this slogan, commented the correspondent of the London "Times" in a message from **Salisbury**, "have not been defined." The complicated four-step plan worked out in negotiations, to "move to power of the majority," adds the correspondent, "will mean, at best, that instead of sixteen members of "colour" specially selected by the authorities to sit in the **Rhodesian** Parliamentary Assembly of 66 members, there will be 18 or 20."

The Anglo-**Rhodesian** agreement leaves essentially unchanged the racist **Rhodesian** constitution, which established the legal basis of this colonialist rule of law in 1969. The act of land ownership also remains unchanged, recognizing a distribution of territory in which 95 percent of the population (**Africans**) are allocated only half of the total area, most of it unfit for cultivation.

Before obtaining parliamentary approval, the proposals developed in **Salisbury**, "must be submitted for approval by the **Rhodesians**." The clarification of public opinion in **Rhodesia** should be done by a special commission headed by Lord Pearce, appointed by the British Government. It is not difficult to imagine what conclusions the Lord will come to, and with whom he will communicate in a country where **Africans** are doomed to silence, where leaders of national liberation movements are in prison, and the entire police force is in the hardened hands of racists.

The complex proposals developed by an English lord and the **Rhodesian** Parliament, upon closer inspection, are reduced to a very simple matter: to cover with a fig leaf of promised "reform" the shameful nakedness of the colonial semi-fascist order in **Rhodesia**.

Proving the "reasonableness" of the conditions that he has brought, Douglas-Hume said that better small reforms than nothing, that the Anglo-**Rhodesian** agreement "will put **Rhodesia** on a new path", and "save" it from adopting a system of apartheid like the **South African** model. In fact, the Anglo-**Rhodesian** conspiracy is designed to strengthen the system of racist tyranny in **Rhodesia**. Tories are rushing to the aid of Rhodesian plantation owners, trying to bring them out of international isolation.

The plane on which Douglas Hume arrived from Salisbury, according to the "Evening Standard", delivered to London, as well as the Minister and the text of his agreement with Smith, 36 boxes of white peaches – a gift from **Rhodesian** plantation owners to Sir Alec himself and Prime Minister Heath. The City banks and British monopolies hope to squeeze out even greater fruits. With glasses of champagne and a takeoff in the rate of **Rhodesian** shares, they are celebrating "victory in Salisbury." As for the attitude of the British public, it was clear to be seen yesterday when Prime Minister Heath went to Parliament. Hundreds of angry protesters stormed the entrance to the residence of the Prime Minister, Downing Street. "Smith and Heath are partners in colonialism", "Down with the second Munich," "Free **African** fighters for independence", demanded the picketers.

G. Vasilev.

Cartoon captions:

Negotiations of British Foreign Secretary Douglas-Hume with the leader of the racist regime of Ian Smith culminated in the shameful bargain.

(See this cartoon in Chapter 6.)

Jubilation in the Conservative-Racist family.

Drawing by V. Fomichev

ДВЕ СТОРОНЫ ОДНОЙ МЕДАЛИ

АЛЖИР. 26. (Соб. корр. «Правды»). Соглашение между Лондоном и режимом Южной Родезии вызвало глубокое негодование алжирского народа, общественности Марокко и Туниса. "Постыдным действием сговора британского империализма против народа Зимбабве" называет его алжирская газета "Эль-Муджахид".

По ее словам, Англия шла на этот сговор после вступления в "Общий рынок", что, по мнению консервативного правительства, с лихвой может окупить экономические потери, которые, вполне вероятно, вызовут ослабление ее связей с рядом **африканских** стран, выступивших против признания режима Южной Родезии. "Отныне Англия восстанавливает свою экономическую опеку над этим режимом. Что касается опеки политической, то об этом позаботятся НАТО и США", — отмечает газета. "Эль-Муджахид", клеймя позором британскую политику в **Африке**, поддерживает тезис Фронта освобождения Зимбабве (ФРОЛИЗИ) о том, что теперь только вооруженная борьба **африканцев** может привести к освобождению страны от колониального гнета.

В. ЕРМАКОВ.

Two sides of one coin

ALGIERS. 26. (Own corr. "Pravda"). The agreement between London and the **Southern Rhodesian** regime has caused deep resentment amongst the Algerian people and the publics of **Morocco** and **Tunisia**. "A shameful act of collusion of British imperialism against the people of **Zimbabwe**," the **Algerian** newspaper "El Mujahid" calls it.

According to it, Britain went for this agreement after joining the "Common

Market", which, according to the Conservative government, may barely compensate for the economic losses which will probably be caused by a weakening of its ties with several **African** countries which oppose the recognition of the regime in **Southern Rhodesia**. "Henceforth Britain regains its economic custody of the regime. As for political tutelage, then watch this, NATO and the United States," the newspaper said. "El Mujahid" stigmatises British policy in **Africa**, and supports the thesis of the **Liberation Front of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI)** that now only the armed struggle of **Africans** can lead to the country's liberation from colonial oppression.
V. Yermakov.

ДАКАР, 26. (Соб. корр. "Правды"). Соглашение, подписанное английскими консерваторами и Яном Смитом, ликвидирующее "конституционные неувязки" в отношениях между Лондоном и Солсбери, вызывает возмущение повсюду в **Африке**.

"**Африканцы** оказались проданными", - заявил в этой связи президент Танзании Дж. Ньерере. Дакарская газета "**Африк нувель**" пишет: "Любой компромисс, который имеет целью оставить власть в руках у белых при обещании предоставить ее в будущем **африканцам**, неприемлем, ибо это означает потребовать от этих белых подготовить свой собственный уход со сцены. Необходимо, чтобы Великобритания настояла на ясном соглашении в духе резолюций Организации **африканского** единства и ООН. Довольно обещаний, нужны дела!"
Ф. ТАРАСОВ.

DAKAR, 26. (Own corr. "Pravda"). The agreement signed by the British Conservatives and Ian Smith liquidating "constitutional inconsistencies" between London and Salisbury is causing outrage in **Africa**.

"**Africans** were sold," in this context said **Tanzanian** President Julius Nyerere. The **Dakar** newspaper "**Afrique nouvelle**" writes: "Any compromise that aims to leave power in the hands of whites with the promise of submitting it to **Africans** in future, is unacceptable because it means asking these whites to prepare their own departure from the scene. The United Kingdom must insist on a clear agreement in the spirit of the resolutions of the OAU and the UN. Enough of promises. You have to do it!"
VF Tarasov.

C136, 1972

C136, 24th May, 1972, page 4

Собрание общественности

24 мая в Доме дружбы с народами зарубежных стран состоялось собрание представителей общественности Москвы, посвященное Дню освобождения **Африки**. От имени послов **африканских** стран в СССР выступил посол Эфиопии Беллете Гебре Цадык. Он выразил признательность советским людям за постоянную поддержку **африканских** народов в борьбе за независимость, свободу и социальный прогресс. (ТАСС).

Public meeting

On May 24 at the House of Friendship with Foreign Countries a meeting took place of representatives of the public in Moscow, dedicated to the Day of **African** Freedom. The Ambassador of Ethiopia Bellete Gebre Tsadyk spoke on behalf of the ambassadors of

African countries in the Soviet Union. He expressed gratitude to the Soviet people for their continued support of the **African** peoples in their struggle for independence, freedom and social progress. (TASS).

Фотоконкурс «Правды»

Имре БЕНКЕ (Венгрия), Свободная Африка.

"Pravda" Competition

Imre Benko (Hungary) Free Africa. (Photo caption)

ЕДИНСТВО В БОРЬБЕ И СОЗИДАНИИ

ДЕНЬ ОСВОБОЖДЕНИЯ АФРИКИ

Девять лет назад главы независимых государств **Африки** подписали в Аддис-Абебе «Хартию **африканского** единства» и основали Организацию **африканского** единства (ОАЕ). Были определены и ее главные цели — борьба за полную ликвидацию колониализма на континенте, за развитие и укрепление национальной экономики, политического суверенитета, национальной культуры молодых государств. Был сделан важный шаг в объединении усилий десятков стран, ведущих тяжкий, каждодневный бой с колониальным наследием, с попытками империалистических держав сохранить свой контроль над вчерашними своими владениями, с отсталостью, нищетой, суевериями.

День 25 мая с тех пор ежегодно отмечается мировой общественностью как День освобождения **Африки**. Прошло девять бурных и весьма поучительных лет. Стало яснее, кто друзья, а кто враги независимой **Африки**. Укрепилось убеждение в том, что провозглашенные лозунги и цели требуют многих лет упорной борьбы для их осуществления. Было немало и просчетов, усугубленных прямой подрывной деятельностью реакционных сил как внешних, так и внутренних. Перевороты, междоусобицы, экономические трудности не раз лихорадили континент. До сих пор не удалось вырвать из рук колонизаторов и расистов обширные районы Южной **Африки**. И все же положительный итог **африканской** истории последнего десятилетия трудно переоценить. Десятки миллионов людей вырвались из-под чужеземного ига, завоевали право быть хозяевами в собственном доме. Голос **Африки** громко звучит и на международной арене; он обличает расизм и колониализм, опасные дела и замыслы колониалистов и неокolonизаторов.

Наиболее трудные проблемы экономического развития независимых **африканских** стран, которые добиваются ослабления зависимости от иностранных рынков и капитала, создания многоотраслевого, жизнеспособного национального хозяйства, ликвидации нищеты, безработицы, технической отсталости.

Пожалуй, наиболее серьезные трудности наблюдаются в развитии сельского хозяйства **Африки**. В отдельные годы производство продовольственных культур явно отставало от темпа прироста населения. Прорвать замкнутый круг сырьевой, монокультурной экономики, найти силы и средства для индустриализации и обновления полупервобытной деревни задача очень сложная.

Нередко буржуазные экономисты и политические деятели советуют **африканским** лидерам не стараться выйти на этого круга, а положиться на услуги иностранных монополий. Сделаются на пример берега Слоновой Кост к Габона, цифры роста экспорта которых выглядят на первый взгляд привлекательно. На проверку же оказывается, что рост производства в этих странах целиком определяют иностранные фирмы, которые выкачивают полезные

ископаемые, создают плантации экспортных тропических культур. Это, как выразился один экономист, рост без развития, обрекающий страну и ее население на подчинение иностранному капиталу.

Крупные горнорудные центры многих стран **Африки**, современные промышленные предприятия, оптовая торговля, морские перевозки находятся в чужих руках. Нередко и финансы **африканских** стран контролируются банками Лондона, Парижа, Нью-Йорка. Тяжелым бременем является и задолженность по займам. Внешние долги стран **Африки**, по данным ООН, выросли с 3,3 миллиарда долларов в 1960 году до 8,7 миллиарда в 1968 году. Одни платежи по погашению займов и процентов по ним составили в том же году 625 миллионов долларов.

Колоссальные потери несет **Африка** от валютного кризиса на мировом капиталистическом рынке, колебаний цен на сырье и постоянного роста цен на промышленные товары. Эти потери весьма чувствительны, ибо до сих пор более трех четвертей внешней торговли континента приходится на долю империалистических стран. **Внутриафриканская** торговля все еще незначительна.

Вот почему усилия **африканских** лидеров и экономистов, деятельность таких организаций, как ОАЕ, Экономическая комиссия ООН для **Африки**, направлены на поиски выхода из этой системы империалистической кабалы и ограбления. Наряду с развитием национальной экономики разрабатываются планы более тесного регионального и **общеафриканского** сотрудничества. Сейчас уже имеется несколько подобных межгосударственных союзов. Не все из них достаточно эффективны, но начало кооперации в **Африке** положено.

Значительный опыт такого, сотрудничества имеет Восточно-**Африканское** экономическое сообщество, в которое входят Танзания, Кения и Уганда. В этом году ОАЕ провела первую **панафриканскую** торговую ярмарку в Найроби. Ее главная цель заключалась в том, чтобы показать все, что **африканские** страны могут производить и что они могут продавать друг другу. Одни страны способны поставлять ткани, обувь, мясо, другие — цемент, сахар, лесоматериалы, третьи — цветные металлы, посуду, фрукты и многое другое. Немалая часть сырья, которое сейчас вывозится из **Африки**, может быть переработана и реализована на месте. А сейчас это сырье направляется в западные страны, чтобы затем вернуться в **Африку**, скажем, в облике пестрой коробочки с чаем.

Создание обрабатывающей промышленности нередко наталкивается на нехватку средств, квалифицированных кадров, рынков сбыта. Но основное препятствие — иностранный капитал, стремящийся не допустить появления конкурента и утраты выгодных рынков. **Африканским** правительствам приходится нередко применять политическое давление или принимать решения, ограничивающие деятельность иностранных компаний. Недавно серию декретов такого рода приняло правительство Нигерии. Создана государственная нефтяная компания, в руки государства передана значительная доля акций в нефтедобыче, в крупном новом автосборочном заводе. Правительство Замбии около двух лет назад взяло в свои руки контрольный пакет акций горнорудных компаний Медного пояса.

Во многих других странах **Африки** растет государственный сектор экономики. Особенно это заметно в таких странах, как Гвинея, Алжир, Египет, Сомали, Танзания и другие. Создание государственного сектора, социалистическая ориентация ряда **африканских** стран дают возможность более действенно контролировать экономику, лучше планировать ее развитие, рациональнее использовать имеющиеся ресурсы.

Опыт последних лет показал, что «свободное предпринимательство» на **африканской** почве чаще всего служит лишь обогащению империалистических монополий и ничтожных групп из местной элиты, а отнюдь не делу здорового роста национальной экономики и благосостоянию населения. Хотя острое национально-освободительной борьбы направлено сейчас против империализма, успех дела деколонизации и строительства независимых государств будет зависеть от внутреннего соотношения сил между национально-демократическими слоями и реакционными, эксплуататорскими группами. Политическое развитие **Африки**, демократизация ее жизни, связи и дружеские отношения с социалистическими странами и мировым революционным движением во многом будут определять ее успехи в национальном строительстве.

Постоянной угрозой свободной **Африке** остаются расистско-колониальные режимы, окопавшиеся на юге континента. Это и военная угроза, свидетельством чему являются вооруженные провокации на границах Танзании, Замбии, Заира, Сенегала, прямое вторжение в столицу Гвинейской Республики. Это угроза политическая — поддержка и насаждение любыми средствами марионеточных неоколониалистских режимов. Освободительная борьба народов на юге **Африки** — это одновременно и борьба стран освобожденной **Африки**, одна из главных задач ОАЕ и всех ее членов.

Ситуация на антиколониальных фронтах сейчас очень острая. Сражения идут как в залах заседаний Совета Безопасности ООН, так и в жарких саваннах в джунглях Анголы, Мозамбика, Гвинеи (Бисау). Масштаб военных действий, особенно в португальских колониях, значительно расширился. Более половины армии Португалии воюет сейчас в **Африке**. И все же Лиссабон давно потерял бы все «свои» **африканские** территории, если бы не постоянная военная и экономическая помощь НАТО, если бы не широкая поддержка **южноафриканских** расистов, солдаты и полицейские которых принимают непосредственное участие в карательных экспедициях португальцев.

Новый оборот приняла в последние месяцы события в Родезии. Расистская клика Смита, захватившая семь лет назад власть в этой английской колонии, договорилась в ноябре прошлого года с консервативным правительством Лондона об урегулировании своих «семейных разногласий». Речь шла о признании так называемой «независимой» Родезии, то есть о признании расистского режима кучк и белых колонистов.

Неожиданным для империалистов оказалось открытое сопротивление **африканцев** этому позорному сговору. По всем городам Родезии прошли решительные массовые демонстрации протеста. Десятки тысяч людей вышли из кварталов и поселков, отведенных «только для черных», и двинулись с лозунгами и петициями, требуя политических свобод, права голоса, независимости. Была создана массовая представительная организация — **Африканский** национальный совет, — взявшая в свои руки руководство движением протеста. Волнения в родезийских городах еще раз подтвердили подлинные чувства и стремления **африканского** населения. Эхо родезийских расстрелов, которыми расисты ответили на протесты, разнеслось по всей **Африке**.

Массовое пробуждение, переход к открытой борьбе имеют место и в Намибии — подопечной территории ООН, оккупированной правительством ЮАР. Здесь средством протеста и борьбы стала всеобщая забастовка **африканских** рабочих, парализовавшая экономику страны. В самой ЮАР переселение миллионов **африканцев** в гетто, именуемые «бантустанами», расширение законов апартеида на все области частной и общественной жизни вызывают протест все более широких слоев населения. Даже часть европейских поселенцев

приходит к выводу, что система оголтелого расизма приведет к катастрофическим последствиям. Суды над инакомыслящими, аресты десятков тысяч людей за нарушение бесчисленных запретов и правил для **африканского** населения лишь подчеркивают всю остроту противоречий между народными массами ЮАР и держащими власть расистскими маньяками.

В будущем году ОАЕ отметит свой десятилетний юбилей. Уже готовится программа празднеств. Но и сегодня, в День освобождения **Африки**, можно с полным правом сказать, что идеи единства континента, единства в борьбе и созидании помогли и помогают **африканским** народам на их тяжелом, долгом и тернистом пути к полной свободе и процветанию.

В. КОРОВИКОВ.

(Соб. корр. «Правды»),

Аддис-Абеба, май.

UNITY IN STRUGGLE AND CREATION

Africa Freedom Day

Nine years ago, the heads of independent **African** states signed in Addis Ababa the "Charter of **African** Unity" and founded the Organization of **African** Unity (OAU). Its main goals were identified as being the struggles for the total elimination of colonialism on the continent, development and strengthening of the national economy, political sovereignty and national culture of the young states. It was an important step in bringing together the efforts of dozens of countries leading a heavy, everyday battle with their colonial heritage, and with attempts of the imperialist powers to maintain control over their previous possessions, through underdevelopment, poverty and superstition.

25 May is celebrated annually by the world community as **Africa** Liberation Day. Nine tumultuous and highly instructive years have passed. It has become clearer who is the friend and who is the enemy of independent **Africa**. It has strengthened the belief that slogans and goals require many years of hard struggle for implementation. There were quite a few mistakes, aggravated by direct subversive activities of reactionary forces, both external and internal. Coups, civil strife and economic hardship have several times left the continent reeling. It is still not able to wrest from the hands of the colonialists and racists large areas of **South Africa**. Still, the positive outcome of **African** history of the last decade is difficult to overestimate. Tens of millions of people have escaped the foreign yoke, and won the right to be masters in their own house. The voice of **Africa** sounds loudly in the international arena; it denounces racism and colonialism, dangerous business and the ideas of colonialists and neo-colonialists.

The most difficult problems of economic development of independent **African** countries which would weaken their dependence on foreign markets and capital, are the creation of a diversified, viable national economy, and the eradication of poverty, unemployment and technological backwardness.

Perhaps the most serious problems occur in the development of agriculture in **Africa**. In some years, the production of food crops has clearly not kept pace with population growth. To break the vicious circle of a raw, single-crop economy, to find the strength and means to upgrade and industrialise a semi-subsistence rural economy is a very complex task.

Often, bourgeois economists and politicians advised **African** leaders not to try to enter this circle and instead to rely on the services of foreign monopolies. They take as an example the coast from Ivory Coast to Gabon, whose export growth figures look attractive at first sight. On further checking it turns out that production growth in these countries is determined entirely by foreign firms, which pump out minerals and create

export plantations of tropical crops. It is, as one economist said, growth without **development**, condemning the country and its population to subordination to foreign capital.

Large mining centres in many countries of **Africa**, modern industries, trade and maritime transport are in the hands of others. Often the finances of **African** banks are controlled by London, Paris and New York. Another heavy burden is arrears on loans. The external debts of **African** countries, according to the UN, have grown from 3.3 billion dollars in 1960 to 8.7 billion in 1968. Repayments of loans and interest on them alone in the same year came to 625 million dollars.

Africa bears huge losses from the currency crisis in the world capitalist market, fluctuations in commodity prices and the constant rise in prices for manufactured goods. These losses are very much felt, because more than three quarters of the continent's foreign trade is still accounted for by imperialist countries. Intra-**African** trade is still negligible.

This is why the efforts of **African** leaders and economists, and the activities of organizations such as the OAU and the UN Economic Commission for **Africa**, are focused on looking for a way out of this system of imperialist bondage and theft. Along with the development of the national economy, plans are being developed for closer regional and pan-**African** cooperation. Already there are several such interstate associations. Not all of them are effective, but the foundations of cooperation in **Africa** have been laid.

The East **African** Economic Community, which includes **Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda**, has considerable experience of such cooperation. This year, the OAU held the first pan-**African** trade fair in **Nairobi**. Its main aim was to show everything that **African** countries can produce and what they can sell to each other. Some countries are able to supply cloth, shoes and meat, others can supply cement, sugar, timber, and others can supply non-ferrous metal, pottery, fruits and more. Much of the raw material, which is now exported from **Africa**, could be reworked in situ. But for now this raw material is sent to Western countries, later to be returned to **Africa**, for example, in the guise of colourful boxes of tea.

The creation of a manufacturing industry often encounters a shortage of funds, skills and markets. But the main obstacle is foreign capital, which seeks to prevent the emergence of a competitor and the loss of lucrative markets. **African** governments often have to apply political pressure or take decisions restricting the activities of foreign companies. Recently the Government of **Nigeria** announced a series of decrees of this kind. A state oil company was created, and a large proportion of shares in the oil industry and in a large new car assembly plant passed into the hands of the state. About two years ago the Government of Zambia took into its hands a controlling stake in the Copperbelt mining companies.

In many other **African** countries, the public sector is growing. This is particularly evident in countries such as Guinea, Algeria, Egypt, Somalia, Tanzania and others. The creation of a public sector and the socialist orientation of several **African** countries make it possible to control the economy more effectively, to plan its development better, and to make more rational use of available resources.

Recent experience has shown that "free enterprise" on **African** soil often only serves to enrich imperialist monopolies and insignificant groups of the local elite, rather than cause the healthy growth of the national economy and the welfare of the population. Although the sharp end of the national liberation struggle is now directed against imperialism, the success of decolonization and the construction of independent states will depend on the internal balance of forces between the layers of national-democratic and reactionary, exploitative groups. **Africa's** political development,

democratization of its life, communications and friendly relations with socialist countries and the world revolutionary movement will largely determine its successes in national construction.

A free **Africa** is constantly threatened by racist and colonial regimes entrenched in the south of the continent. This is also a military threat, as evidenced by armed provocations on the borders of **Tanzania, Zambia, Zaire and Senegal**, and direct intervention in the capital of the **Republic of Guinea**. And the support and imposition by any means of neocolonial puppet regimes is a political threat. The liberation struggle in southern **Africa** is also a struggle of countries of liberated **Africa**, one of the main objectives of the OAU and all its members.

The situation on the anti-colonial front is now very sharp. Just as battles go on in the boardrooms of the UN Security Council, they go on in the hot savannah jungle in **Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau)**. The scale of military operations, especially in the Portuguese colonies, has grown considerably. More than half of the Army of Portugal is now fighting in **Africa**. Yet Lisbon would long ago have lost all "its" **African** territory, were it not for the permanent military and economic assistance of NATO and the broad support of **South African** racists, soldiers and police who were directly involved in expeditions of Portuguese penalty enforcement.

Events in **Rhodesia** have taken a new turn in recent months. Smith's racist clique, which seized power seven years ago in this British colony, agreed in November last year with the Conservative government in London to settle their "family differences". This concerned the recognition of so-called "independent" **Rhodesia**, that is the recognition of the racist regime and a bunch of white colonists.

The open resistance of **Africans** to this shameful collusion took the imperialists by surprise. In all Rhodesian towns there were drastic mass demonstrations. Tens of thousands of people came out of their neighbourhoods and towns where were designated "blacks-only" and marched with banners and petitions demanding political freedom, the right to vote and independence. A mass representative organization was created, the **African** National Council, which took over leadership of the protest movement. Unrest in the Rhodesian towns again confirmed the true feelings and aspirations of the **African** population. The echo of Rhodesian shootings, with which racists responded to the protests, spread throughout **Africa**.

This mass awakening and the transition to an open fight is also taking place in **Namibia**, on UN-designated territory occupied by the **South African** government. Here the means of protest and struggle have become the general strike of **African** workers, which paralyzed the country's economy. In **South Africa** itself the resettlement of millions of **Africans** in ghettos, called "Bantustans", the expansion of apartheid laws to all areas of private and public life are provoking protest in ever broader sections of the population. Even some of the European settlers are coming to the conclusion that the system of unbridled racism is disastrous. Trials of dissidents, arrests of tens of thousands of people for violating countless prohibitions and regulations for only the **African** population emphasize the acuteness of the contradictions between the masses of the people of **South Africa** and the racist maniacs who hold power.

Next year, the OAU will celebrate its tenth anniversary. The programme of festivities is already being prepared. But today, **Africa** Liberation Day, we can rightly say that the ideas of the continent's unity, unity in the fight and in creation have helped the **African** people on their heavy, long and thorny path to total freedom and prosperity.

B Korovikov.

("Pravda"'s Own Corr.)

Addis Ababa, May.

C141, 1973

C141, 11th March, 1973, page 4

Cartoon Caption

Африка все более убеждается в грабительском характере отношений, которые установили члены «Общего рынка» (ЕЭС) с рядом **африканских** стран, заявил нигерийский министр У. Бриггс.

ЗАВЛЕКАЕТ...

Рисунок В. Чакиридиса

Cartoon Caption

Africa is increasingly convinced of the predatory nature of the relationship that members of the "Common Market" (EEC) have established with a number of **African** countries, said Nigerian Minister W. Briggs.

Alluring ...

Drawing by V. Chakiridis

See cartoon in Chapter 6.

C143, 1973

C143, 19th August, 1973, page 5

ПОЛИЦЕЙСКАЯ РАСПРАВА

ЛУСАКА, 18 (ТАСС). Южно-**африканская** полиция учинила новую расправу над членами на родной организации Юго-Западной **Африки** (СВАПО). По сообщению из Виндхука, большой отряд вооруженных до зубов полицейских совершил нападение на участников митинга, организованного СВАПО в **африканском** пригороде Виндхука Катутур. Один **африканец** убит, более двухсот человек арестованы.

Весь район Катутура оцеплен полицией.

Новой полицейской акции предшествовал арест многих руководителей СВАПО и других организаций, выступающих за предоставление Намибии независимости.

POLICE VIOLENCE

LUSAKA, 18 (TASS). **South Africa** police started a new massacre of members of the South-West **African** People's Organisation (SWAPO). As reported from Windhoek, a large group of heavily armed police attacked participants of a rally organized by SWAPO in the **African** suburb Katutura, **Windhoek**. One **African** was killed, and more than two hundred people were arrested.

The whole area of **Katutura** is surrounded by police.

The new police action was preceded by the arrest of many leaders of SWAPO and other organizations advocating for the institution of **Namibian** independence.

Аддис-Абеба:

“Благотворители”

Йоганнесбургская газета “Стар” опубликовала любопытные цифры о деятельности американских фирм в **Африке**. В 1971 году их капиталовложения составляли 2.800 миллионов долларов, а прибыли – 557 миллионов долларов. В то же время вся сумма “помощи” **Африке** со стороны США исчислялась в 1972 году втрое меньшей цифрой – 175 миллионов долларов. Причем из них 104 миллиона должны быть выплачены **африканскими** государствами в ближайшие годы.

В. Коровиков.

Addis Ababa:
"Benefactors"

The Johannesburg newspaper "Star" has published some curious figures on the activities of American firms in **Africa**. In 1971, their investments were \$2,800 million, and profits were \$557 million. At the same time, the entire amount of "aid" to **Africa** from the United States in 1972 is calculated at three times less than this - \$175 million. And of this, \$104 million is to be repaid by **African** governments in the coming years.

V. Korovikov.

C149, 1974

C149, 15th June, 1974, page 5

ЗАЛОГ УСПЕХА

МОГАДИШО, 14. (ТАСС). В сомалийской столице продолжает работу 11-я сессия Ассамблеи глав государств и правительств стран — членов Организации **африканского** единства.

Со словами благодарности в адрес социалистических стран и всех прогрессивных сил мира за поддержку справедливой освободительной борьбы народа Мозамбика выступил председатель Фронта освобождения Мозамбика (ФРЕЛИМО) Самора Машел.

Глубокую благодарность независимым **африканским** странам, Организации **африканского** единства за моральную помощь и материальную поддержку, оказанную патриотам **Африканской** партии независимости Гвинеи и островов Зеленого Мыса (ПАИГК), выразил председатель Государственного совета Республики Гвинея-Бисау Луис Кабрал.

На необходимость дальнейшего укрепления сотрудничества арабских и **африканских** стран указал в выступлении генеральный секретарь Лиги арабских стран Махмуд Риад. Он отметил, что такое сотрудничество явится залогом успеха в борьбе народов континента против международного империализма.

THE KEY TO SUCCESS

Mogadishu, 14. (TASS). In the Somali capital the work of the 11th Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of member countries of the Organization of **African** Unity continues.

With words of gratitude to the socialist countries and all progressive forces in the world for their support of the just struggle for freedom of the people of Mozambique, the chair of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), Samora Machel gave his speech.

The chair of the Government Council of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, Luis Cabral expressed deep gratitude to independent **African** countries and the Organization of **African** Unity for their moral help and material support to the patriots of the **African** Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC).

The secretary general of the Arab League, Mahmoud Riad, spoke about the need to further strengthen the cooperation of Arab and **African** countries. He noted that such cooperation will be the key to success in the struggle of the peoples of the continent against international imperialism.

Наши интервью

Здесь готовят национальные кадры

Развитие Гвинейской Республики, подготовку национальных кадров и укрепление государственного сектора невозможно сегодня представить без Конакрийского политехнического института. О его истории, вкладе в дело — преобразования страны корреспондент “Правды” Л. Кузнецов попросил рассказать ректора института К. Куруму и представителя Министерства высшего и среднего специального образования СССР в Гвинее Б. Уфимцева.

Колониализм оставил Гвинее тяжелое наследие,— отметил К. Курума.— К моменту провозглашения независимости в 1958 году во всей стране было лишь несколько человек, имевших высшее образование. Колонизаторы совсем не заботились о том, чтобы дать народу знания. Больше того, они препятствовали формированию гвинейской интеллигенции.

Понимая первостепенную важность подготовки собственных национальных кадров, Гвинея уже в 1959 году послала большую группу своих граждан для обучения в вузах и техникумах СССР. Одновременно было принято решение о создании в стране собственного высшего учебного заведения — Конакрийского политехнического института. Он был построен с помощью Советского Союза.

В числе первых были созданы строительный, геологический, сельскохозяйственный, электротехнический факультеты, а также факультет общественных наук и Высшая административная школа, которая готовит юристов, администраторов, бухгалтеров. Позднее были открыты механический, химический, медицинский и фармацевтический факультеты. В октябре 1962 года, еще до завершения строительства, институт принял в свои стены 54 студента. А сегодня здесь обучается без малого четыре тысячи человек. Институт стал известен далеко за пределами страны. И сюда едут за знаниями юноши и девушки из Сьерра Леоне, Мали, Нигерии, Экваториальной Гвинеи, Бурунди.

Конакрийский политехнический институт оснащен первоклассным оборудованием. Учитывая современные требования к уровню подготовки специалистов, в институте проводится работа по изучению студентами всех технических специальностей — основ вычислительной техники, моделирования, электроники и автоматизированных систем управления. Следует отметить, что при проведении научных исследований и выборе тем для дипломных работ и проектов в первую очередь учитываются потребности национальной экономики. На всех факультетах в институте работают гвинейские преподаватели, среди них выпускники самого Конакрийского политехнического института. С момента открытия института,— сказал в заключение К. Курума,— прошло немногим более 10 лет, однако он уже внес большой вклад в **развитие** республики. Среди его выпускников—руководители строек, предприятий, учреждений, министры. Из стен нашего института уже вышло около 700 специалистов высокой квалификации.

— Как уже говорилось, институт создан с **помощью** СССР,— продолжил беседу Б. Уфимцев.— В настоящее время в нем работает большая группа советских преподавателей.

Посланцы советской науки принимают активное участие в подготовке

местных преподавательских кадров. Под их руководством сейчас повышают квалификацию 39 лучших выпускников прошлого года. Около 20 гвинейских преподавателей находятся в настоящее время на научной стажировке в СССР. Сотрудничество Гвинеи и СССР в области образования и работа советских преподавателей получают высокую оценку народа этой **африканской** страны. Конакри, июнь.

Our interviews

National staff are being trained here

The **development** of the Republic of Guinea, training of national staff and strengthening of the public sector today is impossible to imagine without Conakry Polytechnic Institute. "Pravda" correspondent L. Kuznetsov asked the head of the institution, K. Kuruma, and the representative in Guinea of the USSR's Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education, B. Ufimtsev, to tell about its history and its contribution to the transformation of the country.

"Colonialism has left a heavy legacy in Guinea," said K. Kuruma. "At the time of independence in 1958 in the whole country there were only a few people who had higher education. The colonialists did not care about giving people knowledge. Furthermore, they inhibited the formation of Guinean intellectuals.

Realizing the paramount importance of training its own national staff, as early as 1959, Guinea sent a large group of its citizens to study at universities and colleges in the USSR. Simultaneously, it was decided to establish the country's own institution of higher education - Conakry Polytechnic Institute. It was built with Soviet **assistance**.

Among the first departments established were those of construction, geology, agriculture and electrical engineering, as well as the Faculty of Social Sciences and the Higher Administrative School, which trains lawyers, administrators and accountants. Later, mechanical, chemical, medical and pharmaceutical departments were opened. In October 1962, before construction was completed, the institute took in 54 students. And now nearly 4,000 people train here. The institute became known far beyond the country. And boys and girls from Sierra Leone, Mali, Nigeria, Equatorial Guinea and Burundi come here for knowledge.

Conakry Polytechnic Institute is equipped with first-class equipment. Taking into account modern demands for the level of training, the institute has students studying all technical specialties - the foundations of computing, modelling, electronics and automated control systems. It is worth noting that the scientific research carried out and the themes selected for diploma work and projects primarily address the needs of the national economy.

In all faculties in the institute Guinean teachers are working, among them graduates of Conakry Polytechnic Institute.

Since the opening of the institute, K. Kuruma said in conclusion, a little more than 10 years have passed, but it has already made a great contribution to the **development** of the country. Among its graduates are leaders of construction, enterprises, institutions and ministers. 700 highly qualified specialists have already come out of our institution.

"As already mentioned, the institute was created with the **help** of the USSR," continued B. Ufimtsev. "Currently, it employs a large group of Soviet teachers."

Envoys of Soviet science are actively involved in training local teachers. Under their leadership, last year's top 39 graduates are now increasing their qualifications. About 20 Guinean teachers are currently on scientific training in the USSR. The cooperation of Guinea and the USSR in the field of education and the work of Soviet teachers are highly appreciated by the people of this **African** country.

Conakry, June.

C160, 1977

C160, 24th May, 1977, page 1

Поздравление государствам и народам Африки по случаю Дня освобождения Африки

Президиум Верховного Совета СССР и Советское правительство сердечно поздравляют правительства и народы **Африки** по случаю Дня освобождения **Африки**.

Народы **Африки** встречают эту дату в обстановке усиления борьбы за национальное возрождение и социальный прогресс, за свободу и независимость. Все большее число **африканских** государств вступает на путь прогрессивных преобразований. Ширится и набирает силу борьба за освобождение народов Зимбабве, Намибии и Южной **Африки** от расового и колониального гнета.

Год от года повышается роль суверенных государств **Африки** на мировой арене. В Советском Союзе с удовлетворением отмечают, что вклад этих государств в решение таких международных проблем, как обеспечение мира и безопасности, разоружение, борьба с агрессией, возрастает, и
(Окончание на 2-й стр.)

Congratulations to the States and peoples of Africa on the occasion of Africa Liberation Day

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government warmly congratulate the Government and people of **Africa** on the occasion of the Day of Liberation of **Africa**.

The peoples of **Africa** meet this date in a situation of strength in the struggle for national rebirth and social progress, for freedom and independence. An increasing number of **African** countries is embarking on the path of progressive reforms. The struggle for the liberation of the peoples of **Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa** from racial and colonial oppression is spreading and intensifying.

Year by year, the role of sovereign states in **Africa** on the world stage is growing. In the Soviet Union we are pleased to note that the contribution of these countries to the solution of international problems, such as peace and security, disarmament, the fight against aggression, has increased and
(Continued on page 2.)

C164, 1978

C164, 16th February, 1978, page 4

ЗА МИРНОЕ УРЕГУЛИРОВАНИЕ

Советский комитет солидарности стран Азии и **Африки** выступил с заявлением, в котором говорится, что советская общественность с большим вниманием и тревогой следит за событиями на границе Социалистической Республики Вьетнам и Демократической Кампучии.

Боевая солидарность народов двух братских соседних стран в годы героической борьбы за свободу и независимость явилась важным фактором, обеспечившим историческую победу. Миротворившая и прогрессивная общественность с чувством глубокого удовлетворения восприняла перспективы

построения новой, счастливой жизни, открывшиеся перед народами этих стран. Однако кампучийские власти встали на путь вооруженных провокаций и разжигания ненависти между двумя народами. Такая политика расшатывает основы солидарных действий и братской дружбы, наносит большой ущерб национальным интересам обеих стран.

Советский комитет солидарности стран Азии и **Африки** считает, что единственно разумной альтернативой является проведение между двумя странами переговоров, направленных на мирное урегулирование пограничного вопроса, отношений между Вьетнамом и Кампучией, как это неоднократно предлагалось правительством Социалистической Республики Вьетнам. Советская общественность убеждена в том, что свободолюбивые народы Индокитая не позволят никаким империалистическим, реакционным силам сеять рознь и подрывать узы братства и солидарности между ними.

Советский комитет солидарности стран Азии и **Африки** поддерживает новые конструктивные предложения правительства Социалистической Республики Вьетнам от 5 февраля 1978 года о немедленном прекращении военных действий и об организации встречи с целью переговоров и подписания договора, предусматривающего уважение независимости, суверенитета и территориальной целостности Вьетнама и Кампучии. (ТАСС).

FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT

The Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and **African** countries has stated that the Soviet public is following with great attention and concern the events on the border of Vietnam and Democratic Kampuchea.

Military solidarity of the peoples of the two brotherly neighbouring countries during the heroic struggle for freedom and independence was an important factor in achieving the historic victory. A peace-loving and progressive public saw with a deep sense of satisfaction the possibility of building a new, happy life available to the peoples of these countries. However, the Cambodian authorities embarked on armed provocation and incitement of hatred between the two peoples. This policy undermines the foundations of actions of solidarity and of fraternal friendship, causing great damage to the national interests of both countries.

The Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and **African** countries finds that the only reasonable alternative is for the two countries to conduct negotiations aimed at a peaceful settlement of the border issue and relations between Vietnam and Kampuchea, as was proposed to the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The Soviet public is convinced that the freedom-loving peoples of Indochina will not allow any imperialist and reactionary forces to sow discord and undermine the bonds of brotherhood and solidarity between them.

The Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and **African** countries supports the new constructive proposals of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam of February 5, 1978 for an immediate cessation of hostilities and to organize a meeting for the purpose of negotiating and signing a contract stipulating respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Vietnam and Kampuchea. (TASS).

КОЛОНИЗАТОРЫ В НОВОМ ОБЛИЧЬЕ

Юрий ЖУКОВ, политический обозреватель "Правды"

Общественность **развивающихся стран Африки** бьет тревогу: спустя несколько лет после того, как на континенте рухнули последние колониалистские бастионы, империалисты начинают контрнаступление.

Конечно же, речь отнюдь не идет о простом повторении пройденного.

Времена, когда захватчики высаживались на берега **Африки** с военных кораблей и объявляли ее земли своими, обращая коренное население в рабство, канули в вечность безвозвратно.

Ныне колониализм все чаще появляется в новом обличье: на первый план зачастую выдвигаются посулы экономической помощи, вместо грубого насилия — лести. И наряду с этим — интриги, происки, подрывная деятельность против тех **африканских** государств, которые избрали путь социалистической ориентации.

Как писал выходящий в столице Сенегала Дакаре журнал “**Африк нувель**”, ключом к пониманию этой новой обстановки является анализ деятельности созданных крупнейшими капиталистами многонациональных, или, как их точнее именуют специалисты, — транснациональных компаний, орудующих в развивающихся странах.

“Стратегия этих 300 фирм, руководимых централизованной иерархией,— пишет “**Африк нувель**”, — охватывает многие государства. Эти компании выходят за пределы одной-единственной страны и приобретают международные масштабы, в силу которых они оказываются в состоянии одновременно и конфликта, и сотрудничества с правительствами разных стран. Самые большие транснациональные компании - американские: финансовых средств у них больше, чем у всех других”.

Американским компаниям принадлежит господствующая позиция среди современных международных монополий. По имеющимся статистическим данным, в 1974 году 150 из существующих в капиталистическом мире 313 транснациональных фирм с оборотом свыше миллиарда долларов у каждой являлись чисто американскими. Из 49 сверх-крупных транснациональных компаний, обладающих оборотом свыше 5 миллиардов долларов каждая, 24 были американскими.

Мощные американские корпорации вовлекают в создаваемые ими транснациональные монополии капиталы зарубежных компаний и далее государств,— в частности, арабских стран, владеющих нефтяными богатствами. Это облегчает им не только захват рынков, но и доступ к эксплуатации чужих природных богатств; такие «смешанные» монополии не считаются с границами.

Как писал вышеупомянутый сенегальский журнал, «транснациональная компания — не просто торговый орган. Она представляет собой центр мощи и притом не только в масштабах рынка. Мощь транснациональных компаний — «многоплановая» (экономическая, техническая, валютная и близкая к политической). И эта мощь используется для того, чтобы добиться изменений экономическими методами или в соответствии со своими интересами изменить нормы, определяющие жизнь коллектива».

Сказано довольно мудро. Но суть дела тут выражена правильно: вторгаясь в развивающиеся страны, транснациональные монополии отнюдь не ограничиваются погоней за барышом — они ставят своей целью и приобретение политического влияния в этих странах, добиваясь «изменения норм, определяющих жизнь коллектива», а точнее говоря — такого изменения социального строя, которое предотвратило бы развитие молодых государств **Африки** по пути социалистической ориентации.

Наиболее отчетливые формы контрнаступления колонизаторов под флагом транснациональных монополий приобрело за последние два-три года. До этого корпорации США, напуганные взрывом национально-освободительных революций, охвативших **Африку** в 60-е годы, боялись вкладывать капиталы в развивающиеся страны. Свои средства они направляли по преимуществу в ЮАР и

Родезию, где все еще крепко держались у власти «белые» расистские режимы. До 1975 года они вложили туда 5 миллиардов долларов, в то время как их капиталовложения во всех остальных **африканских** государствах не превышали 2 миллиардов.

Сейчас картина резко меняется. Транснациональные компании, находящиеся под руководством американского капитала, начали свое вторжение в другие страны **Африки**. В погоне за железной рудой корпорация «Бетлихем стил» проникла в Габон, «Пикандс Матер» — в Берег Слоновой Кости, «Амоко» и «Леон Темплсмен» — в Заир. Их прельщают тамошние запасы меди. Группа американских компаний проникла в Бурунди - она изучает залежи никеля, которые, возможно, являются крупнейшими в мире.

Финансирующие это контрнаступление колонизаторов американские банки спешат открыть свои **африканские** филиалы. В столицах многих развивающихся **африканских** государств появились вывески: «Банкерс траст», «Сити корпорейшн», «Ферст нэшнл банк оф Чикаго», «Морган гарантии». На ближайшие 15 лет планируются крупные американские капиталовложения в Нигерии, Заире, Береге Слоновой Кости, Габоне, Замбии, Ботсване и других государствах.

Картина этого нового вторжения колонизаторов в **Африку** была бы не полна, если бы мы не сказали о том, что параллельно с транснациональными компаниями, контролируемыми американцами, в нем участвуют подобные им компании, контролируемые английским, французским и западногерманским капиталом.

Для примера можно напомнить поразительную историю компании «Лонро» («Лондон энд Родезия майнинг анд ланд компани»), в которой командные позиции принадлежат англичанам, — она не только экономически, но и политически обеспечивает Великобритании влияние во многих **африканских** странах.

Вот новые сведения о том, как расширяется это влияние. «Лонро» «имеет интересы» уже более чем в 40 странах, из которых 20—**африканские**. На ее предприятиях сейчас работают свыше 100.000 человек. Четверть ее капитала ныне составляют средства, принятые в оборот у арабских шейхов Кувейта и Абу-Даби.

«Лонро» контролирует сегодня 60 компаний в самой Великобритании, 62 — в Родезии, 45 — в Кении, 15 — в Южно-**Африканской** Республике, 16 — в Малави, 12 — на острове Маврикий и на соседних островах. В Судане она сооружает сахарный завод, крупнейший в **Африке**. В Гане — финансирует добычу золота. Ее щупальца протянулись в Габон и Либерию.

Это вызывает растущую тревогу у **африканский** общественности, которой дороги национальные интересы. Наиболее дальновидные политики молодых государств **Африки** предупреждают о том, что действия неокolonизаторов чреваты опасными последствиями. Суть проблемы такова: страна, провозгласившая политику «открытых дверей» для иностранного капитала, лишается своего главного суверенного права: планировать развитие экономики и развивать ее в соответствии с национальными интересами.

«Экономические и социальные результаты некоторых маневров (транснациональных монополий в **Африке**) были катастрофическими, — пишет «**Африк** нувель», — они привели к безработице и валютному беспорядку. Профсоюзы... утверждают, что капиталовложения транснациональных компаний в **третьем мире** не содействовали росту производства, а, напротив, привели к снижению занятости рабочей силы. Что касается валютного беспорядка, то

следует подчеркнуть, что транснациональные компании часто были причиной бесконтрольной спекуляции. Но самая серьезная критика по адресу транснациональных компаний касается их политической власти. В самом деле, их обвиняют в том, что они имеют международную мощь, которая по их усмотрению приводила к свержению различных правительств».

Так на своем горьком опыте целый ряд развивающихся государств убедился в том, сколь опасна политика «открывания дверей» перед транснациональными монополиями. И уж если говорить о последствиях этой политики, то как тут не вспомнить еще раз о наделавшей столь много шума летом прошлого гола сделке, заключенной с Заиром пресловутой «Орбиталь транспорт унд ракетен АГ» (ОТРАГ), выступающей под флагом ФРГ, но явно связанной с заокеанскими партнерами.

Напомню, что фирма ОТРАГ, председателем наблюдательного совета которой является Курт Г. Дебуе, руководивший в гитлеровской Германии во время войны летными испытаниями беспилотных снарядов «ФАУ-2», а после войны работавший в США вместе со своим другом Вернером фон Бриуном над созданием ракет для США, заключила 26 марта 1976 года, с правительством Заира секретное соглашение.

ОТРАГ получила по этому соглашению в свое пользование до 2000 года огромную территорию, равную по размеру трем четвертям всей площади ФРГ. Статья 2 соглашения предусматривает, что Заир «без всяких ограничений предоставляет ОТРАГ право предпринимать любые меры, которые корпорация сочтет необходимыми для осуществления полной и абсолютной власти (!) на этой территории». Кроме того, ОТРАГ получила исключительные «дисциплинарные» права и полномочия в отношении своих сотрудников и членов их семей, на которые, таким образом, не распространяются законы Заира.

Статья 3 этого соглашения содержит условие, не имеющее прецедента в международном праве: ОТРАГ получила право решать, кто может остаться жить на этой территории размером в 150.000 квадратных километров, а кому придется убраться оттуда.

Событие, происшедшее в Заире, вызывает тем большую тревогу в **Африке**, что компания ОТРАГ занимается на отхваченной ею огромной территории отнюдь не безобидным делом. Напомню, что эта транснациональная монополия, действуя в обход международных соглашений, запрещающих ФРГ производить ракетное вооружение на своей территории, занята созданием ракет, способных, по признанию ее директора Л. Кайзера, нести на себе ядерную боеголовку.

«По сведениям, полученным от высокопоставленных лиц в Западной Европе,—писал американский журналист Тэд Шульп,— ОТРАГ производит крылатую ракету и баллистическую ракету промежуточного радиуса действия для германского консорциума, состоящего из компаний «Мессершмитт», «Бельков» и «Блом» — основных оборонных подрядчиков в ФРГ. Полагают, что со временем ракеты будут переданы западногерманским вооруженным силам».

Премьер-министр Анголы Лопу ду Насименту справедливо назвал создание на территории Заира полигона для испытаний западногерманского ракетного оружия «угрозой всему **африканскому** континенту». Эти опасения разделяет бывший комиссар ООН по делам Намибии видный политический деятель Шон Макбрайд.

Таковы тревожные факты, показывающие, как действия колонизаторов, выступающих в новом обличье, усложняют политическую обстановку на **африканском** континенте, который они хотели бы поработить вновь, пользуясь новой стратегией.

Colonizers in a new guise

Yuri Zhukov, political columnist of "Pravda"

The public in **developing countries** in **Africa** is alarmed: a few years after the last bastions of colonialism collapsed on the continent, imperialists have started a counteroffensive.

Of course, we are not talking about a simple repetition of the past. The times when invaders landed on the coast of **Africa** from warships and declared its land their own, turning the indigenous population into slavery, have sunk into oblivion forever.

Now colonialism increasingly appears in a new guise: first of all often come promises of **economic aid**, and rather than brute force comes flattery. And along with it - intrigue, machinations and subversion against those **African** states that have chosen the path of socialist orientation.

As the magazine "**Afrique Nouvelle**", published in the **Senegal** capital **Dakar**, wrote, the key to understanding this new situation is an analysis of the activities of the largest multinational capitalists, or as specialists more precisely call them, multinational companies operating in **developing countries**.

"The strategy of these 300 companies, led by a centralized hierarchy," wrote "**Nouvelle Afrique**", "covers many states. These companies go beyond a single country and become international in scope, and because of this they are in a situation of simultaneous conflict and cooperation with governments. Most large multinational companies are American: their financial resources are greater than those of others."

American companies have the dominant position amongst modern international monopolies. According to available statistics, in 1974, 150 of the 313 multinational firms in the capitalist world with a turnover of over a billion dollars each were purely American. Of the 49 super-large multinational companies with a turnover of over \$5 billion each, 24 were American.

Powerful U.S. corporations attract capital of foreign companies and even governments to the multinational monopolies that they have created - in particular, capital of Arab countries with oil wealth. This makes it easier for them not only to capture markets, but also to gain access to exploitation of foreign natural resources; such "mixed" monopolies are not considered to have borders.

As the above-mentioned Senegalese magazine wrote, "A multinational company is not just a trade body. It is a centre of power, and not only in the scale of the market. The power of multinational companies is "multifaceted" (economic, technical, monetary and close to political). And this power is used to bring about change through economic methods or, in accordance with their interests, to change the rules governing the life of the collective."

This is quite surprising. But the point here is expressed correctly: intruding into developing countries, multinational monopolies are not confined to the pursuit of wealth - they also aim to purchase political influence in these countries, seeking "a change of rules defining the life of the collective", or more precisely - a change in the social structure, to **prevent the development** of young **African** states which are on the path towards socialism.

The colonialists' counteroffensive under the flag of monopolies has acquired the most distinctive forms over the past two or three years. Before this, U.S. corporations, scared by the explosion of national liberation revolutions that swept **Africa** in the 60s, were afraid to invest in **developing countries**. They directed their funds mainly to **South Africa** and **Rhodesia**, where "white" racist regimes have remained firmly in power. Before 1975, they invested \$5 billion there, while their investments in all other **African** countries did not exceed \$2 billion.

Now the picture is changing dramatically. Multinational companies under the leadership of American capital, have begun to invade other countries in **Africa**. In pursuit of iron ore, the corporation "Bethlehem Steel" has penetrated Gabon, "Pikands Mater" the Ivory Coast, and "Amoco" and "Leon Templesmen" have gone into Zaire. They are attracted there by copper reserves. A group of American companies has entered Burundi, to examine the nickel deposits, which are probably the largest in the world.

Funding this counteroffensive of colonialists, U.S. banks are rushing to open **African** subsidiaries. In the capitals of many **African developing countries** signs have appeared: "Bankers' Trust", "City Corporation", "First National Bank of Chicago" and "Morgan Guaranty". Over the next 15 years major U.S. investment is planned in **Nigeria, Zaire, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Zambia, Botswana** and other countries.

The picture of this new invasion of colonialists into **Africa** would not be complete if we did not mention that, in parallel with multinational companies controlled by Americans, similar companies controlled by British, French and West German capital are participating.

For example, we can recall the amazing story of "Lonrho" ("London and Rhodesia Mining And Land Company"), through which the British have a commanding position – it not only economically, but also politically, provides the UK with influence in many **African** countries.

Here is new evidence about how this influence is expanding. "Lonrho" "has interests" already in more than 40 countries, of which 20 are **African**. Its factories now employ over 100,000 people. A quarter of its capital funds now consists of resources from the Arab sheikhs of Kuwait and Abu Dhabi.

"Lonrho" today controls 60 companies in Great Britain, 62 in **Rhodesia**, 45 in **Kenya**, 15 in the **Republic of South Africa**, 16 in **Malawi**, and 12 on the island of **Mauritius** and neighbouring islands. In **Sudan**, it is building a sugar factory, the largest in **Africa**. In **Ghana** it is financing gold mining. Its tentacles have stretched into Gabon and Liberia.

This is causing growing concern amongst the **African** public, to whom national interests are dear. The most far-sighted politicians of the young **African** states warn that neo-colonialist actions are fraught with dangerous consequences. The problem is that a country which proclaimed a policy of "open doors" to foreign capital is deprived of its main sovereign rights: to plan its **economic development** and develop it in accordance with national interests.

"The economic and social results of certain manoeuvres (of transnational monopolies in **Africa**) were catastrophic," wrote "Nouvelle **Afrique**." "They have led to unemployment and monetary disorder. Trade unions ... argue that the investment of multinational companies in the **third world** has not promoted the growth of production, but rather led to a decrease in employment of labour. With regard to the chaos of exchange rates, it should be emphasized that multinational companies have often been the cause of uncontrolled speculation. But the most serious criticism of multinational companies is with respect to their political power. In fact, they are accused of having international power, which under their oversight has led to the overthrow of various governments."

And so a number of **developing countries** have learned the hard way how dangerous is the policy of "open doors" to transnational monopolies. And even if we talk about the consequences of this policy, we have to remember again the transaction which caused a lot of noise last summer, which Zaire concluded with the notorious "Orbital Transport und Raketen AG" (OTRAG) serving under the flag of West Germany, but clearly related to overseas partners.

Let me remind you that the firm OTRAG, whose Chair of the Supervisory Board is Kurt G. Desbois, who led flight testing of unmanned missiles "V-2" in Nazi Germany during the war, and after the war worked in the United States with his friend Werner von Brijuni on the creation of rockets for the United States, on March 26 1976 entered into a secret agreement with the government of Zaire.

Under this agreement, OTRAG received the use until 2000 of a vast territory, equal in size to three-quarters of the entire area of Germany. Article 2 of the agreement provides that Zaire "without restriction gives OTRAG the right to take any action which the corporation may deem necessary to exercise full and absolute power (!) on this site.» Moreover, OTRAG received exceptional "disciplinary" rights and powers in respect of its employees and their families, which are thus not subject to the laws of Zaire.

Article 3 of the agreement contains a condition that has no precedent in international law: OTRAG received the right to decide who can remain living in this area of 150,000 square kilometres, and who has to get out of there.

The event in Zaire which is causing even more alarm in **Africa** is the fact that the company OTRAG is engaging in not at all harmless business on the vast territory that it has grabbed. Let me remind you that this multinational monopoly, while bypassing international agreements prohibiting Germany from producing missiles on its territory, is busy creating missiles which are capable, according to its director L. Kaiser, of carrying a nuclear warhead.

"According to information received from senior officials in Western Europe,» wrote American journalist Ted Shulp, «OTRAG produces cruise missiles and ballistic missiles of intermediate range for a German consortium consisting of the companies "Messerschmitt", "Bel'kov" and "Blom", the basic defence contractors in Germany. It is believed that over time the rocket will be transferred to West German armed forces."

The Angolan Prime Minister Lopo do Nascimento has rightly called the creation in Zaire of a testing ground for West German missiles "a threat to the whole **African** continent". These fears are shared by former UN Commissioner for Namibia, prominent politician Sean McBride.

These are disturbing facts, showing how the actions of colonialists, acting in a new guise, complicate the political situation on the **African** continent, which they would like to enslave again, using a new strategy.

C179, 1980

C179, 2nd March, 1980, page 1

На принципах равенства

МАСЕРУ, 1. (ТАСС). Глубокое удовлетворение установлением дипломатических отношений с Советским Союзом выразил министр иностранных дел Лесото Чарльз Д. Мопопо. Он принял находящуюся здесь с дружественным визитом делегацию Советского комитета солидарности стран Азии и **Африки**.

Отношения между СССР и Лесото, подчеркнул Ч. Д. Мопопо, строятся на принципах равенства, уважения суверенитета и невмешательства внутренние дела друг друга. Запад и ЮАР, сказал он, крайне раздражены этим.

Министр иностранных дел Лесото осудил политику вооруженных провокации, которую проводит в отношении Лесото режим апартеида. Засылая на нашу территорию вооруженные банды, ЮАР ищет тем самым удобного случая для открытого вмешательства во внутренние дела нашей страны. Тот, кто сейчас раздувает шумиху вокруг Афганистана, сказал он, умалчивает о своей поддержке расистского режима ЮАР.

Правители ЮАР, отметил Ч. Д. Мопapo, хотели бы ликвидировать наше нынешнее правительство и заменить его своими марионетками. Причина этих происков очевидна — Лесото последовательно выступает против политики апартеида. **Африка** может считать себя свободной только тогда, когда эта система будет полностью ликвидирована.

On the principles of equality

Maseru, 1. (TASS). The Lesotho Foreign Minister Charles D. Mopapo has expressed deep satisfaction with the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. He accepted the delegation of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and **African** countries on a friendly visit here.

Relations between the USSR and Lesotho, stressed Charles D. Mopapo, are based on the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. The West and **South Africa**, he said, are very annoyed by this.

Lesotho's Foreign Minister condemned the policy of armed provocation pursued against Lesotho by the apartheid regime. "Overwhelming our territory with armed gangs, in this way, **South Africa** is looking for an opportunity to start interference in the internal affairs of our country. Whoever now inflates hype about Afghanistan," he said, "is silent about their own support of the racist regime of **South Africa**."

"The rulers of **South Africa**," said Charles D. Mapopo, "want to liquidate our current government and replace it with their puppets. The cause of these machinations is obvious - Lesotho has consistently opposed the policy of apartheid. **Africa** can consider itself free only when that system is completely eliminated."

ПУТЬ К ПРОГРЕССУ

АККРА, 1. (ТАСС). Только следуя по пути научного социализма, Гана и другие **африканские** государства смогут решить стоящие перед ними проблемы, заявили участники состоявшегося в городе Кумаси съезда прогрессивной организации **Африканское** молодежное командование.

В принятой съездом резолюции подчеркивается, что лишь встав на путь, проложенный социалистическими государствами, **африканские** страны смогут освободиться от уз капиталистической зависимости и восстановить разрушенную экономику.

PATH TO PROGRESS

ACCRA, 1. (TASS). Only by following the path of scientific socialism will Ghana and other **African** countries be able to solve the problems they face, said participants at the congress in Kumasi of the progressive organization, **African** Youth Command.

In the resolution adopted by Congress it is underlined that only by taking the path laid out by the socialist countries will **African** countries be able to break free from the bonds of capitalist dependency and rebuild their shattered economies.

C183, 1980

C183, 14th July, 1980, page 1

Участникам Всемирной конференции ООН в связи с Десятилетием женщины

Г. Копенгаген

От имени Президиума Верховного Совета Союза Советских

Социалистических Республик сердечно приветствую участников Всемирной конференции ООН в рамках Десятилетия Женщины. Провозглашение Организацией Объединенных Наций 1975 — 1985 годов Десятилетием женщины свидетельствует о возрастающей роли и ответственности женщин в общественном развитии, их стремлении внести весомый вклад в обеспечение подлинного равенства и права на мирную жизнь, свободную от социального гнета и экономической эксплуатации. Женщины многих стран мира все шире и активнее включаются в общественную деятельность, вносят свой творческий вклад в материальный, социальный и духовный прогресс человечества.

Встреча женщин мира в рамках ООН в нынешнем сложной международной обстановке приобретает особое значение и прежде всего потому, что речь идет о необходимости сосредоточить внимание как правительств всех стран, так и общественно-политических сил разных направлений на сохранении разрядки как доминирующей тенденции мирового **развития** и приостановке губительной по своим последствиям гонки вооружений. В Советском Союзе всегда придавали и придают первостепенное значение решению самой насущной проблемы современности — предотвращению опасности термоядерной войны и прекращению гонки всех видов вооружений. В этих целях мы готовы вести всегда переговоры при неуклонном соблюдении принципа равной безопасности сторон.

Миролюбивый ленинский курс высшей политики нашего социалистического государства всегда неизменно был направлен на укрепление мира между народами, утверждение принципов мирного сосуществования государств с различным общественно-политическим строем. Мы последовательно придерживаемся этого курса во всех сферах нашей международной деятельности и решительно выступаем за укрепление политических и экономических основ самостоятельности и независимости государств **Африки**, Азии и Латинской Америки. Мы последовательно поддерживаем борьбу с неокOLONИализмом, расизмом и апартеидом, против любых форм насилия и дискриминации, всяких гегемонистских притязаний на мировое господство. Только в условиях сохранения мира и укреплении безопасности народов могут быть осуществлены надежды на достижение равенства женщин, счастливой жизни их семей и детей.

Большим ливосванием?? советскую народа, реального социализма в нашей стране является достижение подлинного равноправия женщины во всех сферах политической, социальной и культурной жизни, подкрепляемое повседневной заботой государства о дальнейшем улучшении условий ее труда, быта, отдыха и выполнения долга материнства. В нашей стране впервые в истории человечества женщина в полную меру своих способностей гармонично сочетает полноправное и широкое участие во всех сферах развития общества и воспитанием детей. Социалистическое общенародное государство будет и впредь делить все для того, чтобы женщина — равноправный член нашего общества — имела наиболее благоприятные условия жизни, работы, всестороннего развития своей личности.

Разрешите выразить надежду, что ваша конференция сумеет решить стоящие перед ней благородные задачи.

Л. БРЕЖНЕВ

To the Participants of the World Conference of the United Nations in connection with the Decade for Women
Copenhagen

On behalf of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics I cordially welcome the participants of the World Conference in the

framework of the UN Decade for Women. The Proclamation of the United Nations Decade 1975 to 1985 for women points to the growing role and responsibility of women in social **development**, their aspiration to make a significant contribution to ensuring genuine equality and the right to live in peace, free from social oppression and economic exploitation. Women in many countries are increasingly being incorporated into social activities and make a creative contribution to the material, social and spiritual progress of humankind.

This meeting of women at the United Nations in the current complicated international situation is of particular importance, above all because we are talking about the need to focus all governments and political forces of different directions on the preservation of détente as the dominant **global development trend** and the suspension of the ruinous arms race. The Soviet Union has always attached the utmost importance to addressing the most pressing problems of our time - avoiding the danger of nuclear war and the cessation of all kinds of arms races. To this end, we are ready to negotiate, always subject to observation of the principle of equal security for both sides.

The peaceful Leninist course of the higher policy of our socialist state has always invariably been aimed at strengthening peace among nations, and promoting the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social and political systems. We consistently adhere to this course in all aspects of our international operations and strongly support the strengthening of the political and economic foundations of the autonomy and independence of **Africa**, Asia and Latin America. We have consistently supported the struggle against neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid, and against all forms of violence and discrimination and any hegemonic claims to world domination. Only in preserving peace and strengthening international security can hopes of achieving equality for women and happy lives of their families and children be implemented.

The great *livosvanie*?? of the Soviet people and of real socialism in our country is the achievement of full equality for women in all spheres of political, social and cultural life, supported by the daily care of the state of further improvement of the condition of their work, life, leisure and accomplishment of motherhood. In our country, for the first time in the history of humankind, women fully and to the best of their abilities harmoniously combine full and broad participation in all spheres of social development and the education of children. The socialist state will continue to share everything so that women - equal members of our society – can have the most favourable conditions of life, work and comprehensive development of their personalities.

Allow me to express the hope that your conference will be able to solve the noble task before it.

L. BREZHNEV

Солидарность с Анголой

АЛЖИР, 13 (Соб. корр. "Правды"). Алжирские газеты публикуют материалы о *шерствах*?? **южноафриканских** расистов на ангольской земле. Вместе с расистами ЮАР на скамью подсудимых следовало бы посадить, пишет в этой связи журнал "Революсьон **африкан**" и те западные страны, которые являются прямыми пособниками преступлений **южноафриканских** расистов. Доказательство тому — оружие, поставляемое ЮАР странами НАТО. Только прекращение актов агрессии ЮАР против Анголы, Мозамбика и Замбии, осуществление решений ООН по Намибии, полный экономический бойкот расистов смогут привести к миру и безопасности на юге континента, подчеркивает алжирская печать.

Ю. ВЛАДИМИРОВ.

Solidarity with Angola

ALGIERS, 13 (Our own corr. "Pravda"). Algerian newspapers are publishing articles about the sherstves?? of **South African** racists on Angolan soil. In this connection, the magazine "Revolution **Africain**" writes that along with racist **South Africa**, in the dock should be those Western countries that are direct accomplices of the crimes of **South African** racists. Proof of this are weapons supplied to **South Africa** by NATO countries. Only an end to acts of aggression by **South Africa** against **Angola, Mozambique and Zambia**, the implementation of UN resolutions on **Namibia**, and full economic boycott of racists can lead to peace and security in southern **Africa**, emphasizes the Algerian press.

Yuri Vladimirov.

С ТЕЛЕТАЙПНОЙ ЛЕНТЫ

Социалистическая Эфиопия и Народная Республика Конго твердо вступили на социалистический путь развития и будут расширить борьбу против происков империализма и реакции, стремящихся за мир, равенство и справедливость. Об этом заявили во время состоявшихся в Аддис Абебе переговоров президента НРК Дени Сассу Игессо и генеральный секретарь Временного военного административного совета (ВВАС) Эфиопии Фыкре-Селассии Вогдересе.

FROM TELETYPED TAPES

Socialist Ethiopia and the Democratic Republic of Congo have firmly embarked on the socialist path of **development** and will struggle against the intrigues of imperialism and reaction, aiming for **peace, equality and justice**. This was stated during negotiations held in Addis Ababa by NRC President Denis Sassou Igesso and Secretary General of the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) of Ethiopia, Fykre Selassie Vogderese.

C191, 1981

C191, 17th August, 1981, page 5

Грабительская политика

Данные опубликованного на днях ежегодного доклада Международного банка реконструкции и развития (МБРР) свидетельствуют о дальнейшем усилении торгово-экономической дискриминации развивающихся стран. Это ведет к замедлению темпов их развития, к снижению доходов на душу населения. Такое положение вещей – прямое следствие неравноправного экономического порядка, установленного Западом на мировом капиталистическом рынке.

Сталкиваясь с резким обострением собственных экономических проблем, вызываемым прежде всего политикой интенсивной милитаризации, нарастанием межимпериалистических противоречий, страны Запада ищут выхода из трудностей за счет усиления эксплуатации развивающихся стран. Для этого используются разнообразные способы, прежде всего торговый протекционизм. На пути экспорта из развивающихся стран ставятся мощные тарифные барьеры, что вызывает стремительное увеличение дефицита их торгового баланса. Как явствует из доклада МБРР, если за период с 1970 по 1978 год экспорт промышленно развитых капиталистических стран в развивающиеся возрос почти

в три раза. В последующие года эта тенденция толь усилилась.

Одновременно Запад продолжал взвинчивать цены на экспорт промышленной продукции, сохраняя на искусственно заниженные уровне цены на импортируемые из молодых государств продовольственные и сырьевые товары, являющиеся главным предметом их вывоза. А цены на кофе, какао, чай, большинство масличных культур, цитрусовые, сизаль и джут в 1980 году, по данным ФАО, даже снизились. Так, десять лет назад страна, экспортируя тонну чая, могла на вырученные средства приобрести 17 тонн удобрений, теперь— лишь 3 тонн. Одной тонны бананов было достаточно, чтобы заплатить за тонну стали, теперь же нужно вдвое больше бананов. Все это привело к увеличению торгового дефицита развивающихся стран по сельскохозяйственной продукции более чем на 50 процентов.

Неудивительно, что в результате торгового протекционизма и такой грабительской политики цен совокупный дефицит платежного баланса развивающихся стран, не являющихся экспортерами нефти, возрос, как отмечается в докладе МБРР, с 26 миллиардов долларов в 1978 году до 70 миллиардов долларов в 1980 году.

Экономическому закабалению развивающихся стран служат и тяжелые условия займов, предоставляемых им международными финансовыми институтами. Такие условия, писал, например, журнал «Жен Африк», препятствуют динамичному росту экономики стран Африки.

Вот почему развивающиеся страны все решительнее добиваются установления нового международного экономического порядка, который учитывал бы их интересы, а не служил бы только источником обогащения западных монополий. Прежде всего выдвигается требование отказа Запада от протекционистских барьеров, от грабительской политики цен, перераспределения доходов транснациональных корпораций на справедливой основе.

Олег КИЦЕНКО._

Predatory policy

Data in the recently published annual report of the International Bank for Reconstruction and **Development** (IBRD) indicate a further strengthening of trade and economic discrimination against **developing countries**. This leads to a slowdown in their **development**, a reduction in per capita income. This state of affairs is a direct consequence of the unequal economic order established by the West in the world capitalist market.

Faced with a sharp aggravation of their own economic problems caused primarily by a policy of intensive militarization and build-up of imperialist contradictions, Western countries are seeking to overcome their difficulties by increasing the exploitation of **developing countries**. This uses a variety of methods, primarily trade protectionism. Powerful tariff barriers are added to exports from **developing countries**, causing a rapid increase in the deficit of the trade balance. According to a report of the World Bank, from 1970 to 1978, exports of industrialized capitalist countries to **developing countries** increased almost threefold. In any subsequent year, this trend only intensified.

Simultaneously, the West has continued to push up prices for industrial exports, maintaining artificially low prices of food and commodities imported from the **young states**, which are the main bulk of their exports. And prices of coffee, cocoa, tea, most oilseeds, citrus, sisal and jute in 1980, according to the FAO, even declined. So, ten years ago, a country exporting a ton of tea could use the proceeds to buy 17 tonnes of fertilizers, but now can buy just three tonnes. One tonne of bananas was enough to pay

for a tonne of steel; now it takes twice as many bananas. All this has led to an increase of more than 50% in the trade deficit of **developing countries** on agricultural products.

It is not surprising that as a result of trade protectionism and a predatory pricing policy the cumulative deficit of the balance of payments of **developing countries** that are not oil exporters has increased, as noted by the World Bank, from \$26 billion in 1978 to \$70 billion in 1980.

Economic enslavement of **developing countries** worsens the harsh conditions of loans granted to them by international financial institutions. The magazine “*Jeune Afrique*”, for example, wrote that such conditions hamper dynamic economic growth in **Africa**.

That is why **developing countries** are vigorously pursuing a new international economic order which would take into account their interests and not only serve as a source of enrichment for Western monopolies. First of all there is a need to reject the West’s protectionist barriers and their predatory pricing policy, and a redistribution of the profits of multinational corporations on an equitable basis.

Oleg KITSENKO.

ТАЙНЫЕ МАРШРУТЫ ТАНКЕРОВ

Нефть — самое уязвимое место в экономике расистской ЮАР. Не имея собственных запасов жидкого топлива, эта страна более всего зависит от внешних поставок горючего.

Вопрос о нефтяном эмбарго против расистского режима поднимают уже несколько лет подряд на разных уровнях. Организация **африканского** единства призвала не продавать нефть Претории, но тем не менее до сих пор ЮАР не испытывает недостатка в топливе. В **африканскую** печать проникли сведения о том, что крупные нефтяные компании создали тайную международную сеть, по каналам которой жидкое топливо поставляется в Южную **Африку**.

ЮАР требуется один супертанкер емкостью 200 тысяч тонн каждые пять дней. И каждые пять дней в одном из ее двух портов, приспособленных для приема таких судов,— Кейптауне или Дурбане — разгружают такое количество нефти.

Перевозкой нефти в ЮАР занимается около 150 танкеров. Причем треть из них принадлежит непосредственно западным компаниям “Шелл”, “Мобил”, “Тексако”, “Тотал”, “Калтекс” или арендуется ими.

Поскольку Организация стран — экспортеров нефти (ОПЕК) формально взяла на себя обязательство не поставлять топливо ЮАР, международные нефтяные магнаты обычно действуют скрытно, используя фиктивные документы. Голландское исследовательское судоходное бюро, созданное два года назад общественной организацией противников апартеида, проделало большую работу в этой области и вскрыло серию неприглядных фальсификаций.

Как известно, маршруты всех судов фиксируются в документах английского агентства “Ллойдс лист”. Изучив его публикации, голландские борцы против апартеида раскрыли тайну поставок нефти в ЮАР.

Исследователи обнаружили, что 23 танкера постоянно совершают рейсы из портов Персидского залива до ЮАР и обратно. Владелец танкера “Бергер Брионн” признал, что однажды он разгружал нефть в Кейптауне. Однако тут же он заявил, что танкер находился под арендой у компании, которая по условиям соглашения сама выбирает маршрут следования танкера и порт его разгрузки.

Имеются данные и о рейсах норвежского танкера “Хавдротт” водоизмещением 240 тысяч тонн. Они раскрывают намеренно запутанную картину заходов этого судна в **южноафриканские** нефтеприемные пункты. В

судовом журнале сделаны фальшивые записи, в некоторых случаях сведения и маршруты танкера вообще отсутствуют. На какой-то период “Хавдротт” арендовала одна из мелких фирм Панамы. В Иране и Саудовской Аравии, где танкер заправлялся нефтью, властям объявили, что топливо предназначено для Сингапура и Европы. Но каждый раз танкер заходил в Кейптаун и направлялся обратно в зону Персидского залива.

Однажды, как признался один из членов экипажа “Хавдротта”, капитан приказал команде при подходе к **южноафриканскому** порту задрать брезентом название судна.

Директор компании “Хавтор”, владеющей этим танкером, М. Мое отказался давать сведения о его движении под тем предлогом, что таковы условия аренды, заключенной с компанией “Трансуорлд ойл”, эксплуатирующей танкер. Затем выяснилось, что “Трансуорлд ойл” имеет еще три танкера для снабжения нефтью ЮАР.

Таковы лишь некоторые, ставшие достоянием гласности примеры того, как действуют западные покровители расистов. Еще раз обнаруживается роль западных стран в обходе нефтяного эмбарго.,— пишет по этому поводу журнал “Африка”.

На последней сессии ОАЕ в Найроби обсуждался вопрос об экономических санкциях и нефтяном эмбарго против расистов, рассматривалась возможность организации наблюдения за маршрутами супертанкеров ОАЕ обратилась в ООН с предложением, чтобы на предстоящей сессии Генеральной Ассамблеи был поставлен вопрос об экономических санкциях против ЮАР.

Ф. ТАРАСОВ.

(Соб. корр. “Правды”),

Аккра, август.

SECRET tanker routes

Oil is the most vulnerable part of the economy of racist **South Africa**. Lacking its own reserves of liquid fuels, the country is very dependent on external supplies of fuel.

The question of the oil embargo against the racist regime has been raised for several years at various levels. The Organization of **African** Unity has urged countries not to sell oil to **Pretoria**, but nevertheless still **South Africa** has no shortage of fuel. **African** newspapers have carried information that major oil companies have created a secret international network through which liquid fuel is supplied to **South Africa**.

South Africa requires a supertanker capacity of 200 thousand tons every five days. And every five days in one of its two ports adapted to receive such vessels - **Cape Town or Durban** – this is the amount of oil discharged.

The carriage of oil to **South Africa** has been around 150 tankers. A third of them belong directly to Western companies "Shell", "Mobil", "Texaco", "Total" or "Caltex" or are rented.

As the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) formally committed itself not to supply fuel to **South Africa**, international oil tycoons typically operate covertly, using false documents. The Dutch research bureau of navigation, created two years ago by NGO opponents of apartheid, has done a great job in this area and has uncovered a series of unsightly frauds.

As is already known, the routes of all vessels are recorded in English documents of the agency "Lloyd's List". Examining its publication, the Dutch anti-apartheid fighters discovered the secret of oil supplies in **South Africa**.

The researchers found that 23 tankers constantly make journeys from the Persian Gulf to **South Africa** and back. The owner of the tanker "Berger Brionne" admitted that he was once unloading oil in Cape Town. But then he said that the tanker was under lease from a company that according to the agreement, itself chooses the route of the tanker and its port of discharge.

Data are available on routes of the Norwegian tanker "Havdrott", deadweight 240,000 tons. They reveal an intentionally confusing picture of this vessel's calls in **South African** oil depots. In the logbook are false entries, and in some cases, information and tanker routes are absent. For a period, "Havdrott" rented one of the smaller firms in Panama. In Iran and Saudi Arabia, where the oil tanker refuelled, the authorities announced that the fuel was intended for Singapore and Europe. But every time the tanker went to Cape Town and headed back to the Persian Gulf.

Once, as a crew member of the "Havdrott" admitted, the captain ordered his team to batten down the tarp of the vessel as they approached the **South African** port.

The Director of "Havtor" who owns this tanker, M. My, refused to give details of his movement on the pretext that these are the terms of the lease concluded with "Transworld Oil", the tanker operator. Then it turned out that "Transworld Oil" has three oil tankers to supply **South Africa**.

These are just some of the publicly known examples of how racist Western backers behave. "Again the role of Western countries to bypass the oil embargo is revealed", writes the magazine "**Africa**".

At the last session of the OAU in **Nairobi** the issue of economic sanctions and the oil embargo against racists was discussed, and the possibility of organizing surveillance routes of supertankers was considered; the OAU appealed to the UN with a proposal to the forthcoming session of the General Assembly and raised the issue of economic sanctions against **South Africa**.

VF Tarasov .

(Own corr. "Pravda"),

Accra, August.

C196, 1982

C196, 14th October, 1982, page 4

ЗА ЕДИНСТВО АНТИИМПЕРИАЛИСТИЧЕСКИХ СИЛ

Зарубежные средства массовой информации уделяют большое внимание проходящих в Москве советско-эфиопским переговорам. Комментируя речи, которыми обменялись товарищи Л. В. Брежнев и Менгисту Хайле Мариям, видные политические и общественные деятели разных стран, печать подчеркивают, что Советский Союз еще раз подтвердил свою непреклонную волю к упрочению мира и безопасности народов, выступил за скорейшую и полную ликвидацию остатков колониализма и расизма, за то, чтобы Африка была континентом национальной независимости, континентом добрососедства и процветания.

“Дружественные советско-эфиопские отношения — на подъеме — так озаглавлен материал, опубликованный «Эфиопии геральд». Газета отмечает, что все более глубоким и разнообразным становится сотрудничество между двумя странами — Эфиопией и СССР, последовательно претворяются в жизнь двусторонние соглашения и договоренности. Эфиопский народ с глубоким удовлетворением воспринял заявление Л. И. Брежнева о том, что Советский Союз будет неизменно выступать в поддержку Социалистической Эфиопии.

Независимые **африканские** страны, пишет эфиопская «Аддис земен», на собственном опыте убедились в справедливости слов Л. И. Брежнева о том, что Вашингтон хотел бы отбросить назад освободившиеся народы, отнять завоевания, достигнутые ими в долгой и трудной борьбе, свести на нет их роль в мировой политике. В противоположность этому неоколониалистскому курсу американского империализма Советский Союз, как это вновь подтверждено Л. И. Брежневым, решительно борется за то, чтобы не допустить превращения **Африки** в район политической конфронтации, оказывает полную поддержку борьбе **африканских** народов за ликвидацию всех военных баз на континенте и превращение его в безъядерную зону. Эта конструктивная позиция Советского Союза находит полное понимание и поддержку у всех **африканских** народов, во всем мире.

Советский руководитель, подчеркивает индийское информационное агентство ПТИ, выразил убеждение в том, что отпор посягательствам на суверенитет и национальные интересы стран **Африки** может быть успешным, если эти страны проявят единство и сплоченность в защите своих прав, если они сумеют опереться на солидарность и поддержку всех антиимпериалистических сил современности.

В ходе переговоров между Л. И. Брежневым и Менгисту Хайле Мариамом, передает сирийское агентство САНА, было высказано твердое убеждение, что антинародному курсу сил империализма, реакции и неоколониализма, разжигающим кровопролитные конфликты на Ближнем и Среднем Востоке, в Латинской Америке, в **Африке** и Азии, необходимо противопоставить единство и солидарность всех миролюбивых стран и народов, их волю предотвратить ядерную катастрофу, отстоять свои законные интересы и права.

Речь товарища Л. И. Брежнева — это яркое свидетельство неизменной поддержки Советским Союзом борьбы народов за национальное освобождение и социальный прогресс, заявил председатель Перуано-советской ассоциации культурных связей Асунсьой Кабальеро Мендес. Вашингтон хотел бы отнять у развивающихся государств завоевания, достигнутые ими в долгой и трудной борьбе. Однако этим зловещим замыслам не суждено сбыться.

Состоявшиеся в Кремле переговоры подтвердили широкую общность позиции СССР и Эфиопии, подчеркивает чехословацкая «Руде право». Как Москва, так и Аддис-Абеба руководствуются в своей политике общими идеалами мира, социализма, интернациональной солидарности.

Экономические трудности, переживаемые большинством развивающихся стран, — наглядное свидетельство справедливости слов советского руководителя о том, что империализм все более втягивает эти страны в долговую кабалу, беззастенчиво эксплуатирует их природные богатства, указывает газета «Нойес Дойчланд» (ГДР).

Объективная, глубокая оценка политической ситуации на **африканском** континенте, содержащаяся в речи советского руководителя, имеет актуальное значение и для народов Латинской Америки, указывает Кубинское радио. Народ острова Свободы полностью поддерживает политику СССР — политику мира, социализма и международной солидарности. Куба всецело одобряет мирные инициативы Советского Союза и особенно предложение Л. И. Брежнева о том, чтобы руководящие органы НАТО и Варшавского Договора сделали заявления о нераспространении сферы действия этих союзов на Азию, **Африку** и Латинскую Америку.

(ТАСС, 13).

For the Unity of Anti-Imperialist Forces

Foreign media are paying great attention to the Soviet-Ethiopian talks being held in Moscow. Commenting on the speeches exchanged by comrades L. V. Brezhnev and Haile Mariam Mengistu, visible political and public figures from different countries, the press stressed that the Soviet Union once again reiterated its unshakable will to consolidate peace and security, and called for the speedy and total elimination of residues of colonialism and racism, so that Africa should be a continent of national independence, prosperity and good neighbourliness.

"Friendly Soviet-Ethiopian relations are on the rise," was the headline published in the "Ethiopian Herald". The newspaper notes that co-operation between the two countries, Ethiopia and the USSR, is growing deeper and more varied, and so bilateral agreements and arrangements are being concluded and implemented. The Ethiopian people with deep satisfaction received the statement of L. I. Brezhnev that the Soviet Union will always act in support of socialist Ethiopia.

Independent **African** countries, writes the Ethiopian "Addis Zemen", know from first-hand experience the truth of L.I. Brezhnev's words that Washington would like to push back liberated peoples, take away gains made by them in their long and difficult struggle, and eliminate their role in world politics. In contrast to this neo-colonialist course of US imperialism, the Soviet Union, as reaffirmed by Leonid Brezhnev, is resolutely fighting to prevent the transformation of **Africa** into an area of political confrontation, and is giving its full support to the struggle of **African** peoples for the elimination of all military bases on the continent and its transformation into a nuclear-free zone. This constructive attitude of the Soviet Union has the full understanding and support of all **African** peoples throughout the world.

The Soviet leader, emphasizes Indian news agency PTI, expressed his conviction that resistance of such attacks on the sovereignty and national interests of the countries of **Africa** can be successful if these countries show unity and solidarity in protecting their rights, and if they manage to rely on the solidarity and support of all modern anti-imperialist forces.

Syrian agency SANA reports that during the talks between Leonid Brezhnev and Haile Mariam Mengistu, the strong conviction was stated that the anti-popular course of the forces of imperialism, reaction and neo-colonialism, which has lit bloody conflicts in the Middle East, Latin America, **Africa** and Asia, must be opposed through the unity and solidarity of all peace-loving countries and peoples, and their will to prevent a nuclear catastrophe, and to defend their legitimate interests and rights.

Comrade Brezhnev's speech is clear evidence of the continued support of the Soviet Union for people's struggle for national liberation and social progress, said the chair of the Association of Peruvian-Soviet cultural relations, Asunsoy Caballero Mendez. Washington would like to take away from developing countries gains made by them in the long and difficult struggle. But this evil plan will not come true.

The talks held in the Kremlin confirmed the broad unity of position of the USSR and Ethiopia, emphasizes Czechoslovak "Rudei Pravo". Both Moscow and Addis Ababa are guided in their policies by common ideals of peace, socialism and international solidarity.

The newspaper "Neues Deutschland" (GDR) reports that economic difficulties experienced by most developing countries are clear evidence of the truth of the words of the Soviet leader that imperialism increasingly draws these countries into debt bondage, shamelessly exploiting their natural wealth.

The objective, in-depth assessment of the political situation on the **African** continent contained in the speech of the Soviet leader, is also relevant for the peoples of Latin America, points out Cuban radio. The people of the Island of Freedom fully

support the policy of the Soviet Union, a policy of peace, socialism and international solidarity. Cuba fully endorses the peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union, and especially the proposal of Leonid Brezhnev that the governing bodies of NATO and the Warsaw Pact should make statements about the non-extension of the sphere of these alliances in Asia, **Africa** and Latin America. (TASS, 13).

ДЕНЬ АФРИКИ НА ТАШКЕНТСКОМ ФОРУМЕ

ТАШКЕНТ, 13. (ТАСС). Организация солидарности народов Азии и **Африки** (ОСНАА) обратилась к генеральному секретарю ООН с призывом — добиваться освобождения политических заключенных в Южной **Африке**. Так на XI заседании президиума ОСНАА начался «День **Африки**». Проблемы этого континента стали предметом сегодняшней дискуссии участников встречи в Ташкенте.

Никогда прежде ситуация в Южной **Африке** не была столь сложной в связи с действиями расистского режима Претории, сказал Кеннеди Апое, представитель специального комитета ООН против апартеида. Мы считаем, что необходимо обуздать тех, кто разжигает войну, посягает на свободу народов, на человеческие права.

Встреча в Ташкенте проходит в трудное время, отметил представитель ангольской лиги дружбы и солидарности с народами зарубежных стран В. Гомеш. При откровенном покровительстве американского империализма расистский режим ЮАР, израильская военщина разжигают конфликты, приносят смерть и страдания тысячам и тысячам людей. На Юге **Африки** эта угроза нависла над прифронтовыми государствами. Особую ненависть питают расисты к Анголе, но наш народ исполнен решимости под руководством МПЛА — Партии труда отстоять избранный им социалистический путь развития.

Американский империализм — главный пособник расизма и апартеида. Он оказывает самую широкую поддержку властям ЮАР, установившим режим произвола и репрессий и ведущим необъявленную войну против Анголы и других соседних государств, подчеркнул на пресс-конференции, устроенной в перерыве между заседаниями, представитель **Африканского** национального конгресса (АНК) А. Монгало. Однако, несмотря на террор, наш народ усиливает борьбу против режима апартеида. В своей борьбе он опирается на широкую поддержку всех прогрессивных и демократических сил мира, особенно социалистических стран во главе с Советским Союзом.

Участники встречи — посланцы 60 стран, международных и региональных организаций выразили солидарность с борьбой народов Южной **Африки** против империализма, колониализма, апартеида. Они высоко оценили неизменную поддержку советскими людьми национально-освободительного движения **африканских** народов.

Ташкентский форум привлек внимание общественности во всех уголках планеты, В его адрес поступают приветствия с пожеланиями участникам встречи успехов в их важной и благородной деятельности.

Africa Day at the Tashkent Forum

Tashkent, 13 (TASS). The Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia and **Africa** (AAPSO) appealed to the UN Secretary-General to seek the release of political prisoners in **South Africa**. This is how “**Africa Day**” began at the XI meeting of the AAPSO presidium. The problems of this continent were the subject of today's discussion of participants of the meeting in Tashkent.

Kennedy Apoye, a spokesman for the UN Special Committee against apartheid, said that never before has the situation in **South Africa** been so difficult with regard to the actions of the racist regime in Pretoria. "We believe that we must curb those who incite war, encroaching on the freedom of peoples and on human rights."

The meeting in Tashkent is happening at a difficult time, said a spokesman of the Angolan League of Friendship and Solidarity with the Peoples of foreign countries, V. Gomes. With open patronage from American imperialism, the racist regime of **South Africa** and the Israeli military are fomenting conflicts, bringing death and suffering to thousands and thousands of people. In southern **Africa**, this threat has loomed over the front-line states. The racists feed a special hatred towards **Angola**, but our people is absolutely determined under the leadership of the MPLA, the Party of labour, to defend their chosen socialist path of development.

Representative of the **African** National Congress (ANC) A. Mongan emphasized at a press conference held during a break between sittings that US imperialism is the main accomplice of racism and apartheid. It shows the greatest support to the **South African** authorities, which have established a regime of tyranny and repression and are leading an undeclared war against Angola and other neighbouring countries. "However," he said, "Despite the terror, our people is strengthening the fight against the apartheid regime. In its struggle it relies on the strong support of all progressive and democratic forces of the world, especially the socialist countries led by the Soviet Union."

Participants of the meeting, envoys of 60 countries and international and regional organizations, expressed their solidarity with the struggle of the people of **South Africa** against imperialism, colonialism and apartheid. They stated their appreciation of the continued support of the Soviet people for the national liberation movement of **African** peoples.

The Tashkent forum has attracted the attention of the public in all parts of the world. It has been addressed with welcomes and wishes to participants for success in their important and noble activities.

Международная конференция

Роль профсоюзов в решении актуальных проблем охраны труда в строительстве и промышленности строительных материалов — тема международной конференции, открывшейся 13 октября в Москве. В ней принимают участие представители национальных профорганизаций строителей 40 стран Европы, Азии, **Африки** и Латинской Америки.

В выступлениях подчеркивалось, что всемерное улучшение условий гигиены и охраны труда — важнейшие социальные задачи профсоюзов всех стран. Эти проблемы могут быть наиболее полно решены только в условиях мирного сосуществования, прекращения гонки вооружений, использовании материальных и трудовых ресурсов во имя жизни, а не на цели разрушения и уничтожения.

Участники конференции посетили Мавзолей В. И. Ленина и возложили венок. Был возложен также венок к могиле Неизвестного солдата у Кремлевской стены. (ТАСС).

International Conference

The role of trade unions in solving urgent problems of labour protection in construction and building materials industry is the theme of an international conference which opened on October 13 in Moscow. It is attended by representatives of National

trade union organizations of builders from 40 countries in Europe, Asia, **Africa** and Latin America.

Speakers emphasized that improving all-round health and safety are the most important social tasks of trade unions of all countries. These problems may be more fully addressed only in a situation of peaceful coexistence, an end to the arms race, and the use of material and human resources in the name of life, and not for purposes of destruction and annihilation.

The participants visited the Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. A wreath was also laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier near the Kremlin wall. (TASS).

ПРОТИВ ПРОИЗВОЛА МОНОПОЛИЙ

Бесконтрольная деятельность транснациональных корпораций противоречит интересам народов

...Тропический тайфун, задевший своим крылом филиппинскую столицу, оставил после себя выбитые стекла, поврежденные строения, искалеченные деревья, порванные провода. Газеты писали о человеческих жертвах. Чаше обычного Манила погружалась в темноту, объявляя об аварийном прекращении подачи электричества — «браун-аут». У входа в некоторые кинотеатры, имеющие на этот случай собственные генераторы, вывешивались «гарантии»: здесь «браун-аут» случиться не может.

Делегатов очередной сессии Комиссии ООН по транснациональным корпорациям (ТНК), проходившей в Маниле, такие житейские сценки наталкивали на любопытную аналогию. По-английски слова «тайфун» и «тайкун» (промышленный магнат) звучит довольно схоже. Своей бесконтрольной, стихийной деятельностью они еще больше напоминают друг друга. С той разницей, что гарантий от разрушительных последствий деятельности иностранных корпораций не может дать практически ни одна развивающаяся страна, что в отличие от тайфунов международные монополии действуют постоянно.

С хищнической, корыстной экспансией транснациональных корпораций развивающиеся страны сталкиваются изо дня в день. Однако особо ощутимы ее тяжелые результаты в условиях экономического кризиса, растущей внешней задолженности этих стран, которая достигла в текущем году 540 миллиардов долларов, неблагоприятного соотношения экспортных и импортных цен. По свидетельству участников недавней совместной сессии Международного банка реконструкции и развития и Международного валютного фонда в Торонто, где заседали представители 146 стран, «вся международная система торговли и финансов может развалиться», если эти отрицательные тенденции будут продолжаться.

Это придает тем большее значение деятельности (в том числе в рамках ООН), ставящей своей целью установление пределов и границ операциям ТНК, нарушать которые могущественным корпорациям было бы запрещено. В числе таких границ — необходимость обеспечения мира, соблюдения фундаментальных принципов международного общения, уважения национального суверенитета, принципа национальной юрисдикции, обязательства уважать цели национального развития, права трудящихся, социально-экономические и культурные ценности народов, недопущение поддержки режима расизма и Апартеида на Юге **Африки**.

Ликвидация негативных последствий деятельности ТНК является составной частью борьбы за перестройку международных экономических отношений на справедливой и демократической основе, за установление нового

международного экономического порядка. С самого начала обсуждения вопроса о деятельности ТНК в Организации Объединенных Наций наша страна активно содействует выработке принципиально новых политических подходов к решению назревших экономических проблем развивающихся стран, к предотвращению вмешательства корпорации по внутренним делам других стран и народов, посягательств на национальный суверенитет и т. д. Проект Кодекса поведения транснациональных корпораций, подготовленный в Комиссии ООН по ТНК при активном участии СССР и других социалистических стран, решено вынести на обсуждение всех государств—членов ООН. И если кодекс еще не стал нормой поведения для ТНК, то вина за это целиком ложится на капиталистические государства, которые всеми силами мешают введению его в силу и до сих пор не отказались от идеи превратить соответствующий международный документ в своего рода глобальный смол обязательств стран, прежде всего развивающихся, имеющий своей целью облегчение эксплуататорской деятельности монополий.

... Экспансионизму и диктату, произволу монополистического капитала не должно быть места в международных экономических отношениях.

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Against the tyranny of monopolies

Uncontrolled activities of transnational corporations are against the interests of peoples

... The tropical Typhoon, which hit the Philippine capital with its wing, left behind broken windows, damaged buildings, mutilated trees and torn wires. Newspapers wrote about human victims. Manila was plunged into darkness more than usual, illustrating the termination of the emergency electricity supply, called a "brown-out". At the entrance to some cinemas which had their own generators, were announcements of "guarantees": no "brown-outs" here.

Delegates to the regular session of the UN Commission on Transnational Corporations (TNCs), held in Manila, saw an interesting analogy in such everyday scenes. In English the words "typhoon" and "tycoon" (industrial magnate) sound pretty similar. They also resemble each other in their uncontrolled, spontaneous activity. The difference is that practically no developing country can give guarantees against the devastating effects of the activities of foreign corporations, since unlike typhoons, international monopolies operate constantly.

Developing countries daily face the rapacious, acquisitive expansion of transnational corporations. However, its results are felt particularly strongly in the situation of economic crisis, and growing external debt of these countries, which has this year reached 540 billion dollars, and an unfavourable ratio of export and import prices. According to participants of the recent joint session of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund in Toronto, attended by representatives of 146 countries, "the whole international system of trade and finance could fall apart," if these negative trends continue.

This lends all the more meaning to the activities (including in the UN), which aim to establish limits and boundaries to the operations of TNCs, which powerful corporations would be forbidden from breaking. Among these limits are the need to ensure peace, respect for the fundamental principles of international relations, respect for national sovereignty, the principle of national jurisdiction, the obligation to respect national development, workers' rights and people's socio-economic and cultural values, and the ceasing of support to the regime of racism and apartheid in southern **Africa**.

The elimination of negative consequences of TNC activities is an integral part of the struggle for restructuring international economic relations on a just and democratic basis for the establishment of a new international economic order. From the start of the discussion on the activities of TNCs in the United Nations, our country is actively promoting the development of innovative policy approaches to solving the pressing economic problems of developing countries, to preventing interference of TNCs in the internal affairs of other countries and nations, encroachments on national sovereignty and so on. The draft Code of Conduct for Transnational Corporations, prepared by the UN Commission on TNCs with the active participation of the USSR and other socialist countries, will be submitted for discussion by all UN member states. If the code does not become a norm of behaviour for TNCs, then the blame for this will rest entirely with capitalist governments, which are doing everything they can to prevent its entry into force and still have not given up the idea of transforming relevant international documents into a sort of global means of obliging countries, particularly developing countries, to facilitate the activities of exploitative monopolies.

... Expansionism, domination and tyranny of monopoly capital should have no place in international economic relations.

B. Shchetinin.

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АФРИКА БОРЕТСЯ И СТРОИТ

День освобождения **Африки**, который ежегодно отмечается 25 мая, прочно вошел в календарь международных знаменательных дат. Именно в этот день двадцать лет назад в Аддис-Абебе была создана Организация **африканского** единства. Она объединила все независимые государства континента, стала выразителем чаяний его народов.

Неузнаваемо изменилась за последние десятилетия политическая карта **Африки**. Еще недавно почти сплошь она была выкрашена в цвета империалистических метрополий. Сейчас, в восьмидесятые годы, почти весь **африканский** континент состоит из освободившихся суверенных государств. Лишь на его крайнем юге — в Намибии и ЮАР — сохранились последние оплоты колониализма и расизма, борьба за ликвидацию которых не прекращается уже многие годы.

Политическое раскрепощение «черного континента», остававшегося до середины нашего века колониальной «тюрьмой народов», — один из самых значительных результатов национально-освободительной борьбы, развернувшейся после второй мировой войны. Это поистине историческое достижение овеяно идеями Великого Октября, оно стало возможным благодаря укреплению на мировой арене сил социализма и прогресса.

Добившись политической независимости, **африканские** страны приступили к созданию национальной экономики, ликвидации нищеты, неграмотности, подъему культуры, решению других неотложных проблем. На этом пути они столкнулись со многими сложностями, ибо политическая самостоятельность не была подкреплена самостоятельностью экономической. **Африка** в целом осталась в сфере мирового капиталистического хозяйства, болезненно ощущая все его кризисы и катаклизмы. Известно, что монополии и

транснациональные корпорации пытаются преодолеть свои трудности в первую очередь за счет стран, выколачивают оттуда огромные прибыли, искусственно занижая цены на сырье и завышая цены на экспортируемую ими готовую продукцию. В этом одна из причин того, что, несмотря на огромные природные богатства — нефть, газ, медь, фосфаты, золото, алмазы, уран,—**Африка** по степени своего развития и доходам на душу населения оказалась самым отсталым континентом.

Доля **Африки**, население которой составляет примерно десятую часть человечества, не превышает одного процента в мировом промышленном производстве. Более 20 **африканских** государств отнесены статистикой ООН к самым бедным районам земли, где миллионы людей ежегодно умирают от голода и отсутствия медицинской помощи. Ощущается острая нехватка продуктов питания. Таковы результаты длительного колониального господства, социальной отсталости, неравноправия в международных экономических отношениях, практикуемого Западом, ограбления, которому подвергаются **африканцы** и в наши дни.

Разумеется, есть **африканские** страны, особенно ориентирующиеся на социализм, которые добились впечатляющих сдвигов в создании основ современной промышленности и новой системы просвещения, в модернизации сельского хозяйства. Символами прогресса стали построенные и строящиеся при участии Советского Союза такие крупные объекты, как металлургические комбинаты в Аджаокуте (Нигерия), Эль-Хаджаре (Алжир), Хелуане (Египет), нефтеперерабатывающий завод в Асэбе (Эфиопия), и ряд других. Эти предприятия выглядят первыми, но яркими ростками индустриального развития континента, который стремится вырваться из экономической кабалы Запада.

В нынешней обстановке огромное значение приобретают совместные действия **африканцев** в защиту своих экономических и политических интересов, и прежде всего в рамках ОАЕ. В последнее время она переживает определенные трудности. Например, уже дважды не удалось собрать встречу глав государств и правительств стран, входящих в эту организацию. В прошлом такие встречи проводились ежегодно. Преодоление этих трудностей отвечает жизненным интересам **Африки**. Именно они требуют укрепить единство действий ее государств, придав ему большую эффективность. Ведь на континенте до сих пор не ликвидирован полностью колониализм, не выкорчевано такое позорное явление, как расизм, возникают междоусобицы, вооруженные конфликты, приносящие огромный ущерб. Империализм сохранил на юге **Африки** плацдарм для агрессии против независимых государств, пытается втянуть их в гонку вооружений и военные блоки. Вашингтон стоит за спиной агрессивных вылазок ЮАР против соседних стран, включая недавний бандитский налет на столицу Мозамбика. Военная доктрина США, предусматривающая вмешательство в любом районе мира, прямо угрожает суверенитету **африканских** государств. В последнее время Пентагон создает свои базы в Восточной **Африке**, вдоль берегов которой курсируют американские военные корабли, обосновавшиеся в Индийском океане.

Во время встречи Генерального секретаря ЦК КПСС товарища Ю. В. Андропова с посетившим на прошлой неделе нашу страну президентом Анголы Ж. Э. душ Сантушем была выражена озабоченность сохраняющейся в мире напряженностью, опасной ситуацией, сложившейся в отдельных регионах. Отмечена необходимость дальнейшей активизации борьбы всех прогрессивных, миролюбивых, национально-освободительных сил за ослабление угрозы войны, обуздание гонки вооружений, укрепление мира и безопасности на земле.

Советский Союз выразил поддержку борьбе против происков империалистов и расистов на юге **Африки**, за предоставление независимости Намибии.

Итоги переговоров, которые провела в Москве ангольская делегация, подписанные здесь документы снова показали, что Советский Союз является другом **африканских** народов. Он выступает против всех форм колониализма и расового угнетения, интернационалистски помогает **африканцам** преодолеть экономическую и культурную отсталость, укрепить свою государственность.

Наша страна на стороне **африканских** народов, борющихся за торжество идеалов свободы, независимости и прогресса.

Africa is struggling and building

African Liberation Day, celebrated annually on May 25th, has become firmly established in the international calendar of significant dates. On this day twenty years ago in **Addis Ababa** the Organization of **African** Unity was established. It brought together all the independent states of the continent, and became the expression of the aspirations of its peoples.

The political map of **Africa** has changed beyond recognition over the past decade. Until recently, it was almost entirely painted in the colors of the imperialist metropolises. Now, in the eighties, almost the entire **African** continent is composed of liberated sovereign states. Only in its extreme south - in **Namibia and South Africa** - have the last bastions of colonialism and racism survived, for whose elimination the struggle has not stopped for many years.

The political emancipation of the "black continent", having remained until the middle of this era the colonial "prison of peoples", is one of the most significant results of the national liberation struggle, waged since World War II. This truly historic achievement fanned by the ideas of the Great October Revolution became possible thanks to the strengthening of forces on the world stage of socialism and progress.

Having achieved political independence, **African** countries have set to work on the creation of their national economies, the eradication of poverty, illiteracy, raising culture, and addressing other pressing issues. Along the way, they have been confronted by many difficulties, since political independence has not been supported by economic independence. **Africa** as a whole has remained in the world capitalist economy, painfully feeling all its crises and disasters. It is known that monopolies and multinationals are trying to overcome their difficulties in the first place at the expense of countries, extracting from there enormous profits, artificially lowering commodity prices and inflating prices for their exports of finished products. This is one of the reasons why, despite their huge natural riches - oil, gas, copper, phosphates, gold, diamonds and uranium - **Africa** has turned out to be the most backward continent, as judged by its degree of development and per capita income.

Africa, whose population is about a tenth of humanity, produces no more than one percent of the world's industrial production. More than 20 **African** countries are referred to in UN statistics as the poorest regions of the Earth, where millions of people die each year from hunger and lack of medical care. There is an acute shortage of food. These are the results of long colonial domination, social backwardness, inequality in international economic relations practised by the West, which is robbery suffered by **Africans** in our own day.

Of course, there are **African** countries, especially those oriented to socialism, which have made impressive progress in establishing the foundations of modern industry and a new system of education in the modernization of agriculture. Symbols of progress built or under construction, with the participation of the Soviet Union, include such large objects as steel mills at Ajaokuta (Nigeria), El-Hajar (Algeria) and Helwan

(Egypt), a refinery in Assab (Ethiopia), and several others. At first, these enterprises look like bright shoots of the industrial development of the continent, which seeks to break out from economic bondage by the West.

In the current climate the joint actions of **Africans** in defence of their economic and political interests are of great importance, especially in the framework of the OAU. In recent years, it is experiencing some difficulties. For example, it twice failed to convene a meeting of Heads of State and Government of the countries belonging to this organization. In the past, such meetings were held annually. Overcoming these challenges is in the vital interests of **Africa**. They need to strengthen the unity of action of its Member States, giving it greater efficiency. After all, the continent has still not completely eliminated colonialism, has not uprooted such a shameful phenomenon as racism, and has strife and armed conflicts, which bring great damage. Imperialism has preserved in southern **Africa** a springboard for aggression against independent states, trying to draw them into the arms race and military blocs. Washington stands behind **South Africa's** aggressive attacks against neighboring countries, including the recent bandit raid on the capital of Mozambique. US military doctrine, providing for intervention anywhere in the world, directly threatens the sovereignty of **African** States. In recent years, the Pentagon has been creating its bases in East **Africa**, along whose shores run American warships, based in the Indian Ocean.

During a meeting of the General Secretary of the CPSU, Comrade Yuri Andropov, and the President of Angola, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who last week visited our country, concern was expressed about continuing tensions in the world, and dangerous situations in some regions. The necessity was noted of further intensification of the struggle of all progressive and peace-loving, national liberation forces to weaken the threat of war, curb the arms race, and strengthen peace and security on the ground. The Soviet Union expressed its support for the fight against the machinations of imperialists and racists in southern **Africa**, and for the granting of independence to Namibia.

The results of the negotiations held in Moscow by the **Angolan** delegation, and the documents signed here, have again shown that the Soviet Union is the friend of **African** peoples. It opposes all forms of colonialism and racial oppression, and in internationalist fashion helps **Africans** to overcome their economic and cultural backwardness, and strengthen their statehood.

Our country is on the side of the **African** peoples who are fighting for the triumph of the ideals of freedom, independence and progress.

Поздравление главам государств и правительств и народам Африки по случаю Дня освобождения Африки

По случаю Дня освобождения **Африки** Президиум Верховного Совета СССР и Совет Министров СССР от имени всего советского народа горячо поздравляют глав государств и правительств и народы **африканских** стран.

День освобождения **Африки**, провозглашенный главами **африканских** государств и правительств в Аддис-Абебе двадцать лет назад, — это большой праздник многомиллионной семьи **африканских** народов. Как и все подлинные друзья свободы и независимости **Африки**, советские люди широко отмечают эту знаменательную дату.

На протяжении последних двух десятилетий под ударами национально-освободительного движения на **африканской** земле один за другим рушились колониальные режимы, сокращалась сфера господства сил расизма. На руинах колониальной системы закладывались основы новой жизни, укреплялись национальная государственность, суверенитет и независимость освободившихся

африканских стран. Многие из стран **Африки** бились вывода со своих территорий бывших колониальных держав, ликвидации империалистических военных баз.

Неотвратимо приближается час освобождения и Намибии — последней территории на континенте, находящейся под игом колониального угнетения.

Свои плоды начинает приносить упорная борьба народов **Африки** за достижение экономической независимости, за создание национальной экономики, развитие базовых отраслей промышленности, сельского хозяйства, транспорта и связи. Свободная **Африка** может гордиться своими достижениями в области образования, здравоохранения, культуры и искусства.

Успехи народов **Африки** во всех областях национальной жизни могли бы быть значительно большими, если бы им не приходилось преодолевать — наряду с тяжелым наследием колониального прошлого — ожесточенное противодействие сил империализма.

Попирая все общепризнанные нормы межгосударственного общения и международного права, наиболее агрессивные империалистические круги бесцеремонно объявляют целые районы континента «сферой своих жизненных интересов», распространяют на территории суверенных **африканских** государств действие своих милитаристских структур, а в отношении стран, оказывающих им сопротивление, усиливают угрозы, шантаж, прямое военное давление. НеокOLONIZаторы стремятся связать **Африку** новыми путами и лишить ее обретенной свободы, закрепить за своими монополиями возможность и впредь извлекать максимальные прибыли за счет ограбления и эксплуатации **африканских** народов.

Ради достижения своих целей враги свободы и независимости **Африки** делают ставку на разобщение **африканцев**, на разжигание междоусобных распрей и конфликтов, на подрыв, а если удастся, и развал Организации **африканского** единства — этого важного инструмента антиимпериалистической, антиколониальной борьбы.

Прямым сообщником международного империализма на **африканском** континенте все наглее выступает расистский режим ЮАР. Продолжающаяся вопреки решениям ООН, требованиям Организации **африканского** единства, движения неприсоединения и широчайших кругов мировой общественности незаконная оккупация Намибии, акты агрессии против независимых **африканских** государств, позорная практика апартеида и непрекращающиеся усилия по созданию собственного ядерного оружия — таков не полный перечень преступных режима, возведенного империалистическими кругами в ранг своего «исторического союзника».

Советский Союз последовательно и решительно выступает на стороне народов континента в их борьбе против колониализма, расизма и апартеида. Вся **Африка** должна быть свободной и независимой, как того требуют интересы ее успешного развития по пути экономического и социального прогресса. Советский народ оказывал и будет оказывать необходимую поддержку борьбе патриотов Намибии и Южной **Африки**, которые под руководством СВАПО и **Африканского** национального конгресса отстаивают свое неотъемлемое право на свободу и независимость.

Сейчас, когда действия наиболее агрессивных империалистических сил серьезно осложнили международную обстановку, усилили угрозу ядерной войны, нет более важной задачи, чем обеспечить мир, остановить гонку вооружений, в первую очередь ядерных. Советский Союз, верный ленинской стратегии мира, не жалеет усилий для достижения этой высокой гуманной цели.

Исторический долг тех, кому народы, в том числе и **африканские**, вверяют свои судьбы,— направить все силы на то, чтобы создать непреодолимую преграду ядерной катастрофе.

Искренне желаем государствам и народам **Африки** новых успехов в борьбе против империализма, против колониализма и неоколониализма, за мир и прогресс.

**ВЕРХОВНОГО СОВЕТА СССР
СОВЕТ МИНИСТРОВ СССР**

Congratulations to Heads of State and Government and the peoples of Africa on the occasion of Africa Liberation Day

On the occasion of the Day of **African** Liberation, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers on behalf of the entire Soviet people warmly congratulate the Heads of State and of Government and the peoples of **Africa**.

African Liberation Day, proclaimed by the **African** Heads of State and Government in **Addis Ababa** twenty years ago, is a great holiday for the multimillion family of **African** peoples. Like all true friends of freedom and independence of **Africa**, the Soviet people widely celebrate this landmark date.

Over the past two decades, under the blows of the national liberation movement on **African** soil one after another the colonial regimes have collapsed, reducing the scope of the rule of the forces of racism. On the ruins of the colonial system have been laid the foundations of a new life, and national statehood, sovereignty and independence of the newly independent **African** countries have strengthened. Many **African** countries have fought for withdrawal of the former colonial powers from their territories, and the elimination of imperialist military bases.

The hour of liberation of Namibia too is inexorably approaching, the last territory on the continent under the yoke of colonial oppression.

The persistent struggle of the **African** peoples to achieve economic independence, the creation of the national economy, the development of basic industries, agriculture, transport and communications, is beginning to bear fruit. Free **Africa** can be proud of its achievements in the fields of education, health, culture and the arts.

The successes of the peoples of **Africa** in all areas of national life could be much greater if they had not had to overcome - along with the legacy of the colonial past - fierce opposition by the forces of imperialism.

Trampling on all universally accepted norms of interstate relations and international law, the more aggressive imperialist circles unceremoniously declare entire regions of the continent the "sphere of its vital interests," and spread over the territory of sovereign **African** states the action of its militaristic structures, and for the countries that have resisted them, issue stronger threats, blackmail and direct military pressure. Neo-colonialists try to tie **Africa** with new fetters and deprive it of its newfound freedom, to secure for their monopolies the opportunity to continue to extract maximum profits by plundering and exploiting the **African** peoples.

Having achieved their goals, the enemies of freedom and independence of **Africa** rely on divisions of **Africans** to incite internal strife and conflicts, to undermine, and if possible, cause the collapse of the Organization of **African** Unity, this important tool of anti-imperialist, anti-colonial struggle.

The direct accomplice of international imperialism on the **African** continent, the racist regime of **South Africa**, is acting ever more boldly. Its illegal occupation of **Namibia** is against UN decisions, the demands of the Organization of **African** Unity, separatist movements and the widest circles of the international community, its acts of

aggression against independent **African** states, the shameful practice of apartheid and the continued efforts to build its own nuclear weapons - this is not even the full list of crimes of this regime, elevated in imperialist circles to the rank of its "historic ally".

The Soviet Union consistently and resolutely acts on the side of the peoples of the continent in their struggle against colonialism, racism and apartheid. All of **Africa** must be free and independent, as required by the interests of its successful development on the path of economic and social progress. The Soviet people has shown and will show the necessary support to the fight of the patriots of **Namibia and South Africa**, who, under the leadership of SWAPO and the **African** National Congress, defend their inalienable right to freedom and independence.

Now, when the actions of the most aggressive imperialist forces have seriously complicated the international environment and intensified the threat of nuclear war, there is no more important task than to secure peace and to stop the arms race, especially nuclear arms. The Soviet Union, true to the Leninist strategy of peace, spares no effort to achieve this lofty humanitarian goal.

The historic duty of those to whom peoples, including **African** peoples, entrust their destiny is to concentrate all efforts on creating an insurmountable obstacle to nuclear disaster.

We sincerely wish the governments and peoples of **Africa** new successes in the struggle against imperialism, against colonialism and neo-colonialism, and for peace and progress.

SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE USSR
USSR Council of Ministers

C211, 1985

C211, 2nd November, 1985, page 4

В дружественной обстановке

(Окончание. Начало на 3-й стр.)

действии. Поскольку эта проблема уходит своими корнями еще в эпоху колониализма и имеет сложный характер, решение ее потребует напряженных и масштабных усилий. Однако недалеко то время, когда в результате всеобщего подъема борьбы народов **Африки** природные богатства и полезные ископаемые континента будут поставлены на службу их истинных хозяев.

...

так, будто бы основным препятствием на пути к укреплению международного мира является та борьба за социальную и экономическую независимость, которую ценой великих жертв ведут против империализма и его приспешников некоторые развивающиеся страны, освободившиеся от оков несправедливости, гнета и эксплуатации. Более того, в своей далекой от истинного положения вещей речи он пытается выдвигать предварительные условия для переговоров в Женеве, без малейших колебаний и зазрения совести увязывая эту борьбу с вопросами разоружения и международной безопасности. Мировое сообщество осуждает такой подход.

Президент Рейган полагает, что укреплению международной безопасности препятствуют такие страны, как Кампучия, Афганистан, Никарагуа, Ангола, Эфиопия. Однако в представленной президентом Рейганом международному форуму речи не говорится ни слова о том, что именно империализм, в первую очередь американский, являет собой главную угрозу миру, безопасности и свободе народов, социальному прогрессу. Нет в ней и малейшего упоминания и о

не имеющем в современности аналогов положении на юге **Африки**, истреблении народов Ближнего Востока и проблеме независимости арабского народа Палестины, о массовой гибели людей в ходе ирано-иракского конфликта, свершающихся ежедневно кровавых преступлениях пользующихся поддержкой Вашингтона фашистских хунт Центральной Америки, страданиях и гибели миллионов детей в результате несправедливого международного экономического порядка, стихийных бедствий, голода и болезней.

Неужели президент Рейган надеется на то, что люди планеты не обеспокоены или не знают о уже имеющихся и создаваемых новых военных базах и ядерных складах, о переброске сухопутных и военно-морских сил в Центральную Америку, **Африку**, на Ближний и Дальний Восток, и в особенности в Западную Европу, да и в целом по всему миру?

Неужели вооруженные силы США во всех этих районах являются посланцами мира, отстаивающими интересы социального прогресса и развития?

Неужели постоянно проводимые у границ независимых и миролюбивых государств в различных частях света военные маневры под кодовым названием «Брайт стар» и агрессивные приготовления рассматриваются самим американским народом как музыкальный концерт или цирковое представление?

На самом деле те страны, которые, по мнению президента Рейгана, мешают разоружению и укреплению международной безопасности, борются с эксплуатацией и угнетением, расизмом, угрозой войны, голодом, болезнями и нищетой; они выступают за справедливость, социальный прогресс и мир. Их борьба является составной частью национально-освободительной и социальной революции, движения за разоружение, разрядку и всеобщий мир. Более того, они несут огромные жертвы, чтобы отстоять свое существование и революционные завоевания. Мы четко осознаем, что особое упоминание наших стран президентом Рейганом в указанном выступлении является свидетельством недовольства ими империализма, и потому не ждем от главы США хвалебных речей либо благодарностей в свой адрес. Упоминание наших стран президентом Рейганом не только свидетельствует о том, что они являются объектом нападок со стороны американского империализма, но и в целом демонстрирует ненависть империализма и реакции к социализму, а также их потуги вернуть себе утраченные позиции за наш счет. Однако победа не может быть одержана без жертв. В борьбе за поставленные цели мы готовы заплатить любую цену, но никогда не сделаем нашу революцию предметом торга.

Все миролюбивые силы планеты высоко ценят и твердо поддерживают усилия Советского Союза, предпринимаемые для обуздания гонки вооружений и сокращения уже имеющихся запасов оружия. Выражая пожелания плодотворных результатов на предстоящих советско-американских переговорах в Женеве, хотел бы воспользоваться данной возможностью, чтобы вновь подтвердить поддержку Эфиопией сил, борющихся за мир.

Дорогой товарищ Горбачев!

Дорогие советские товарищи!

Как я уже говорил в начале этой речи, народ Эфиопии решительно вступил в борьбу за создание общества, основывающегося на принципах справедливости, равенства, мира, на путях построения социализма. Мы полностью осознаем необходимость неустанной работы и решительной борьбы для достижения намеченных целей. Мы знаем, что традиционная поддержка наших союзников по борьбе — социалистических стран, и в первую очередь Советского Союза, как и прежде, будет на нашей стороне и еще более возрастет в этот решающий переходный период эфиопской революции. Мы твердо уверены в том, что,

несмотря на все более ожесточенное сопротивление врагов, победа будет за нами!

Позвольте в заключение пожелать здоровья дорогому товарищу Горбачеву и присутствующим здесь товарищам, процветания и мира нашим народам и странам.

Речи товарищей М. С. Горбачева и Мэнгисту Хайле Мариама были выслушаны с вниманием и встречены продолжительными аплодисментами.

Обед прошел в теплой, дружественной обстановке.
(ТАСС).

In a friendly atmosphere

(End. Continued from page 3.)

action. Since this problem is rooted in the era of colonialism and is complex, the solution requires intense and large-scale effort. However, the time is near when, as a result of the general rise of the struggle of **African** peoples, the natural resources of the continent will be put at the service of their true owners.

...

as if the major obstacle to the strengthening of international peace is that struggle for social and economic independence, which, at a price of great sacrifices, some developing countries, freed from the shackles of injustice, oppression and exploitation, lead against imperialism and its lackeys. Moreover, in his speech which is far from the truth, he is trying to put forward preconditions for the talks in Geneva, without the slightest hesitation or scruples linking this struggle with questions of disarmament and international security. The international community condemns such an approach.

President Reagan says that countries such as Cambodia, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, **Angola and Ethiopia** are hindering the strengthening of international security. However, in President Reagan's speech at the international forum there is not a word about the fact that it is imperialism, especially that of the US, which is a major threat to peace, security, freedom of peoples and social progress. Neither is there the slightest mention of the totally unique situation in southern **Africa**, the extermination of peoples of the Middle East and the problem of the independence of the Arab people of Palestine, of the massive loss of life in the Iran-Iraq conflict, of daily bloody crimes of the Washington-backed fascist junta in Central America, or of the suffering and deaths of millions of children as a result of the unjust international economic order, natural disasters, famine and disease.

Did President Reagan really hope that the folk of the planet are not concerned by or are unaware of the existing and newly established military bases and nuclear warehouses, about the transfer of land and naval forces into Central America, **Africa**, the Middle and Far East, and in particular to Western Europe, and in general all over the world?

Are the armed forces of the USA in all **these regions** really envoys of peace, defining the interests of social progress and **development**?

Are the military manoeuvres constantly waged at the borders of independent and peaceful states in **different parts of the world** under the code name "Bright Star" and aggressive preparations really seen by the American people as a musical concert or circus performance?

In actual fact, **those countries** which President Reagan thinks are disturbing the disarmament and strengthening of international security, are battling with exploitation and oppression, racism, the threat of war, hunger, illnesses and extreme poverty; they are standing up for justice, social progress and peace. Their battle is an integral part of a national-liberation and social revolution, of a movement for disarmament, détente and

universal peace. Moreover, they are bearing enormous sacrifices, to defend their existence and revolutionary gains. We are keenly aware that the special mention of our countries by President Reagan in this speech is evidence of their discontent with imperialism, and so we do not expect eulogies or gratitude in the USA's leader's address. The mention of our countries by President Reagan not only shows that they are an object of attacks by American imperialism, but fully demonstrate imperialism's hatred and reaction against socialism, and also their attempts to regain their positions lost at our expense. However, victory cannot be won without sacrifice. In the battle for the goals we have set, we are ready to pay any price, but we shall never use our revolution as a bargaining chip.

All the peace-loving forces of the planet value highly and strongly support the efforts which the Soviet Union has made to curb the arms race and reduce weapons stockpiles. Expressing wishes for future results at the forthcoming Soviet-American talks in Geneva, I would like to use this opportunity to confirm again the support of **Ethiopian** forces, fighting for peace.

Dear Comrade Gorbachev!

Dear Soviet comrades!

As I already said at the start of this speech, the **people of Ethiopia** decisively entered a struggle to create a society founded on the principles of justice, equality, peace and on the road to **build socialism**. We fully recognise the necessity for tireless work and determined struggle to achieve these goals. We know that the traditional support of our allies in this struggle, the socialist countries and first and foremost the Soviet Union, as before, will be on our side and will more than ever grow at this decisive transitional period in the Ethiopian revolution. We are firmly convinced that, in spite of increasingly fierce resistance from the enemy, victory will be ours!

Let me conclude by wishing health to dear Comrade Gorbachev and to comrades present here, and prosperity and peace to our peoples and countries.

The speeches of comrades Gorbachev and Haile Mariam Mengistu were heard with attention and met with a standing ovation.

The dinner was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.
(TASS).

C213, 1986

C213, 19th May, 1986, page 6

ПУТИ БОРЬБЫ И РАЗВИТИЯ

В мае **Африка** отмечает День освобождения. С 1963 года, когда была создана Организация **африканского** единства (ОАЕ), он стал общим праздником целого континента. Ветры свободы вы??? оттуда английских, французских, бельгийских, португальских и прочих поработителей. В борьбе против колонизаторов **африканские** государства поняли необходимость и назвали силу единых добротей. В этой борьбе большую роль сыграла ОАЕ. Ныне почти вся **Африка** ??? независимо, немало стран ??? на путь прогрессивный преобразований, ориентируется на передовые общественные идеи. Но условия развития **Африки** остаются сложными.

На Юге континента сохраняется очаг?? расизма и колониализма. Правители ЮАР, поддерживаемые американскими и западноевропейскими империалистами, пытаются уберечь от краха систему апартеида. Жадной хваткой они цепляются за богатстве Намибии, отказывая ее народу в праве на независимость. Не прекращаются акты расистской агрессии, вылазки на??? банд

против «прифронтовых» государств, в частности Анголы и Мозамбика. Средства и оружие для этой преступной деятельности поступают из Соединенных Штатов. Расисты и империалисты, указываются в советско-ангольском ??? в положении на Юге **Африки**, рассчитывают дать здесь бой всей свободной **Африке**, отбросить назад процесс национального освобождения и повести контрнаступление господства на всем континенте.

Африканские народы вынуждены защищаться от империалистических этих и на экономическом фронте. Запад продолжит грабить **Африку** и тормозить ее развития. Одной из форм неокOLONиалистского закабаления континента стала задолженность. Сейчас общая сумма внешней долгов **Африки** достигает примерно 175 миллиардов долларов. Международные финансовые организации, находящиеся под контролем США, ведут подход под установление плодовых начал в **африканском** хозяйстве, под госсектор, стремятся сделать **Африку** беззащитной перед крупным капиталом Запада, транснациональными корпорациями.

В последние годы многие страны **Африки** пережили трагедию засухи. Это усугубило последствия политики неокOLONиализма, поставило их в особенно тяжелое положение. За последние пять лет средний доход на душу населения сократился на континенте на 12 процентов.

В конце мая в Нью-Йорке открывается специальная сессия Генеральной Ассамблеи ООН по критическому экономическому положению в **Африке**. ОАЕ и Экономическая комиссии ООН для **Африки** составили план преодоление нынешних трудностей, в выполнение которого намерены внести вклад сами страны континента. Вместе с тем ясно, что необходимы эффективные меры комплексного и долгосрочного характера, направленные на искоренение??? глубинные причем??? экономического кризиса в **Африке**, на освобождение международными экономических отношений от дискриминации в произволе???. Они логично связываются с решением проблемы разоружения, что позволило бы выделить средства для преодоления отсталости, на цели развития.

Советский Союз всегда поддерживал и поддерживает стремление **африканских** стран укрепить политическую и экономическую независимость, покончить с колониальным прошлым во всех его проявлениях. Советские инициативы, направленные на ликвидацию ядерного оружия, на устранение угрозы войны, отвечают и жизненным интересам народов **Африки**. Поэтому они пользуются растущей поддержанной на континенте.

Упрочение безопасности на основе укрепления всеобщего мира, прекращение империалистического вмешательства, безотлагательное??? политическое урегулирование положения на юге, прекращение **Африки** в зону, свободную от ядерного оружия и иностранных военных баз, развитие в условиях нового международного экономического порядка – такими видятся пути континента в будущее.

THE PATHS OF STRUGGLE AND DEVELOPMENT

In May, **Africa** marks its Liberation Day. Since 1963, when the Organization of **African** Unity (OAU) was created, it has become a general celebration for the whole continent. The winds of freedom have ??? out from there British, French, Belgian, Portuguese and other invaders. In the struggle against colonialism, **African** states have understood its necessity and have called it the power of unified goodness??. In this struggle, the OAU has played a big role. Today almost the whole of **Africa** ??? independently, and many countries have ??? on the path of progressive reforms, and are

focused on advanced social ideas. But conditions for the development of **Africa** remain complicated.

In the south of the continent the ??? of racism and colonialism remain. The rulers of **South Africa**, protected by American and West European imperialists, are trying to protect themselves from the collapse of the apartheid system. With a greedy grasp, they cling to the richness of **Namibia**, denying its people the right to independence. They do not stop acts of racist aggression and attacks of ??? bands against the "frontline" states, in particular **Angola and Mozambique**. The tools and weapons for this criminal activity come from the United States. Racists and imperialists, are specified in the **Soviet-Angolan** ??? in a position in the south of **Africa**, calculated to fight against all of free **Africa**, set back the process of national liberation, and lead a counter-offensive for dominance of the whole continent.

African nations are forced to defend themselves against these imperialists on the economic front too. The West will continue to rob **Africa** and to inhibit its development. One of these forms of neo-colonialist enslavement of the continent has become indebtedness. Now the total external debt of **Africa** amounts to about 175 billion dollars. International financial institutions under US control are leading an approach to establish fruitful beginnings in the **African** economy, in the public sector, seeking to make **Africa** vulnerable to the big capital of the West and transnational corporations.

In recent years, many **African** countries have experienced the tragedy of drought. This has exacerbated the effects of the policy of neocolonialism, and put them in a particularly difficult position. Over the past five years, the average per capita income fell by 12 per cent on the continent.

At the end of May, in New York a special session of the UN General Assembly on the critical economic situation in **Africa** is opening. The OAU and the UN Economic Commission for **Africa** have made a plan to overcome the current difficulties, and the countries of the continent intend to contribute to its implementation themselves. However, it is clear that effective measures of a comprehensive and long-term nature are needed, aimed at the iskoronenie?? deep economic crisis in **Africa**, and the liberation of international economic relations from arbitrary discrimination. They are logically linked with the problem of disarmament, which would allocate funds to overcome backwardness, and the aims of development.

The Soviet Union has always supported and supports the efforts of **African** countries to strengthen their political and economic independence, and to put an end to the colonial past in all its manifestations. Soviet initiatives aimed at eliminating nuclear weapons, at eliminating the threat of war, also respond to the interests of the lives of the peoples of **Africa**. Therefore, they are increasingly supported on the continent.

The enhancement of security through the strengthening of world peace, and the cessation of imperialist intervention, bezotlegatelnoe??? political settlement of the situation in the south, the cessation of **Africa** into a zone free of nuclear weapons and foreign military bases, its development in a new international economic order - these are seen to be the way into the future for the continent.

Цифры и Факты

Африка – второй по размерам материи после Европы. Вместе с островами она должит около 1/5 сужи???. Численность населения 160 миллионов человек. Многочисленные народности и племена говорят почти на 1.500 языках.

В начале века в **Африке** было лишь два свободных государства – Либерия и Эфиопия. Сегодня на континенте более 50 независимых стран.

Многие **африканские** государства деляются активными участниками движения

неприсоединения. Танзания входит в «делийскую шестерку», выступившую с призывом положить конец гонке ядерных вооружений.

Тяжелой ношей для континента является отсталость, усугубляемая экономической экспансией империализма. Доля **Африки** в мировом промышленном производстве не превышает одного процента. По оценке ООН, 26 **Африканских** государств входят в число наименее развитых в мире.

Неравноправные торгово-экономические отношения с Западом оборачиваются для **африканских** стран потерей примерно в миллиардов долларов в год.

19 миллионов **африканцев** в 16 странах голодают.

США рассматривают значительную часть континента как сферу своих «жизненных интересов». Большая группа **африканских** государств включена Вашингтоном в «зону ответственности» так называемого центрального командования Соединенных Штатов (Сентком), которому подчинены интервенционистские «силы быстрого развертывание».

Заокеанская «доктрина неоглобализма» угрожает в **Африке** прежде всего тех странах, которые встали на путь прогрессивных преобразований и проводят антиимпериалистический курс. Исходя из этой доктрины разбоя и государственного терроризма, США совершили в апреле агрессию против Ливийской Джамахирии.

Facts and Figures

Africa is the second largest continent after Europe. Together with its islands, it is about 1/5 ????. Its population is about 160 million people. Its multiple peoples and tribes speak almost 1,500 languages.

At the beginning of the century in **Africa** there were only two free states - Liberia and Ethiopia. Today on the continent there are more than 50 independent countries.

Many **African** states are distinguished by being active participants in the Non-Aligned Movement. Tanzania is included in the "Delhi Six", which have appealed for an end to the nuclear arms race.

A heavy burden for the continent is backwardness compounded by the economic expansion of imperialism. **Africa's** share in world industrial production does not exceed one percent. The UN estimates that 26 **African** countries are among the least developed in the world.

Unequal trade and economic relations with the West is turned for **African** countries into losses of about a billion dollars a year.

19 million **Africans** in 16 countries are starving.

The USA considers a significant part of the continent as a sphere of its "vital interests." Washington includes a large group of **African** states in the "zone of responsibility" of the so-called United States Central Command (CENTCOM), subject to interventionist "rapid deployment forces".

The overseas "doctrine of neoglobalism" threatens most of all those countries in **Africa** which have embarked on the path of progressive reforms and are implementing an anti-imperialist course. On the basis of this doctrine of robbery and state terrorism, the USA committed aggression against **Libya** in April.

Обстановка накаляется

На письменный стол ложатся сообщения из разных точек африканского Юга.

Улица, центр ангольской провинции Уила. Командующий пятым военным округом майор Луиш Фасейра сообщил журналистам, что новое вторжение расистов может начаться в любой момент. Разведкой отмечена концентрация

мотомеханизированных подразделениях, артиллерии и авиации вдоль южных границ Анголы, на базах в оккупированной расистами Намибии.

Мапуту. На одной из центральных улиц мозамбикской столицы взорвалась автомашина, начиненная взрывчаткой. В результате террористического акта ранено около 50 человек. Следствием установлено, что на машине был номер ЮАР.

Александра, **африканский** поселок близ Йоханнесбурга. Около двух тысяч солдат перекрыли все входы и выходы в этот поселок со стотысячным населением. Патрули обыскивают каждого прохожего, каждую автомашину, каждый дом. Идут массовые аресты. «Операция» предпринята в связи с тем, что население Александры изгнало посаженных расистами муниципальных советников и учредило собственные органы власти, которые принимают решения не только по коммунальным вопросам, но и по организации сопротивления апартеида. Александра стала «неуправляемой». Массовое движение против расового угнетения ширится и в других населенных пунктах. Чтобы подавить «беспорядки», главарь апартеида усиливает репрессии.

Виндхук. Оккупационные власти ЮАР приговорили в этом административном центре Намибии к длительным срокам тюремного заключения группу сторонников Народной организации Юго-Западной **Африки** (СВАПО). Им предъявлено стандартное обвинение в «терроризме».

Кейптаун. Там состоялись переговоры руководителей режима апартеида с Савимби, главарем бандитской анти-ангольской группировки УНИТА. На них обсуждались новые планы подрывных против Анголы. Эти планы возникли в связи с получением из США для УНИТА самых современных видов оружия и военного снаряжения. После окончания переговоров головорез позирует перед западными корреспондентами в новенькой, с иголки, американской форме и «доверительно» сообщает, что 15 миллионов долларов, выделенных Вашингтоном на приобретение ракет «Стингер» и другого оружия, лишь начало, поскольку администрация США «хорошо сознает», что для борьбы против правительства Анголы ему потребуется дополнительная «помощь».

Из таких сообщения складывается общая картина взрыво-опасной обстановки в южной части **Африки**. Сами события разные: вчера вторжение войск ЮАР в соседнюю страну, сегодня — расстрел демонстрантов на улицах «черного» гетто, завтра — бомбардировка лагеря беженцев. Но источник напряженности постоянный. Это — окопавшийся в ЮАР расистско-колониальный режим. Опираясь на поддержку империалистических сил во главе с США, правители Претории не желают считаться ни с переменами, происшедшими в **южноафриканском** регионе, ни с реальной обстановкой в самой ЮАР.

В региональной политике расисты и империалисты сделали ставку на своего рода «стратегию дестабилизации». Их действия направлены на то, чтобы создать в соседних с ЮАР «прифронтовых» государствах обстановку политического и экономического хаоса и в конце концов вновь навязать им зависимость и подчинение. Тщательно изучаются «болевые точки» этих государств — у одних отсутствие выхода к морю, у других этническая разобщенность, у третьих — особенно острые неурядицы в экономике. Каждая подрывная вылазка продумывается с таким расчетом, чтобы удар пришелся в самое уязвимое место.

Одновременно резко возросла агрессивность режима апартеида внутри страны. Это вызвано его стремлением сбить беспрецедентный подъем антирасистского движения. По существу «необъявленная война» ведется и против

соседних «прифронтовых» государств, и против подавляющего большинства населения в самой ЮАР. Всему этому содействует американская политика «конструктивного сотрудничества» с Преторией, «братание» с ней Вашингтона. Одержимая имперскими амбициями администрация США намеревается здесь, как и в других районах мира, не допустить победы сил национального и социального освобождения.

В Анголе, в других независимых странах региона решительно осуждают такой курс США, расценивая его не только как поощрение террористического режима Претории, но и как проявление опаснейшей империалистической «доктрины неоглобализма», которой руководствуются сами Соединенные Штаты.

М. ЗЕНОВИЧ,

(Соб. корр. «Правды»)

г. Луанда, май

The situation is heating up

On the desk lie messages from different parts of southern Africa.

A street in the centre of the **Angolan** province of Huila. The commander of the fifth military region, General Luis Faseyra, has told reporters that a new invasion of racists could begin at any time. Intelligence has noted the concentration of mechanized divisions, artillery and aircraft along the southern borders of Angola, on bases occupied by racists in Namibia.

Maputo. On one of the central streets of the **Mozambican** capital, a car filled with explosives has exploded. As a result of this terrorist attack, about 50 people are injured. The investigation established that the car had a **South African** number plate.

Alexandra, an **African** township near **Johannesburg**. About two thousand soldiers have blocked all entrances to and exits from the village, which has a population of a hundred thousand. Patrols have searched every passer-by, every car, every house. Mass arrests have taken place. The "operation" is undertaken in connection with the fact that the population of Alexandra drove out the sitting racist municipal councillors and established their own governments, which make decisions not only on municipal issues, but also on the organization of resistance to apartheid. Alexandra was "uncontrollable". The mass movement against racial oppression is spreading to other towns. To suppress the "riots", leaders reinforce apartheid repression.

Windhoek. In this administrative centre of **Namibia**, the occupying powers of **South Africa** have condemned to long prison terms a group of supporters of the People's Organization of South-West **Africa** (SWAPO). They are charged with the standard charge of "terrorism".

Cape Town. Talks took place there between the leaders of the apartheid regime and Savimbi, leader of the bandit anti-**Angolan** group UNITA. They discussed new plans of subversion against **Angola**. These plans have arisen in connection with the delivery from the United States to UNITA of the most modern weapons and military equipment. After the negotiations, the thug poses in front of Western correspondents in a brand new American uniform and "confidentially" reports that the 15 million dollars allocated by Washington for the purchase of "Stinger" missiles and other weapons is only the beginning, since the US administration is "well aware" that he will need more "aid" for the fight against the Government of **Angola**.

From such statements develops an overall picture of an explosively dangerous situation in southern **Africa**. Events themselves are varied: yesterday the invasion by **South African** troops of a neighbouring country, today the shooting of demonstrators in the streets of the "black" ghetto, tomorrow the bombing of refugee camps. But there is a constant source of tension. It is entrenched in **South Africa's** racist, colonial regime.

With the support of the imperialist powers headed by the United States, Pretoria rulers do not want to take account of any of the changes that have occurred in the southern **African** region, nor with the real situation in **South Africa** itself.

In regional policy, the racists and imperialists have flocked to a kind of "strategy of destabilisation." Their actions are intended to create in neighbouring "front-line" states, neighbouring **South Africa**, a situation of political and economic chaos, and finally to re-impose dependence and subordination. They carefully study the "pain points" of these countries - some have no access to the sea, others have ethnic fragmentation, and others have particularly acute troubles in their economies. Each destructive subversion is thought out in such a way that the blow hits the most vulnerable spot.

At the same time the aggression of the apartheid regime in the country has sharply increased. This is due to its desire to bring down the unprecedented rise of the anti-racist movement. Essentially this "undeclared war" is being waged both against neighbouring "frontline" states and against the overwhelming majority of the population in **South Africa** itself. The American policy of "constructive engagement" with Pretoria, "fraternization" with Pretoria in Washington, contributes to all this. Obsessed with imperial ambitions, the administration of the US intends, here as in other parts of the world, to prevent the victory of the forces of national and social liberation.

In Angola and the other independent countries of the region, they strongly condemn this US policy, considering it not only an encouragement to the terrorist regime in Pretoria, but also an expression of the danger of the imperialist "doctrine of neoglobalism", which guides the United States itself.

M. Zenovich,

(Own Corr. "Pravda")

Luanda, May

За мир, против империализма

Гонка вооружений все больше подрывает?????

Шадли Бенджадия

Президент Алжирской Народной Демократической Республики

В то время как социалистические страны предпринимают конструктивные усилия для ...

Менгисту Хайле Мариам

Председатель Временного военного административного совета Эфиопии

Во всем мире империализм создает очаги напряженности с тем, чтобы сохранить свои привилегии, усугубляя и без того бедственные условия жизни народных масс. В попытке представить разномонельные?? конфликты как проявление глобальной конфронтации между Востоком и Западом, США ??? вмешивается в жизнь других народов и рядится о то?? защитников демократия и свободы, которые они сами же ценорируют и полмирают???. ... Возрастание агрессивности империализма начинает приобретать особо опасные формы, так как применение силы или угрозы ее применения против стран «третьего мира» превратилось уже в порочную практику.

Жозе Эдуарду душ Сантуш

Президент Народной Республики Ангола

Советский Союз продолжает последовательно выступать на стороне народов **Африки**, борющихся за национальное освобождение. Страна Советов оказывает

нам действенную моральную, политическую и материальную поддержку... Мы признательны Советскому Союзу за то, что он всегда находится в первых планеты, активно поддерживает справедливую борьбу народов Южной Африки и Намибии.

Иде Умару

Генеральный секретарь Организации африканского единства.

For peace, against imperialism

The arms race is ever more... ????????

Shadli Benjadiya

President of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic

While socialist countries are making constructive efforts to...

Mengistu Haile Mariam

Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Ethiopia

In the whole world, imperialism creates tensions in order to maintain its privileges, exacerbating the already disastrous living conditions of the masses. In an attempt to present *raznopalnye*?? conflicts as a manifestation of global confrontation between the East and the West, the USA is ??? interfering in the lives of other peoples, and parading about?? the defenders of democracy and freedom, which they themselves value and ???. The increase in aggression of imperialism is beginning to take on particularly dangerous forms, as the use of force or threats of force against countries of the "third world" has already become a vicious practice.

José Eduardo dos Santos

President of the People's Republic of Angola

The Soviet Union continues to act consistently on the side of the peoples of **Africa**, who are fighting for national liberation. The country of Soviets provides us with real moral, political and material support ... We are grateful to the Soviet Union for always being amongst the first on the planet, actively supporting the just struggle of the peoples of **South Africa and Namibia**.

Ide Oumarou

Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity.

Взгляд с Трафальгарской площади

Туристские ??? рекомендуют начинать осмотр английской столицы с Трафальгарской площади. Но почувствовать дух города, его место в истории лучше всего, если подняться на портал Национальной галереи, примыкающей к площади с северной стороны, и внимательно осмотреться вокруг. Известный политический деятель середины XIX века, премьер-министр Англии тех времен Роберт Пил считал открывающуюся оттуда панораму «лучшим видом в Европе».

Викторианский пельможа???, несомненно, имел в виду не только эстетические достоинства архитектурных ансамблей. Его имперской гордости импонировала прежде всего запечатленная в камне и бронзе история становления Британии как великой державы, над владениями которой «никогда не заходило солнце».

И как было не гордиться англичанину тех лет, если перед его взоры в серое лондонское небо взмыла 44-метровая гранитная громада колонны Нельсона с бронзовым адмиралом наверху – памятник былой победе британского флота и Трафальгарском сражении, открывшем Англии путь к господству на морях и

океанах. Справа и слева на площади два массивных здания с колоннами – Дом Канады и Дом Южной **Африки** – наглядное подтверждение глобальных масштабов империи. В юго-восточном ее углу на бронзовом скакуне генерал Хавелок, потопивший в крови национальное восстание индийских сипаев. Наконец, за самой колонной взгляду открывалась перспектива чопорного Уайтхолла. За его серыми стенами обитали те, чье призвание и жизненные принципы четко выражали слова шовинистического шлягера «Правь, Британия, морями!», который на протяжении более чем двух столетий был неофициальным гимном английских народов...

...
И тем не менее тревожные для правительства сигналы начинают поступать даже из этой, казалось бы, столь привилегированной сферы. Ожесточенная борьба вокруг вертолето-строителей компании «Уэстленд», оказавшейся в руках американского концерна «Юнайтед текнолоджи», наглядно продемонстрировала, что в британских деловых и политических кругах зреет глубокое недовольство слишком уж откровенным проамериканским курсом правительства.

История с «Уэстлендом» приобрела столь широкий резонанс не только из-за драматического сюжета, по которому она развивалась. Она выставила на всеобщее обозрение одно из главных противоречий внешней политики Англии послевоенных десятилетий.

Пытаясь сохранить за собой роль и влияние великой державы в условиях, когда реальный экономический и военный потенциал страны перестал отвечать этому понятию, определенные руководящие круги Великобритании увидели выход в установлении так называемых «особых» отношений с США. На практике же это повело к ослаблению независимых основ внешнеполитического курса стран. Дело дошло до прямого соучастия Лондона в агрессивной авантюре Вашингтона против Ливии, хотя подрыв отношений с арабскими странами пагубен и для Англии, и для всей Западной Европы.

Однако развитие как самой Великобритании, так и международных отношений в целом все более настоятельно требует пересмотра этого курса, повышения состоятельной роли Лондона в европейских и мировых делах. В этом направлении Англию толкают не только ??? интересы, но и новые, значительно более широкие возможности для ослабления международной напряженности и перехода к разоружению, которые открываются в связи с мирными инициативами СССР и важными договоренностями, достигнутыми на советско-американской встрече, в Женеве.

...
Англичане — народ упорный. Недаром на Британских островах так любим бульдог. И если символизируемое им упорство будет направлено на достижение мирных целей, выиграют все. Ибо альтернативы миру у человечества сегодня просто нет.

А. МАСЛЕННИКОВ.

(Соб. корр. .Правды.),
г. Лондон, май.

The View from Trafalgar Square

Tourist ??? recommend starting a look around the British capital from Trafalgar Square. But to feel the spirit of the city, and its place in history, you're best to get up on the portal of the National Gallery adjoining the area on the north side, and look around carefully. The well-known politician of the middle of the XIX century, the British Prime Minister of that time Robert Peel, thought that this vista was "the best view in

Europe".

The Victorian ??? doubtless had in mind not only the aesthetic qualities of the architectural ensembles. His imperial pride was impressed first of all by the history of the formation of Britain as a great power, etched in stone and bronze, over whose estate "the sun never set".

And how could an Englishman of that time not be proud, when in front of his eyes in the grey London sky soared the 44-metre granite bulk of Nelson's column with a bronze Admiral at the top - a monument to the former victory of the British Navy and the Battle of Trafalgar, which opened the way for England's domination of the seas and oceans? To the right and left of the square are two massive buildings with columns - Canada House and **South Africa** House - a visual confirmation of the global scale of the empire. In the south-eastern corner of the square on a bronze steed is General Havelock, who drowned in blood the national uprising of Indian sepoys. Finally, behind the column itself the prospect of stiff Whitehall comes into view. Behind its grey walls lived those whose vocation and life principles expressed the words of the chauvinistic smash hit "Rule, Britannia!", which for more than two centuries was the unofficial anthem of the English people ...

...

Yet worrying signals for the government are beginning to arise even in such a seemingly privileged sphere. The bitter struggle around the aircraft-builders of the "Westland" company, in the hands of the American company "United Technology", has graphically demonstrated that in British business and political circles deep discontent is brewing at the government's overly overt pro-American policy.

The story of "Westland" has gained such a wide resonance not only because of the dramatic subject matter from which it evolved. It has put on public display one of the main contradictions of British foreign policy of the post-war decades.

Trying to retain for itself the role and influence of a great power in conditions in which the real economic and military potential of the country has ceased to respond to this concept, some leading circles of the UK saw a way out in the establishment of the so-called "special relationship" with the United States. In practice, this led to a weakening of the independent foundations of countries' foreign policies. The matter went so far as to result in London's direct complicity in Washington's aggressive adventure against **Libya**, although the undermining of relations with Arab countries is detriment both to England, and to the whole of Western Europe.

However, the development of both the UK and international relations in general more strongly demands a review of this development, and the raising of the wealthy role of London in European and world affairs. In this direction, England is pushed not only by ??? interests, but also by new, significantly wider opportunities for the easing of international tension and a transition to disarmament, which have opened due to the peace initiatives of the USSR and the important consensus reached at the Soviet-American Summit in Geneva.

...

The British people are stubborn. No wonder in the British Isles we so love the bulldog. And if the perseverance which it symbolizes is aimed at achieving peaceful purposes, everyone will win. For today humanity simply has no choice other than peace.

A. MASLENNIKOV.

(Sob. Corr. .Pravda.)

London, May.

**Иначе не назовешь: ограбление
ТНК орудуют в Гане**

Вернер Леиг—фигура в Аккре заметная. Глава действующей в Гане без малого полвека швейцарской строительной фирмы «А. Ланг лимитед» живет на широкую ногу. Но его процветание, как обнаружилось совсем недавно, обеспечивалось не столько трудами на ниве строительства, кстати, одной из самых запущенных отраслей ганского хозяйства, сколько обкрадыванием государства, мошенническими операциями с валютой. Утаивались суммы реального оборота, что позволяло фирме систематически недоплачивать налоги.

Скандалное разоблачение махинации «А. Ланг Лимитед» оказалось не единичным. Созданная по указанию властей специальная следственная комиссия тщательно проверила документацию ряда иностранных компаний, в том числе крупных филиалов транснациональных корпораций (ТНК) – английских, американских, израильских. В результате было выявлено немало финансово-экономических преступлений против страны, в которой они действовали.

Огромный урок, наносимый как Гане, так и многим другим **африканским** государствам транснациональными корпорациями. За последнее десятилетие, прибыли, выкачанные только американскими монополиями из развивающихся стран, вчетверо превысили их вложения.

На примере Ганы мы видим классические образчики неоколониалистских действий. Взять, например, филиал двух американских транснациональных металлургических гигантов «Кайзер алюминий энд кэмикл корпорейшн» и «Рейнолдз металз» — алюминиевую компанию ВАЛКО. Ее полное название «Вольта алюминий компании» связано с рекой Вольта, энергия которой питает плавильные печи ВАЛКО. Завод этой компании в ганском городе Тема – крупнейшее предприятие такого рода в **Африке**. Подписав в 1962 году соглашение с американцами, правительство Ганы рассчитывало на определенные выгоды для страны — на появление крупной ГЭС, под строительство которой Международный банк реконструкции и развития (МБРР) дал заем, и на освоение богатых запасов бокситов — первичного сырья для производства алюминия.

Пользуясь поддержкой МБРР, ВАЛКО, однако, навязала Гане условия, которые говорят за себя сами. ВАЛКО ультимативно потребовала получила право потреблять две трети всей электроэнергии ГЭС Акосомбо на Вольте, причем по цене в пять раз меньшей, чем в США.

Игнорируя требование Ганы создать в стране полный производственный цикл на базе местных бокситов, американская ТНК предпочитает добывать бокситы на Ямайке, перерабатывать их в промежуточное сырье — глинозем — на своих заводах в штате Луизиана и везти его потом в Гану на выплавку алюминия.

Страну превратили в поставщика сверхдешевого электричества. Гана, пионер добычи бокситов в **Африке**,—первые тонны этого сырья на континенте были добыты именно здесь в 1941 году —и по сей день не смогла поставить себе на службу собственные природные ресурсы.

Недавно под нажимом правительства Дж. Ролингса многие пункты соглашения были пересмотрены в пользу Ганы. Но ВАЛКО, как и раньше, уходит от создания законченного цикла производства алюминия, сохраняя за собой возможность угрожать сокращением производства.

Сейчас, когда власти Ганы ищут способ привлечь иностранный капитал и одновременно подчинить его национальным интересам, ТНК не упускают случая показать зубы, свертывают производство, чтобы вызвать трудности для правительства и недовольство населения, другие прекращают закупку сельскохозяйственного сырья у государственных организаций пускают в ход иные саботажа.

В основе непомерно высоких прибылей ТНК — нещадная прямая и

косвенная эксплуатация местной рабочей силы, оплата которой в несколько раз ниже, чем в метрополиях. Бесправие рабочих, их запугивание, систематические увольнения или бессрочные «отпуска» — таковы будни трудовых отношений на предприятиях ТНК в **Африке**.

Сверхэксплуатация природных и людских ресурсов **африканских** стран, в большинстве своем самых бедных в мире,—не что иное, как прямое ограбление этих стран неокOLONиализмом.

В. ТЮРКИН.

(Соб. корр._

Аккра, май.

There's no other name for it: robbery

TNCs are operating in Ghana

Werner Lang is a noticeable figure in Accra. The head of the Swiss construction firm "A. Lang Limited", which has been operating in Ghana for nearly half a century, lives in a big way. But his prosperity, as became clear recently, is not provided so much through work in the field of construction – which, by the way, is one of the most neglected sectors of the economy - as through state robbery and currency manipulation. The amounts of real turnover are withheld, allowing the company to underpay taxes systematically.

The scandalous revelation of fraud by "A. Lang Limited" turned out to be just one instance. A special investigative commission established by the authorities carefully checked the documents of several foreign companies, including major branches of transnational corporations (TNCs) - British, American and Israeli. As a result, a lot of financial and economic crimes against the country in which they operated were uncovered.

This was a huge lesson to both **Ghana** and many other **African** countries about transnational corporations. Over the past decade, profits of American monopolies from developing countries alone are four times higher than their investments.

The example of **Ghana** shows us classic examples of neo-colonialist actions. Take, for example, the aluminium company VALCO, a subsidiary of two US multinational steel giants "Kaiser Aluminium Chemical Corporation and Chemical Corporation" and "Reynolds Metals". Its full name, "Volta Aluminium Company", is associated with the Volta River, which feeds the energy furnaces of VALCO. The company's factory in the Ghanaian city Tema is the biggest enterprise of its kind in **Africa**. Having signed in 1962 an agreement with the Americans, the Government of Ghana expected a certain benefit to the country - the emergence of a large hydroelectric power station (for whose construction the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) has given a loan), and the development of rich deposits of bauxite, the raw material for primary aluminium production.

With the support of the IBRD, VALCO, however, has set Ghana conditions which speak for themselves. VALCO ultimately demanded the right to consume two-thirds of all electricity of the Akosombo hydroelectric power station on the Volta, at a five times lower price than in the US.

Ignoring Ghana's demand to establish in the country a full production cycle based on local bauxite, the American TNC prefers to extract bauxite in Jamaica, process it into an intermediate raw material (clay) at its plants in Louisiana, and then take it to Ghana for aluminium smelting.

The country was turned into a supplier of super-cheap electricity. Ghana, a pioneer of bauxite mining in **Africa** (the first tons of raw materials on the continent

were produced right here in 1941), to this day has still not been able to put its own natural resources at its own service.

Recently, under pressure from the Government of J. Rawlings, many points of agreement have been revised in favour of Ghana. But VALCO, as before, is avoiding the creation of a complete cycle of aluminium production, retaining the ability to threaten reduced production.

Now that the Ghanaian authorities are looking for a way to attract foreign capital and at the same time subordinate it to its national interests, TNCs do not miss a chance to show their teeth and disrupt production, and cause difficulties for the government and discontent amongst the population, while others have stopped purchasing agricultural raw materials from government organizations and have unleashed other types of sabotage.

At the heart of the exorbitant profits of TNCs is merciless direct and indirect exploitation of the local labour force, whose payment is several times lower than in the metropolis. Workers' lack of rights, their intimidation, systematic dismissal or indefinite "leave" - these are everyday labour relations in the enterprises of TNCs in **Africa**.

The over-exploitation of the natural and human resources of **African** countries, mostly the poorest in the world, is nothing other than direct robbery of these countries through neocolonialism.

B. Tyurkin.

(Own Corr., Accra, May.

Калейдоскоп

ЭТА ВСТРЕЧА НА ДОРОГЕ произошла не в **Африке**, а в расположенных за тысячи километров от нее Нидерландах. Жирафы и обезьяны, львы и страусы, зебры и носороги свободно разгуливают по парку-сафари «Беексе-Берген». Та часть парка, где разместились животные, обнесена высоким стальным забором с воротами-шлюзами, через которые на машинах въезжают посетители. Покидать автомобиль в этой зоне запрещается.

Фото В. Дробкова

Kaleidoscope

THIS MEETING ON THE ROAD took place not in Africa, but thousands of kilometres away from it in the Netherlands. Giraffes and monkeys, lions and ostriches, zebras and rhinos roam freely in the safari park "Beekse Bergen". The part of the park where the animals are located is surrounded by a high steel fence with a gateway, through which visitors enter by car. Leaving the car in this zone is prohibited.

Photo by V. Drobkova

C220, 1987

C220, 26th May, 1987, page 6

Африка: БОРЯСЬ И СОЗИДАЯ

25 мая — День освобождения **Африки**. Именно в этот день в 1963 году было провозглашено создание Организации **африканского** единства, в которую вошли все независимые государства континента. К этому времени не его большей части произошло крушение колониальной системы, открылись возможности для строительства новой жизни. Положение в странах **Африки** сегодня отмечено как значительными сдвигами, так и серьезными осложнениями в политическом и экономическом развитии.

Общий позитивный итог не затмевает того, что **африканским** народам еще предстоит сломать механизм неокOLONиальной эксплуатации, поставить свое продвижение вперед на прочные основы экономической независимости. Остро стоит задача ликвидировать очаг расового угнетения и военной угрозы, существующий на южной оконечности континента. Расисты продолжают также удерживать в колониальных цепях народ и землю Намибии. 25 мая по решению ООН начинается Неделя солидарности с народами Юга **Африки**. Их борьба пользуется поддержкой в разных частях планеты. Единство **африканских** стран, которое определилось как действенное оружие в борьбе с колониальным прошлым, очень важно для решения их сегодняшних проблем, для отпора империалистическим проиСкам.

Africa: Fighting and building

May 25 is the Day of **African** Liberation. On this day in 1963 the establishment of the Organization of **African** Unity was proclaimed, which included all the independent states of the continent. By this time some of the colonial system had crashed, opening up opportunities for a new life. The situation in **African** countries is today marked by significant shifts, also with serious complications in political and economic development.

The overall positive result does not eclipse the fact that **African** nations have yet to break the mechanism of neo-colonial exploitation, and put their progress on a solid foundation of economic independence. There is an urgent task to eliminate the hotbed of racial oppression and the threat of war in the southern tip of the continent. Racists also continue to hold for colonial reasons the people and land of **Namibia**. According to the decision of the United Nations, on 25th May begins the Week of Solidarity with the Peoples of **South Africa**. Their struggle serves to support various parts of the world. The unity of **African** countries, defined as an effective weapon in the fight against their colonial past, is very important to solving their current problems, in resisting imperialist intrigues.

Рождение света

Местечко Мелка-Вакане а переводе означает «брод». Протекающая по плоскогорью река Веби-Шебели глубиной здесь не отличается. На моих глазах через нее без труда перебралось стадо круторогих горбатых коров под гортанные крики пастуха.

Но в тихую сельскую идиллию на берегах Веби-Шебели теперь вплетены необычные звуки: урчат моторы много-тонных грузовиков, лязгают ковшами экскаваторы, режут мощные бульдозеры. Это работает развернувшаяся в здешних местах большая стройка. По решению эфиопского правительства в Мелка-Вакане возводится гидроузел, которому отведена важная роль в планах экономического развития. Содействие в сооружении ГЭС оказывает Советский Союз. Наши специалисты предложили оригинальный проект. Течение реки перегородит полуторакилометровая плотина. От этого водохранилища прокладывается канал к пробиваемой в толще скалы вертикальной шахте. Там, внизу, у подножия скалы, встанет здание станции. К ее четырем агрегатам общей мощностью 152 тысячи киловатт, которые поставит и смонтирует Чехословакия, вода будет падать по стволу этой шахты с 300-метровой высоты, создавая напор.

Контурь плотины уже обозначились. Идет бетонирование русла канала. Приступили монтажу технологического четырехеста с лишним советских своей задачи. Они вкладывают оборудования на водоприемнике перед входом в шахту. Вспыхивают всполохи сварки на сооружения корпуса ГЭС.

Работа кипит повсюду. Стройка вошла в решающую фазу, рассказывает главный советский эксперт Н. П. Шаргородский. Люди трудятся в три смены. Иначе нельзя — график очень напряженный. В нынешнем году предстоит выполнить на основных сооружениях такой же объем работ, как за три предыдущих года с начала строительства. Любой срыв — и придется отложить намеченный пуск первого агрегата.

Сроки сдачи объекта уже пришлось передвигать. При сооружении ГЭС столкнулись с серьезными трудностями. Базальтовые скальные породы оказались очень сложными для проходки. В условиях высокогорья у техники порой не хватает мощности, она действует на пределе возможностей. Отсюда поломки, которые оборачиваются простоями. Поэтому столь важны своевременные поставки запасных частей из Советского Союза. В целом обеспечение стройки нормальное, но есть и досадные срывы.

Проблема стройки — и квалификация эфиопских рабочих. На строительстве ГЭС четверть — с лишним советских специалистов, которые выполняют функции консультантов, и пять тысяч эфиопов. Большинство среди последних — вчерашние крестьяне. Их приходится обучать всему буквально с нуля.

- Самое слабое наше место — нехватка квалифицированных кадров, - говорит эфиопский инженер Бете Бейене. Сам он окончил Ленинградский инженерно-строительный институт и на стройке с самого ее начала.

Гидроузел — первое подобное крупное сооружение в Эфиопии, - продолжает Бете, - и, естественно, нам не хватает опыта, особенно рабочим. Некоторые из новичков уже трудятся самостоятельно. Но бывает, что, поработав определенное время, люди уходят, а на их место берут других, которых приходится обучать заново. Чтобы создать стабильный коллектив, эфиопской стране надо совершенствовать оплату труда, улучшать бытовые условия. Эфиопия сейчас находится в сложном экономическом положении, и энергия ГЭС ей остро нужна. Мы здесь строим светлое будущее своей родины, - заканчивает Бете Бейене.

Советские специалисты тоже понимают все важность своей задачи. Они вкладывают не только силы, но и душу в работу, собственным примером создают пусковой настрой.

... Вечером на Медка-Вакане, когда медно-красный диск солнца закатывается за синеющие на горизонте горы, в наступившей темноте вдруг замечаешь светящиеся красные точки. Это окрестные крестьяне жгут оставшуюся на полях солому, чтобы расчистить поля и удобрить золой землю. Но недалеко время, когда вокруг загорятся другие — электрические — огни, к людям придет свет, созданный трудом эфиопских и советских специалистов.

И. Тарутин

(Соб. Корр. «Правды»)

г. Аддис-Абеба, май.

На снимке: она строит ГЭС мелка-Вакане

Фото А. Сербина

The birth of light

The little place Shallow-Vakan translates as "ford". The Webi-Shebali river which flows through the plateau here is no deeper than this name. As I watched, a herd of sharp-horned, humped cows easily crossed it under the guttural cries of the shepherd.

But into the quiet rural idyll on the banks of the Webi-Shebali are now woven unusual sounds: the motors of multi-ton trucks grumble, bucket excavators clang and

powerful bulldozers roar. This is the work of a large construction project which has started here. The **Ethiopian** government has decided to build in Shallow-Wakan a hydro-electric facility, which has an important role in the economic development plans. The Soviet Union is cooperating in the construction of the hydroelectric power station. Our experts proposed the original project. A 1.5km dam blocks the flow of the river. From this reservoir runs a canal dug out deep in a vertical shaft of the rock. Down there, at the foot of cliffs rises the station building. To its four units with total capacity of 152,000 kilowatts, which would supply Czechoslovakia, the water will fall 300 metres into this shaft, creating pressure.

The contours of the dam have already become apparent. The bed of the canal is being concreted. Over four hundred Soviets have begun their task of installing the dam. They put the equipment at the water intake at the entrance to the mine. Sparks flash from the welding on the construction of the hydroelectric power station.

Work is in full swing everywhere. Construction has entered a decisive phase, says Chief Soviet expert N.P. Shargorodskii. People work in three shifts. Otherwise, it would be impossible, as the schedule is very tight. This year, the same amount of work has to be completed as in the previous three years since the start of construction. Any disruption, and the scheduled start of the first unit has to be postponed.

The delivery date has already had to be moved. They came across serious problems in the construction of the hydropower plant. The types of basalt rock proved very difficult to penetrate. In the high altitude, motors sometimes cannot gain enough power, and operate at full capacity. Hence they cannot have downtime. And so the timely delivery of spare parts from the Soviet Union is very important. Overall, the construction is going normally, but there are annoying disruptions.

One problem of construction is the qualification of Ethiopian workers. Over four hundred Soviet specialists are working on the construction of the hydroelectric power station, as consultants, and five thousand Ethiopians. Most of these were peasants yesterday. They have to be trained literally from scratch.

"Our weakest point is a lack of qualified personnel," says Ethiopian engineer Bethe Beyene. He himself graduated from the Leningrad Institute of Civil Engineering and Construction from its very beginning.

This hydro station is the first such large-scale construction in Ethiopia," Bette continues, "and, of course, we don't have enough experience, especially of workers. Some of the newcomers are already working on their own. But it happens that, after working a certain time, people leave and others take their place, and have to be trained anew. To create a stable team, Ethiopia needs to improve its wages and living conditions. Ethiopia is now in a difficult economic situation, and desperately needs hydroelectric energy. We are here to build a brighter future for our country," concludes Bethe Beyene.

The Soviet specialists also understand all the importance of their task. They invest not only strength, but also soul into their work, and through their own example create a good attitude.

... In the evening on the Shallow-Vakan, when the copper-red disk of the sun is setting on the horizon behind the bluish mountains, in the darkness you suddenly notice glowing red dots. This is the surrounding peasants burning the remaining stubble in their fields, to clear them and make ash to fertilize the land. But not far away is the time when round about other - electrical - lights, will bring light to people, created by the labour of Ethiopian and Soviet specialists.

I. Tarutin

("Pravda"'s Own Corr.)

Addis Ababa, May.

In the photo she is building the hydropower plant of Shallow-Vakan.
Photo by A. Serbin - Of an Ethiopian woman

Зарницы над югом

О положении в ЮАР, где правят расисты, о борьбе народных масс, демократических сил страны против апартеида, за освобождение рассказывает корреспонденту «Правды» член Исполкома Африканского национального конгресса Южной Африки Фрэнсис МЕЛИ.

Оценивая общую обстановку в государстве апартеида, сказал Фрэнсис Мели, прежде всего следует сказать, что **южноафриканский** режим охвачен сейчас глубоким кризисом. Несмотря на введенное почти год назад чрезвычайное положение, расистская власть оказывается не в состоянии управлять страной, она утратила хватку, потеряла контроль над событиями. В их развитии инициатива перешла к демократическим силам, во главе которых стоит **Африканский** национальный конгресс. Кризис режима носит многосторонний характер, он проявляется в области экономики, политики, образования, разъедает сам фундамент «законности» существования апартеида.

Нарастает и ширится борьба черных народных масс против системы расового угнетения. В этой борьбе много фронтов. Все чаще страну сотрясают мощные забастовки. На рабочем фронте, где выступлениями руководит Конгресс **южноафриканских** профсоюзов, трудящиеся требуют не простого повышения зарплаты, но выдвигают лозунг общего улучшения условий труда и жизни. Большое значение имеет борьба женщин, которые испытывают многослойный гнет из-за темного цвета кожи, своего положения работниц и женского неравноправия. Жители черных поселков в знак протеста против расистских порядков отказываются платить квартплату. С осуждением апартеида выступают представители церковных кругов, солидаризирующихся с народным негодованием. Преподаватели, учащиеся и их родители требуют пересмотра всей системы образования. Протесты и борьба различных слоев черного населения сливаются в общее движение против режима, сплоченные рядами Объединенного демократического фронта. В нем активно участвуют белые противники апартеида. Мы хотим, чтобы все больше представителей белой общины вступало в демократическое движение.

Фактом стала вооруженная борьба против расистского угнетения. «Умконто ве сизве», боевая организация АНК, проводит операции, подрывная силы врага. В этой борьбе есть слои трудности, но она сегодня — часть реальной обстановки. Бойцы берут в руки оружие, чтобы защищать народ.

Кризис режима находит свое выражение и в его отношениях с соседними независимыми **африканскими** государствами, которые называют «прифронтовыми». Претория видит в них угрозу существованию апартеида, страшится влияния, оказываемого ими на внутреннюю обстановку в стране. Пытаясь сохранить свои позиции, режим Боты то и дело затевает военные провокации против этих государств, стремится подорвать их экономику, прибегает к прямым актам убийств.

На положение в Южной **Африке** оказывают влияние и внешние силы — я имею в виду поддержку Претории империализмом. Нельзя забывать, что добываемые в недрах страны богатства идут на усиление военной мощи Запада, на укрепление позиций военно-промышленного комплекса. С этой точки зрения эксплуатация нашего народа, угнетение черных масс в государстве апартеида неразрывно связаны с империалистический противодействием мирным инициативам Советского Союза и других стран. И, наоборот, борьба против

апартеида, которую ведет наш народ, составляет часть борьбы за мир во всем мире.

Могут заметить, что в последнее время в отношениях между расистским режимом и Западом, в частности США, возникла напряженность, около двухсот западных компаний покинули страну. Что за этим стоит? С одной стороны, западные страны явно не хотят быть скомпрометированными слишком тесными связями с Преторией. С другой — Бота и его окружение стремятся шантажировать западных партнеров, запугать их «коммунистическим проникновением» в Южную **Африку**. По сути дела это семенная ссора. Критикуя апартеид, Запад заботится о собственных интересах. Он не ставит целью изменить режим, он лишь желает его реформировать.

С этих позиций они пытаются оказывать давление и на АНК, с тем, чтобы он отказался от вооруженной борьбы, отделился от **Южно-Африканской** компартии, ослабил связи с социалистическими странами. АНК, по их мнению, должен быть просто одной из организаций в стране, стать частью процесса реформ системы апартеида. Но эту систему нельзя «реформировать», ее можно только ликвидировать.

С этим связан и вопрос о введении всеобъемлющих экономических санкций против расистского режима. Мы не считаем, что санкции поставят апартеид на колени, но говорим, что они могут ослабить режим, укоротить срок его существования. Это не замена борьбы против апартеида, а дополнение к ней. В ответ же нам заявляют, что всеобъемлющие санкции ухудшат положение черного населения страны. Но оно и без того тяжело и даже если станет еще хуже, мы готовы потерпеть, чтобы стать свободными навсегда. Мы не хотим быть «сытыми рабами», какими бы нас хотели видеть на Западе.

Вместе с тем следует заметить, что и «семейная ссора», и вопрос о санкциях отражают растущую силу международной общественности, осуждающую режим апартеида и вынуждающую западные страны маневрировать. Недавно П. Бота провел выборы в «белую» палату своего парламента. Итоги выборов по сути ничего не изменили в системе угнетения. Более того, позиция правителей Претории ужесточилась, если можно еще говорить так о и без того бесчеловечных условиях жизни в государстве апартеида. В стране сохраняется главное противоречие, определяющее обстановку,— противоречие между большинством народа и расистской кликой. Поэтому не ослабевает наша борьба против режима, за демократию, за права человека, за свободу, которая неизбежно завершится победой.

Lightning over the south

“Pravda” correspondent and member of the Board of the African National Congress of South Africa, Francis Meli, speaks about the situation in South Africa ruled by racists, the struggle of the masses, and the democratic forces of the country against apartheid and for liberation.

In assessing the overall situation in the country of apartheid, said Francis Meli, first of all it must be said that the **South African** regime is now engulfed in a deep crisis. In spite of the state of emergency introduced almost a year ago, the racist authority is unable to govern the country, it has lost grip, lost control of events. As they have developed, the initiative has passed to the democratic forces, led by the **African** National Congress. The crisis of the regime is multi-faceted, and is manifested in the fields of the economy, politics and education, and is eating away at the very foundation of the "lawfulness" of the existence of apartheid.

The struggle of the black masses against the system of racial oppression is

growing and expanding. In this fight, there are a lot of fronts. Increasingly, the country is shaken by powerful strikes. On the workers' front, where the Congress of **South African** Trade Unions leads the protests, workers are demanding not just higher wages, but are promoting a slogan for the general improvement of living and working conditions. Of great importance is the struggle of women who experience a multi-layered yoke because of the dark skin, their position as workers and female inequality. Residents of black townships in a sign of protest against racist orders are refusing to pay rent. Representatives of religious communities are condemning apartheid, in solidarity with people's indignation. Teachers, students and their parents are demanding revision of the entire education system. The protests and struggle of various layers of the black population of various layers merge into a general movement against the regime, united in the ranks of the united democratic front. In it white opponents of apartheid are actively involved. We want ever more representatives of the white community to join in the democratic movement.

The armed struggle against racist oppression has become a fact. "Umkhonto we sizwe", the militant organization of the ANC, conducts operations, subverting the power of the enemy. In this struggle, there are layers of difficulties, but it is now a part of the real situation. Soldiers take up arms to defend the nation.

The crisis of the regime is also reflected in its relations with neighbouring independent **African** states, which are called "front-line". Pretoria sees them as a threat to the existence of apartheid, and fears the influence they exerted on the internal situation in the country. Trying to maintain their positions, Botha's regime undertakes military provocations against these states which are seeking to undermine its economy, and resorts to direct acts of murder.

The situation in **South Africa** is influenced by outside forces - I mean the support of imperialism for Pretoria. We must not forget that the mining wealth from the depths of the country goes to strengthen the military power of the West, to strengthen the position of the military-industrial complex. From this perspective, the exploitation of our people and the oppression of the black masses in a state of apartheid are inextricably linked with imperialist opposition to the peace initiative of the Soviet Union and other countries. And on the other hand, the struggle against apartheid waged by our people is part of the struggle for world peace.

It may be noted that in recent years there has been tension in the relations between the racist regime and the West, particularly the United States, and some two hundred foreign companies have left the country. What is behind this? On the one hand, Western countries clearly do not want to be compromised by too close ties with Pretoria. On the other hand, Botha and his entourage are seeking to blackmail Western partners, and intimidate them with "communist penetration" to **South Africa**. In fact it is the seed row. Criticizing apartheid, the West cares about its own interests. It is not trying to change the regime, it just wants to reform it.

From these positions they are trying to put pressure on the ANC, so that it renounces armed struggle, splits from the **South African** Communist Party, and weakens its ties with socialist countries. The ANC, in their opinion, should be just one of the organizations in the country to become part of the process of reform of the system of apartheid. But this system cannot be "reformed"; it can only be eliminated.

A related question is the introduction of comprehensive economic sanctions against the racist regime. We do not believe that sanctions will bring apartheid to its knees, but we say that they can weaken the regime, and shorten the period of its existence. This is not a substitute for struggle against apartheid, but supplements it. In response, people tell us that comprehensive sanctions worsen the position of the black population. But it is already difficult, and even if it gets worse, we are willing to suffer

in order to become free forever. We do not want to be "well-fed slaves", as those in the West would like to see us.

However, it should be noted that both the "family quarrel" and the question of sanctions reflect the growing strength of the international community which condemns the apartheid regime and is forcing Western countries to manoeuvre. Recently P. Botha held elections to the "white" chamber of his parliament. The election results essentially did not change anything in the system of oppression. Moreover, the position of the rulers of Pretoria is tightened if you can still talk so much about the already inhuman living conditions in the state of apartheid. The country still contains the main contradiction that defines its environment - the contradiction between the majority of the people and the racist clique. And so our struggle is not weakened, against the regime and for democracy, for human rights, for freedom, which will inevitably result in victory.

Когда верстался номер...

АДДИС АБЕБА, 2,. (ТАСС).

Окончательное освобождение Юга **Африки** и подъем экономики — главные задачи, стоящие сегодня перед странами континента, говорится в заявлении генерального секретаря Организации **африканского** единства Иде Умару по случаю Дня освобождения **Африки**. Расистская ЮАР бросает вызов всем независимым государствам континента, продолжая сохранять систему апартеида, оккупировал Намибию, осуществляя провокации против «прифронтовых» государств. Необходимо удвоить усилия для ликвидации преступного режима подчеркнул генеральный секретарь ОАЕ.

When the number was imposed ...

ADDIS ABABA, 2 ,. (TASS).

The final liberation of Southern **Africa** and economic growth are the main challenges currently facing the continent, said the Secretary General of the Organization of **African** Unity Ide Oumarou in a statement on the occasion of the liberation of **Africa**. Racist **South Africa** defies all independent states of the continent, while continuing to maintain the system of apartheid, has occupied Namibia, and is carrying out provocation against "front-line" states. It is necessary to redouble efforts to eliminate this criminal regime, stressed the Secretary General of the OAU.

Цифры и факты

- Организация **африканского** единства (ОАЕ) — общеконтинентальная политическая организация. Действуют также ряд субрегиональных — Конференция по координации развития стран Юга **Африки** (САДКК), Экономическое сообщество стран Западной **Африки** (ЭКОВАС), Таможенный и экономический союз Центральной **Африки** (ЮДЕАК), Преференциальная торговая зона для Восточной и Южной **Африки** (ПТЗ) и другие. Главное направление их работы сейчас — преодоление сегодняшних экономических трудностей **Африки**.
- Из 30 наименее развитых стран мира 27 находятся на **Африканском** континенте.
- Внешняя задолженность стран **Африки** составляет почти 200 миллиардов долларов. Ослабить ее во многом мешает падение цен на сырьевые **африканские** товары, искусственно организуемое главными державами капиталистического мира. Из-за этого только за год объем экспорта государств континента уменьшился на 20 процентов, сократившись с 64 миллиардов долларов в 1985

году до 45 миллиардов в 1986-м.

- Уменьшилось влияние да суши на **африканское** сельское хозяйство. В зоне Сахеля второй год выпадает достаточно дождей. Однако пять стран континента — Эфиопия, Мозамбик, Ангола, Ботсвана и Лесото еще испытывают недостаток в продуктах питания. Засуха отмечена в Зимбабве.
- Гонка вооружений распространяется и на **Африку**. Причинами служат агрессивная политика **южноафриканских** расистов, региональные конфликты, политика империалистических государств. За последние два десятилетия, по данным мировой печати, расходы **африканских** стран на вооружение возросли в девять раз. Ассигнования на военную «помощь» **Африке** из США в 1986 году выросли по сравнению с 1980 годом в три раза.

Facts and Figures

- The Organization of **African** Unity (OAU) is an all-continental political organization. There are also a number of sub-regional organisations, such as the coordinating Southern **African** Development Community Conference (SADCC), the Economic Community of West **African** States (ECOWAS), the Customs and Economic Union of Central **Africa** (UDEAC), the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern **Africa** (PTA) and others. The main direction of their work now is to overcome the current economic difficulties of **Africa**.
- Of the 30 least developed countries 27 are in **Africa**.
- The external debt of **African** countries is nearly \$200 billion. Loosening it largely prevents falling prices of **African** commodity goods, artificially organized by the major powers of the capitalist world. Because of this, in only a year, the continent's exports decreased by 20 per cent, down from 64 billion dollars in 1985 to 45 billion in 1986.
- The impact of drought on **African** agriculture has also reduced. In the Sahel for the second year there has been enough rain. However, five countries of the continent - **Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola, Botswana and Lesotho** - still lack food. A dry period is also observed in **Zimbabwe**.
- The arms race is spreading in **Africa**. The reasons are the aggressive policy of **South African** racists, regional conflicts, and the policy of the imperialist states. For the past two decades, according to the world press, expenditure of **African** countries on arms increased nine times. Provision for military "aid" to **Africa** from the United States in 1986 increased three times compared with 1980.

C221, 1987

C221, 23rd August, 1987, page 5

Через разоружение—к развитию

Корреспондент «Правды» в США В. Сухой встретился в Нью-Йорке с главой делегации СССР на Конференции по разоружению и развитию, заместителем министра иностранных дел СССР В. Ф. Петровским и попросил его ответить на ряд вопросов.

Вопрос: 24 августа в штабквартире ООН открывается международная конференция по разоружению и развитию. Что это за форум и какие вопросы предстоит на нем обсудить?

Ответ: Международная конференция по разоружению и развитию, которая будет проходить в Нью-Йорке с 24 августа по 11 сентября, созывается по решению Организации Объединенных Наций. На конференции предстоит рассмотреть три

основных момента:

- взаимосвязь между разоружением и развитием во всех аспектах, извлечете из нее конкретных практических выводов;
- последствия продолжающейся гонки вооружений, особенно ядерной, для мировой экономики;
- пути и способы выполнения решений, принимаемых с целью развития.

Конференции предстоит принять заключительный документ, который должен явиться по существу планом практических действий государств по осуществлению взаимосвязи между разоружением и развитием.

Вопрос: Что вы можете сказать по поводу того, как государства — члены ООН относятся к этой конференции?

Ответ: Думаю, что созыв этой конференции — проявление на практике нового политического мышления, свидетельство осознания того, что в наш ядерно-космический век острые глобальные проблемы можно решать только на основе коллективного разума.

Государства, независимо от их политической и идеологической ориентации, со всей ответственностью подошли к этой конференции. Неприсоединившиеся страны идут на нес с платформой, одобренной на их совещании в Хараре и признавшей органическую связь между разоружением и развитием. Социалистические страны полностью разделяют мнение неприсоединившихся государств о первостепенной важности решения этой проблемы. Они исходят из того, что любая мера в области разоружения должна сопровождаться выделением сэкономленных средств на цели развития. Заинтересованная позиция характерна и большинству западных стран.

Уже сегодня на рассмотрение конференции представлены документы **африканских** стран, Франции, государств Северной Европы, группы социалистических стран, Китая.

Показателем серьезной заинтересованности большинства стран в проведении конференции является и то, что на сегодняшний день 125 государств изъявили желание принять в ней участие.

Многие государства будут представлены на высоком политическом и дипломатическом уровне. Конечно, в подходе к решению проблемы разоружения и развития существуют различия, но главное в другом — страны едины в осознании органической связи между разоружением и развитием и необходимости решения этой проблемы. К тому же в конференции принимают участие представители свыше 200 неправительственных организаций. Однако вызывает сожаление, что одна из крупнейших держав, постоянный член Совета Безопасности ООН — Соединенные Штаты, которые согласились с решением о созыве конференции, тем не менее отказались в ней участвовать. Мотивы? США официально заявили, что не видят органической связи между разоружением и развитием.

Вопрос: Проблема тесной взаимосвязи разоружения и развития, в общем-то, не нова. Почему же она приобрела такую актуальность на нынешнем этапе?

Ответ: Сегодня эта проблема приобретает качественно новое звучание. Я думаю, что человечество достигло сейчас той критической грани, за которой дальнейшее наращивание вооружений, грозящее ядерной катастрофой, может не только затормозить движение вперед, но и перечеркнуть любую возможность развития вообще. Приведение же в действие механизма, способствующего разоружению и развитию, не только помогло бы устранению ядерной угрозы, но и в значительной степени облегчило решение проблем голода, нищеты, загрязнения окружающей среды.

Вопрос: Каковы с точки зрения Советского Союза и других социалистических стран перспективы решения этой проблемы?

Ответ: Советский Союз готов внести свою лепту в работу данной конференции. Он всегда исходил из того, что разоружение и развитие неразрывно связаны друг с другом. Характерно, что, когда советская делегация отправлялась на свою первую международную конференцию в Геную, В. И. Ленин ратовал за то, чтобы превратить ее в «конференцию по экономическому развитию Европы и разоружению». Это примечательно. К нынешней конференции СССР подходит с позиции нового политического мышления, которое идет дальше, рассматривая разоружение и развитие как материальный фундамент безопасности в мире, который может быть создан совместными усилиями всех государств.

С нашей точки зрения, разоружение — не самоцель, а средство устранения военной, прежде всего ядерно-космической, угрозы, самый надежный способ мобилизации ресурсов для целей развития. Нельзя мириться с тем, что общие мировые расходы на вооружение превзошли сейчас отметку в триллион долларов в год. В то же время более чем две трети населения Земли страдает от болезней, голода, неграмотности, нищеты.

В Нью-Йорке сейчас очень часто можно услышать сетования па то, что Соединенным Штатам «не хватает» на улучшение своей инфраструктуры 400 миллиардов долларов. А ведь вполне можно было бы решить эту проблему за счет сокращения военных расходов. Таким образом, обеспечение развития сегодня — задача как экономическая, так и политическая. И касается она не только развивающихся, но и промышленно развитых стран.

Вопрос: Где вы видите возможности наиболее полной практической реализации концепции разоружения и развития, с которой выступает большинство стран?

Ответ: Это вопрос, ответ на который имеет принципиальное значение. Сегодня недостаточно одного только провозглашения всевозможных концепций, деклараций и принятия резолюций. Их и так накопилось слишком много. Требуются практические дела. По нашему мнению, взаимосвязь между разоружением и развитием могла бы наиболее полно и с практической отдачей реализоваться в процессе построения безъядерного, ненасильственного мира.

В Заявлении Генерального секретаря ЦК КПСС М. С. Горбачева от 15 января 1986 года была выдвинута программа избавления человечества от ядерного оружия к 2000 году. В этой программе выделение средств на цели социального и экономического развития рассматривается в качестве одной из самых главных задач. В своих практических действиях Советский Союз твердо и последовательно исходит из этой программы.

Вопрос: О каких перспективах можно говорить, если США не желают принять эту концепцию?

Ответ: Это представляет собой известную проблему. Хотелось бы надеяться ив то, что в США возобладает все-таки здравый смысл, который играл далеко не последнюю роль во времена американской революции, что Вашингтон внимлет голосу других и поймет: в нашем общем доме не должно быть места смертоносной ядерной взрывчатке. Американцы, которые претендуют на приверженность демократическим принципам, должны показать всему миру, что они на деле руководствуются соображениями демократии, выражающейся в стремлении к осуществлению всех планов ООН. Они призваны поддержать процесс, который именуется «через разоружение — к развитию».

г. Нью-Йорк,

22 августа.

Through disarmament to development

The correspondent of "Pravda" in the US V. Sukhoy met in New York with the head of the USSR delegation to the Conference on Disarmament and Development, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR V.F. Petrovsky, and asked him to answer some questions.

Question: On August 24th the International Conference on Disarmament and Development opens at the UN Headquarters. What is this forum and what issues will it discuss?

Answer: The International Conference on Disarmament and Development is to be held in New York from 24th August to 11th September, convened by the decision of the United Nations. The conference will address three main points:

- The relationship between disarmament and development in all aspects, bringing out of it concrete and practical conclusions;
- The consequences of the continuing arms race, especially nuclear, to the world economy;
- Ways and means of implementing decisions taken in order to develop.

The Conference is to adopt a final document, which should essentially be the practical action plan for implementation of the relationship between disarmament and development.

Question: What can you say about how, as states, members of the United Nations relate to this Conference?

Answer: I think that the convening of this Conference is the manifestation in practice of new political thinking, evidence of the realization that in our nuclear space age, pressing global problems can be solved only on the basis of collective intelligence.

States, regardless of their political and ideological orientation, with all responsibility have come to the conference. The non-aligned countries are carrying on with the platform approved at their meeting in Harare and recognize the symbiotic relationship between disarmament and development. The socialist countries fully share the view of the Non-Aligned States that it is of paramount importance to solve this problem. They proceed from the fact that any action in the field of disarmament should be accompanied by the release of savings for development. An interested attitude is typical of most Western countries.

Even today, documents submitted to the conference are from African countries, France, the Nordic countries, the group of socialist countries and China.

An indication of strong interest in most countries in the conference is the fact that to date, 125 states have expressed their desire to participate in it.

Many states are represented at the highest political and diplomatic level. Of course, in their approaches to solving the problem of disarmament and development, there are differences, but the main thing is something else - countries are united in recognizing the symbiotic relationship between disarmament and development and the need to address these problems. Moreover, the conference is attended by representatives of more than 200 NGOs. However, it is regrettable that one of the major powers, a permanent member of the UN Security Council, the United States, who agreed with the decision to convene the Conference, has nevertheless refused to participate in it. Its motives? A US official said they did not see the symbiotic relationship between disarmament and development.

Question: The problem of the close relationship of disarmament and development, in general, is not new. Why did it become so relevant at this stage?

Answer: Today, this issue sounds entirely new. I think that humanity has now reached the critical point beyond which further arms build-up threatens a nuclear catastrophe, which may not only slow down progress, but also may erase any possibility of

development in general. Bringing into effect the mechanism to facilitate disarmament and development not only helps to eliminate the nuclear threat, but also greatly facilitates the solution to the problems of hunger, poverty and environmental pollution.

Question: What are the terms of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the prospects for solving this problem?

Answer: The Soviet Union is prepared to contribute to the work of this conference. It has always proceeded from the fact that disarmament and development are inextricably linked to each other. Characteristically, when a Soviet delegation was sent to its first international conference in Genoa, Lenin advocated to turn it into a "conference on the economic development of Europe and disarmament". This is remarkable. The Soviet Union approaches this Conference from the position of new political thinking, which goes further, considering disarmament and development as the material foundation of security in the world, which can be created by the joint efforts of all states.

In our view, disarmament is not an end in itself but a means to resolve the military, especially nuclear and space threats, and the most reliable way of mobilizing resources for development. It is unacceptable that total global military spending has now surpassed the mark of one trillion dollars a year. At the same time, more than two-thirds of the world's population is suffering from disease, hunger, illiteracy and poverty.

In New York, you can often hear complaints that the United States "hasn't enough" to improve its infrastructure by 400 billion. But it is quite possible to solve this problem by reducing military spending. Thus, the problem of resourcing development today is both economic and political. And it concerns not only developing but also industrialized countries.

Question: Where do you see the possibility of the fullest practical realization of the concept of disarmament and development, to serve most countries?

Answer: This is a question to which the answer is of fundamental importance. Today it is not enough merely to proclaim various concepts, declarations and resolutions. There are too many. It requires practical action. In our view, the relationship between disarmament and development could be the most complete and practical benefits to be realized in the process of building a nuclear-free, non-violent world.

In a statement by the General Secretary of the CPSU, Mikhail Gorbachev, on January 15th, 1986, a programme was launched to liberate humankind from nuclear weapons by the year 2000. In this programme, funding for aims of social and economic development is considered as one of the most important tasks. In its practical actions the Soviet Union firmly and consistently stands out in this programme.

Question: What are the prospects if the USA is not willing to accept this concept?

Answer: This is a known problem. I would like to hope that common sense will prevail in the United States, the common sense which played a significant role in the American Revolution, that Washington will listen to the voice of others and will understand: our common home should not be a place of lethal nuclear explosives. Americans who claim adherence to democratic principles must show the world that they are in fact guided by considerations of democracy, expressed in the pursuit of the implementation of the UN plan. They are designed to support the process, which is called "through disarmament to development".

New York City,
22nd of August.

С телетайпов редакции

КРУПНЕЙШАЯ ЛЕГАЛЬНАЯ антирасистская организация Южной Африки — Объединенный демократический фронт (ОДФ) отметила четвертую годовщину со дня основания. Фронт, в который входят десятки различных групп с общим

числом членов около 3 миллионов человек, намерен и впредь вести борьбу против апартеида.

+ ТЕЛЕКОМПАНИЯ БИ-БИ-СИ отменила пока по своим каналам ряда американских фильмов, содержащих особенно изощренные сцены насилия. Среди этих фильмов – «Рэмбо» и некоторые другие голливудские кино боевики.

...

Соб. корр. «Правды» —
ТАСС —Франс Пресс.

From the editorial team's Teletype machines

- THE STRONGEST LEGAL antiracist organisation of **South Africa**, the United Democratic Front (UDF), has marked its fourth anniversary since it was founded. The Front, which includes tens of different groups with a combined membership of about 3 million people, is intended first and foremost to wage war against apartheid.
- The BBC has shown on its channels a series of American films, including particularly explicit scenes of violence. Amongst these films are “Rambo” and several other Hollywood war films.

...

“Pravda”’s Own Corr.
TASS – France Presse

C230, 1989

C230, 24th May, 1989, page 1

Главам государств и правительств и народам Африки по случаю Дня освобождения Африки

Президиум Верховного Совета СССР и Совет Министров СССР сердечно поздравляют глав государств и правительств, народы **африканских** стран в связи с Днем освобождения **Африки**.

В этом году празднование Дня освобождения **Африки** обретает особый смысл. Несмотря на все сложности и испытания, которые проходит в настоящее время процесс политического урегулирования на Юго-Западе **Африки**, возникла реальная перспектива добиться независимости Намибии.

Для того, чтобы такая возможность стала действительностью и намибийский народ сделал свой выбор, создал собственное суверенное государство, которое влилось бы в равноправную семью независимых **африканских** стран, необходимо, чтобы все стороны, вовлеченные в процесс деколонизации Намибии, руководствуясь чувством высокой исторической ответственности, строго выполняли обязательства, вытекающие из соглашений по урегулированию на Юго-Западе **Африки**, резолюции 435 в последующих решениях Совета Безопасности ООН по Намибии. Обретение независимости намибийским народом, который вел длительную борьбу за свое освобождение под руководством СВАПО, создало бы качественно новые условия и для разблокирования конфликтной ситуации на всем Юге **Африканского** континента, устранения ее первопричины — позорной системы апартеида в ЮАР.

Советский Союз готов к тесному и активному сотрудничеству с **африканскими** странами, с борцами за национальное освобождение, со всеми членами международного сообщества с тем, чтобы в короткие сроки были навсегда стерты с политической карты **Африки** остатки колониализма и расизма.

В нашем лице государства **Африки** всегда найдут заинтересованного сторонника создания на **Африканском** континенте обстановки мира, стабильности и безопасности, столь необходимой для и экономического и социального развития, более полного использования имеющихся ресурсов. Мы готовы внести свой вклад в обеспечение благоприятных внешних условия для политического решения межгосударственных и внутренних конфликтов в **Африке**, способствовать упрочению **африканского** единства, укреплению сотрудничества между странами континента.

Важную роль в преодолении кризисного состояния экономики **Африки** призвано сыграть широкое международное сотрудничество в целях превращения разоружения в фактор развития, ликвидации разрыва между развитыми в развивающимися странами, установления справедливого международного экономического порядка. Без интернационализации усилий, коллективного поиска невозможно в урегулирование такой острой проблемы, как внешний долг **африканских** стран. Наше видение этого вопроса, жизненно важного для всего человечества, было изложено в ООН в декабре 1988 г. Советские представители готовы участвовать в выработке взаимоприемлемых решений как на международных и региональных форумах, так и на двусторонней основе.

Советский Союз видит в **Африке** важный фактор современного мирового развития, способный оказывать существенное влияние на формирование нового облика нашего мира — безъядерного, ненасильственного и безопасного для всех. Выражая стремление крепить узы дружбы и сотрудничества со всеми **африканскими** странами, искренне желаем государствам, правительствам и народам **Африки** успешного продвижения по пути упрочения их политической независимости, экономического и социального развития.

**ПРЕЗИДИУМ
ВЕРХОВНОГО
СОВЕТА СССР
СОВЕТ
МИНИСТРОВ СССР**

Heads of State and Government and the peoples of Africa on the occasion of Africa Liberation Day

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers congratulate the Heads of State and Government and people of the **African** countries in connection with the Day of the liberation of **Africa**.

This year's celebration of the liberation of **Africa** acquires a special meaning. Despite all the difficulties and trials which are happening currently in the process of political settlement in **South Africa**, there is a real prospect of **Namibia** achieving independence.

For such a possibility to become reality and for the **Namibian** people to make their choice, create their own sovereign state which would influence its just family of independent **African** countries, all parties involved in the process of decolonization of **Namibia**, guided by a high sense of historical responsibility, must strictly carry out their obligations arising from the agreements on the settlement of South-West **Africa**, resolution 435 in the subsequent UN Security Council resolutions on **Namibia**. The independence of the Namibian people, who waged a long struggle for liberation under the leadership of SWAPO, would create qualitatively new conditions and unblock the conflict situation throughout Southern **Africa**, addressing its root causes - the shameful system of apartheid in **South Africa**.

The Soviet Union is ready for close and active cooperation with **African** countries, with fighters for national liberation, and all members of the international community, so that in a short time the remains of colonialism and racism would be forever erased from the political map of **Africa**.

In us, **African** States will always find an interested supporter of the creation on the **African** continent of conditions of peace, stability and security, so necessary for economic and social development, and better use of available resources. We are ready to contribute to the maintenance of favourable external conditions for a political solution to interstate and internal conflicts in **Africa**, to contribute to the consolidation of **African** Unity, and to strengthen cooperation between the countries of the continent.

An important role in overcoming the crisis state of the economy in **Africa** is to conduct broad international cooperation to make disarmament a factor of development, bridging the gap between developed and developing countries, and the establishment of a just international economic order. Without the internationalization of effort, the search cannot be shared in the settlement of acute problems, such as the external debt of **African** countries. Our view of this question, vital to all humankind, was stated in the United Nations in December 1988. Soviet representatives are ready to participate in the elaboration of mutually acceptable decisions on international and regional forums, and bilaterally.

The Soviet Union sees **Africa** as an important factor in modern world development, able to have significant influence on the formation of the new appearance of our world - nuclear-free, non-violent and safe for everyone. Expressing the desire to strengthen the ties of friendship and cooperation with all **African** countries, we sincerely wish the States, governments and peoples of **Africa** successful progress towards the consolidation of their political independence, and economic and social development.

PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR
SOVIET OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR

C233, 1990

C233, 13th April, 1990, page 8

Непросто укротить львов

«Львы и укротители» — так напыщенно именуется сборная команда Камеруна, соперница советских футболистов по группе на предстоящем в Италии чемпионате мира 90. В Алжире она принимала участие в розыгрыше Кубка **африканских** наций и выступила неудачно: два поражения от Замбии и Сенегала не дали камерунцам повторить свой успех двухлетней давности и вновь стать сильнейшей командой **Африки**. Команду тренирует советский специалист В. Непомнящий.

Футболистов Камеруна готовит советский тренер

- Вы давно возглавляете сборную Камеруна? — спросил я его.

— С января 1989 года. До этого с ней работал француз Клод ле Руа, тренирующий ныне сенегальцев. Два года назад он ушел из команды, и тогда пригласили двух советских тренеров — меня и Льва Броварского, который играл в свое время в «Карпатах». Меня назначили в первую сборную, а он возглавил молодежную и юношескую Камеруна.

— Что удалось сделать за полтора года работы?

— Передо мной встали две задачи: попасть в Италию на финальные игры чемпионата мира и обновить команду. Первую решили. Да еще камерунская

сборная по итогам 1989 года была признана журналом “Африк футбол” лучшей на континенте. Что же касается второй задачи, то процесс продолжается. Помните, на испанском чемпионате в 1982 году у камерунцев в составе были отличные футболисты: вратарь Н’Кона, нападающий Милла, защитник Кондэ. Сейчас в команде остались немногие представители “старой гвардии”, вместе с тем появились яркие личности из более молодых, например, вратарь Велл, нападающий Омам-Биик. Проблема в том, что многие камерунские игроки выступают в европейских клубах, и оказалось, что лучше бы я выставил на игры не их, а тех, кого хорошо знаю.

~~ Значит, это одна из причин вашего неудачного выступления на Кубке Африки?

— Не только. У нас был не сильнейший состав, отсутствовали еще четыре человека. Но дело в другом — если бы мы сейчас играли здорово, то эту форму до июня поддержать бы не смогли.

— Не нужно было ее форсировать?

— Вот именно. А потом здесь на наших играх присутствовали и тренер аргентинцев Карло Вилардо и румынский наблюдатель. Раскрываться перед будущими соперниками никак нельзя.

— Ну а как собираетесь выступить в Италии? Ваша оценка соперников по группе?

— Нам трудно рассчитывать на медали, но помешать кому-либо их получить можем. Нет чемпионатов без сенсаций. Может быть, и нам удастся ее сотворить. Перед жеребьевкой мечтали играть против бразильцев и голландцев, которых в Камеруне очень уважают. А когда узнали, что соперниками будут чемпионы мира — аргентинцы вторая команда Европы — советская, решили, что мечта почти сбылась. Нам нельзя выступить хуже, чем в Испании. Там у Камеруна было три ничьи и соответственно три очка. С такими показателями при новой системе выхода в следующий этап у нас могут быть шансы. Эту задачу — три очка — и ставим себе.

С. ФИЛАТОВ.

(Соб. корр. “Правды”).

г. Алжир.

РЕДАКЦИОННАЯ КОЛЛЕГИЯ.

It's difficult to tame lions

"Lions and tamers" – this is the pompous name of the national team of **Cameroon**, a rival to the Soviet players in the group at the upcoming World Championships in Italy 90. In **Algeria**, they participated in the **African Nations Cup** and were unsuccessful: two defeats by **Zambia and Senegal** did not allow the Cameroonians to repeat their success of two years previously and once again become the best team in **Africa**. The team is coached by Soviet specialist Nepomnyashchiy.

Soviet coach trains Cameroon footballers

- How long have you led the team in **Cameroon**? - I asked him.

- From January 1989. Before that, the Frenchman Claude Le Roy worked with them. He is now coaching the **Senegalese**. Two years ago he left the team, and then they invited two Soviet coaches - me and Leo Brovarsny, who played in his time in the "Carpathians". I was assigned to the first team, and he led the junior and youth teams of **Cameroon**.

- What has been done over a year and a half of work?

- In front of me stood two objectives: to get to Italy for the World Cup finals and modernise the team. The first is achieved. In addition, the **Cameroonian** national team,

from its 1989 results, was recognized by the magazine "**Afrique** Football" as the best on the continent. As for the second problem, the process continues. Remember, at the Spanish championship in 1982 the **Cameroonians** had great players: goalkeeper N'Kona, striker Milla and defender Conde. Now the team has few representatives of the "old guard" left, and also some outstanding personalities of younger players have started with us, for example, goalkeeper Vell and striker Omam Biik. The problem is that many **Cameroonian** players play for European clubs, and it turned out that I'd better not pick them for games, but those I know well.

~ - So, this is one of the reasons for your poor performance in the **African** Cup?

- Not only. We were not the strongest team; four people were missing. But there's another thing - if we played great today, we couldn't keep that good form going until June.

- Should you not have forced it?

- That's exactly it. And then Argentinian coach Carlo Willardo and Romanian observer came here to our games. You mustn't ever disclose your strengths to future rivals.

- Well, how are you going to perform in Italy? How do you rate your rivals in the group?

- It is difficult for us to expect a medal, but we can prevent anyone else from getting them. There are no championships without sensations. Maybe we will be able to create one. Before the draw we dreamed of playing against the Brazilians and the Dutch, who are highly respected in **Cameroon**. But when we learned that our rivals will be world champions – Argentina and the second team in Europe – the Soviets – we decided that our dream had almost come true. We cannot perform worse than in Spain. There **Cameroon** had three draws and three points respectively. With such parameters under the new system of getting to the next stage, we may have a chance. We are setting ourselves this task - three points.

S. Filatov.

(Our own corr. "Pravda").

Algiers.

EDITORIAL BOARD.

Справки телевидение

22.30 – “Команда”. Спецвыпуск программы “Взгляд”. О визите министра иностранных дел СССР Э. А. Шеварднадзе в страны **Африки**.

TV Programming

22.30 - "Team". Special edition of "The View". About the visit of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to **Africa**.

C241, 1993

C241, 11th August, 1993, page 5

Фундаментализм: накатывается вторая волна

Что же собой представляет исламский фундаментализм? Каковы его происхождение, эволюция в перспективе в будущем?

Ислам, как третья религия, возник в VII веке н. э. и в настоящее время насчитывает более 1 млрд. последователей, или 1/4 всего человечества. Большинство мусульман проживает в Западной, Южной и Юго-Восточной Азии, в Северной **Африке**. Из 120 стран, где существуют мусульманские общины, в 35

мусульмане составляют большинство населения и еще в 18 влиятельное меньшинство. 45 афро-азиатских государств плюс Организация освобождения Палестины объединены в Организацию исламской конференции (ОИК). В 28 странах ислам признан официальной религией.

В настоящее время мусульмане исламского мира делятся на традиционалистов, которые не хотят никаких реформ и изменений, фундаменталистов, призывающих к возвращению к истокам “чистого ислама” VII века, и, наконец, модернистов, которые считают, что ислам следует реформировать. К традиционалистам можно отнести Саудовскую Аравию, к фундаменталистам — Иран, Судан и Афганистан, а Ливию, например, к модернистскому исламу. Из всех этих движений наибольшую активность проявляет исламский фундаментализм, претендующий на руководящую роль во всем исламском мире.

Цели

В классическом плане главные особенности исламского фундаментализма состоят в следующем:

- Фундаменталисты отдают приоритет духовному началу, для них практика носит второстепенный, подчиненный характер;
- Весь мир делится на “мир ислама” и “мир войны”, откуда следует вывод, что нужно вести войну до тех пор, пока весь мир не станет “миром ислама”;
- К врагам фундаментализма причислены империалисты, правители-тираны, вероотступники, евреи, христиане и материалисты;
- Считается, что между мусульманскими странами не должно быть государственных границ, а их поэтому фундаменталисты не признают национализм;
- Они придерживаются политики международного террора и грубо нарушают права человека;
- Исламский фундаментализм нетерпим в отношении других религий;
- Экстремизм ярко проявляется в стремлении уничтожить государство Израиль, народ которого фундаменталисты желают сбросить в Средиземное море;
- Конечной целью исламских фундаменталистов построение “великого исламского государства” с теократической формой правления.

Истоки

Есть основания считать, что исламский фундаментализм в сегодняшних его формах был порождением египетской организации “Братья-мусульмане”. Он считал стремление исламских стран Востока найти свой собственный, третий путь развития, стал реакцией на успехи капитализма в Европе и Северной Америке и развитие социализма в Советском Союзе.

Основатели “Братьев-мусульман” Хасан-аль-Банна и Саид Котб заложили теоретические основы исламского фундаментализма. Практическое же претворение этих идей в жизнь взял на себя известный иранский философ богослов и теоретик аятолла Р. Хомейни. Он написал 40 работ, посвященных установлению власти фундаменталистов в Иране, где предполагались создание теократической республики, а также интеграции или объединение всех мусульман (отсюда на Западе их еще именуют интегритами) в «великое исламское государство» во всемирном масштабе.

С установлением после революции 1978-1979 годов теократической власти в Иране его руководство стало экспортировать ислам в другие страны мира. Так

началась и прокатилась по свету первая могучая волна исламизма, поднял которую исламский фундаментализм.

Нужно отметить, что остальной исламский мир выступил против этих планов. У Ирана появилось намного больше врагов, чем друзей. Из 120 мусульманских стран Иран поддержали только Сирия, Алжир, Ливия и то только в определенной степени. Некоторые исламские страны заняли позицию нейтралитета, а большинство во главе с Саудавской Аравией стали открытыми противниками фундаменталистов.

Реакция

Смерть Хомейни в 1989 г. завершила падение престижа фундаменталистов, и первая волна исламизма фактически исчерпала себя. Причиной тому в немалой степени стала активное противодействие мусульманских стран. Власти Саудовской Аравии - оплота традиционализма – поставили своих фундаменталистов вне закона.

Против выступили и модернисты. Лидер Ливии Каддафи также объявил своих фундаменталистов вне закона, заявив, что, играя на человеческих слабостях, они “пытаются вовлечь людей, особенно незрелую молодежь, в свои политические игры для того, чтобы пробиться к власти”.

И, наконец, реакция исламистов-центристов. Так, король Марокко Хасан II видит в фундаментализме угрозу исламу, ибо «это проявление невежества и результат различных манипуляций с целью усилить влияние различных личностей. Фундаментализм не может способствовать процветанию общества там, где существует демократия».

Новый подъем

События последних лет, особенно распад СССР, привели к возрождению прежнего фундаменталистского духа и идей экспорта исламской революции. Наступила очередь второй волны исламизма, а мишенью для нее стали Средняя Азия, Алжир, Судан, Босния и ряд других стран. В Иране все громче стали раздаваться голоса: “Настало время, когда ислам стал самым главным противником Запада и западной демократии, неизбежна война между христианством и исламом, как это предсказывал еще имам Хомейни”. Исламский фактор снова превращается в причину международной нестабильности и напряженности, а заглавную роль в этом играет исламский фундаментализм.

Нужно отметить, что в самом фундаменталистском течении имеются реалистичные, менее воинственные и фанатичные прагматики, которые придерживаются более умеренного и цивилизованного курса, в отличие от другой его части — воинственной, агрессивной и экстремистской. Эта сила могла бы послужить партнером для развития разумного сотрудничества (особенно в экономической области) исламского фундаментализма с западными демократиями или с Россией.

Что делать

В настоящее время существуют три взгляда на фундаментализм. Первый — подавить его военной силой, что и происходит в Алжире, Саудовской Аравии и Египте. Второй – игнорировать, разорвав дипломатические связи, как и поступают США. И, наконец, третий - путь переговоров с лидерами умеренной и прагматичной части исламских фундаменталистов, которого придерживаются ФРГ, Франция, Япония, Россия и некоторые другие страны.

Несомненно, что из всех вариантов наиболее приемлемым и продуктивным является третий. Только этот путь может благоприятно сказаться на укреплении стабильности в мире и ликвидации международной напряженности.
Вячеслав УШАКОВ.

Fundamentalism: the second wave rolls in

What is Islamic fundamentalism? What are its origins, evolution and prospects for the future?

Islam, as the third religion, originated in the 7th Century AD and currently has more than 1 billion followers, or one quarter of all humankind. Most Muslims live in the West, South and South-East Asia, and **North Africa**. Of the 120 countries where there are Muslim communities, in 35 there is a Muslim majority population and in 18 an influential minority. 45 **Afro**-Asian countries plus the Palestine Liberation Organization have joined the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). In 28 countries, Islam is recognized as the official religion.

At the moment in the Islamic world, Muslims are divided into traditionalists who do not want any reforms or changes, fundamentalists who call for a return to the origins of "pure Islam" of the VII century, and finally, the modernists, who believe that Islam must be reformed. To traditionalists belong Saudis, to fundamentalists belong Iran, **Sudan** and Afghanistan, and **Libya**, for example, belongs to modernist Islam. Of all these movements the most active is Islamic fundamentalism, claiming a leadership role in the Islamic world.

Aims

Classically speaking, the main features of Islamic fundamentalism are as follows:

- Fundamentalists give priority to spiritual principle; practice is secondary, subordinate nature;
- The world is divided into the "world of Islam" and "the world of war", which implies that it is necessary to wage war until the whole world becomes "the world of Islam";
- The enemies of fundamentalism are ranked as imperialists, rulers, tyrants, apostates, Jews, Christians and materialists;
- It is considered that between Muslim countries there should be no frontiers, and therefore they do not recognize fundamentalist nationalism;
- They have a policy of international terror and roughly violate human rights;
- Islamic fundamentalism is intolerant of other religions;
- Extremism is evident in the quest to destroy the state of Israel, whose people fundamentalists wish to throw into the Mediterranean Sea;
- The ultimate goal of Islamic fundamentalists is to build a "great Islamic state" with a theocratic form of government.

Origins

There is evidence that Islamic fundamentalism in today's forms was a product of the **Egyptian** organization "Muslim Brotherhood." It believed that the Islamic countries of the East wish to find their own, third way of development, a reaction to the success of capitalism in Europe and North America and the development of socialism in the Soviet Union.

The founders of the "Muslim Brotherhood", Hassan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb, laid the theoretical foundations of Islamic fundamentalism. Practical implementation of these same ideas was brought to life by prominent Iranian scholar and theorist philosopher, Ayatollah R. Khomeini. He wrote 40 papers devoted to the establishment of the power of fundamentalists in Iran, where the creation of a theocratic republic was proposed, along with integration or unification of all Muslims (in the West they are still referred to as integrationists) in the "great Islamic government" worldwide.

With the establishment after the revolution of 1978-1979 of theocratic power in Iran, his government began to export Islam to other countries. Thus began and swept through the world the first mighty wave of Islamism, raised up by Islamic

fundamentalism.

It should be noted that the rest of the Islamic world was against these plans. Iran had many more enemies than friends. Of 120 Muslim countries, only Syria, **Algeria** and **Libya** supported Iran, and then only to a certain degree. Some Islamic countries have occupied a position of neutrality and most, headed by Saudi Arabia, became open enemies of the fundamentalists.

Reaction

Khomeini's death in 1989 completed the declining prestige of the fundamentalists and the first wave of Islamism was practically exhausted. The reason was largely the opposition of Islamic countries themselves. The powers of Saudi Arabia – the fruit of traditionalism - became active themselves in opposing traditionalism – they put their fundamentalists outside the law.

And it is opposed by modernists. **Libyan** leader Gaddafi has also announced fundamentalism to be outlawed, saying that they are playing on human weaknesses, they are "trying to get people, especially immature young people, into their political games in order to get themselves into power."

Finally, there was the reaction of Islamist centrists. So, King Hassan II of **Morocco** sees fundamentalism as a threat to Islam, because "this is a manifestation of impoliteness and the result of various manipulations in order to strengthen the impact of various personalities. Fundamentalism cannot bring about the prosperity of society where there is democracy."

New upsurge

Events in recent years, especially the collapse of communism, have led to a revival of the former fundamentalist spirit and ideas of exporting the Islamic revolution. It was now the turn of the second wave of Islamism, and its targets were Central Asia, **Algeria**, **Sudan**, Bosnia and other countries. In Iran, voices became louder: "It is time for Islam to become the main opponent of the West and of Western democracy; war is inevitable between Christianity and Islam, as predicted by Imam Khomeini." The Islamic factor has again been turned into a reason for international instability and tension, and the main role in this is played by Islamic fundamentalism.

We must note that in the fundamentalist movements themselves are realistic, less warlike and fanatical pragmatists who take a more moderate and civilized course, unlike the other part of the movements, which are warlike, aggressive and extremist. This force could serve as a partner for the development of reasonable cooperation (especially in the economic field) of Islamic fundamentalism with Western democracies or with Russia.

What to do

At present there are three views on fundamentalism. First - to suppress it by force, which is what happens in **Algeria**, Saudi Arabia and **Egypt**. Second – to ignore it, having broken diplomatic relations, as the United States is doing. And finally, the third - the path of negotiations with the leaders of the moderate and pragmatic Islamic fundamentalists, to which Germany, France, Japan, Russia and some other countries adhere.

There is no doubt that of all the options the most appropriate and productive is the third. Only this way can favourably influence the strengthening of stability in the world and the elimination of international tension.

Vyacheslav Ushakov.

Ph.D. candidate in History.

Население Земли, исповедующее ислам
(млн. человек)

1954 год - 365
1964 год — 450
1973 год — 600
1978 год — 907
1986 год - I млрд. 155

World population following Islam (millions of people)

1954 – 365 million
1964 – 450 million
1973 – 600 million
1978 – 907 million
1986 – 1 billion, 155 million

Распространение ислама по Земле

(млн. человек)

Северная **Африка**,
Египет —100,5
Восточная **Африка** —125
Центральная **Африка** —18
Западная **Африка** —93
Южная **Африка** —15,3
Арабские страны —62,6
Турция, Иран,
Афганистан — 114,8
Бывший СССР —62,7
Индийский
субконтинент —275
Юго-Восточная Азия —180,5
Дальний Восток —81
Европа —18,3
Америка, Океания —5,9
(Статистика на журнала “Жен **Африк**”).

Spread of Islam over the world (millions of people)

North **Africa**, **Egypt** – 100.5 million
East **Africa** – 125 million
Central **Africa** – 18 million
West **Africa** – 93 million
South Africa – 15.3 million
Arab countries – 62.6 million
Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan – 114.8 million
Former Soviet Union – 62.7 million
Indian subcontinent – 275 million
South-East Asia – 180.5 million
Far East – 81 million
Europe – 18.3 million
America, Oceania – 5.9 million
(Statistics from the magazine “Jeune **Afrique**”)

ДОСЛОВНО

- “Один из факторов, ведущих к росту исламизма,—конфликт между

национальной культурой и западной модернизацией”.

Набиль Абдель ФАТТАХ, политолог (Египет).

- “Нужно избегать противопоставления ислама и демократии... но также недопустимо присвоение монополии на отношения с Всевышним какой-либо группой верующих”.

Газета “Эль Муджатид” (Алжир)

VERBATIM

- "One of the factors leading to the growth of Islamism is the conflict between national culture and western modernization."

Nabil Abdel Fattah, political scientist (Egypt).

- "We need to avoid the opposition of Islam and democracy ... but the appropriation of a monopoly on relations with the Almighty by a group of believers is also unacceptable."

The newspaper "El Mudzhatid" (Algeria)

C244, 1995

C244, 25th May, 1995, page 3

Пока остальной мир идет шагом...

СЕГОДНЯ-ДЕНЬ АФРИКИ,

Черный континент в поисках оптимальной модели развития

Африканские народы отмечают в эти дни 32-ю годовщину Организации **африканского** единства (ОАЕ) и 35-летие Года **Африка** — года, в течение которого освободились 17 стран, и континент совершил скачок из колониального рабства в независимость. Достижения и трудности **африканцев** вызывают ваш интерес не только в силу еще сохранившегося у большинства чувства солидарности, но и потому, что они во многом решают те же проблемы, что и мы. **Африка** — огромная социальная лаборатория, в которой опробовались различные модели социально-экономического развития — от капиталистического до социалистически ориентированного.

Обретение независимости открыло простор для инициативы древнейших народов, в жизни которых до того тысячелетиями практически ничего не менялось. Их лозунг «Нам следует бежать, пока остальной мир может идти шагом» отражал атмосферу первых лет свободы. Граждане **африканских** государств обрели чувство собственного достоинства, доступ к образованию, медицинской помощи. Практически повсеместно увеличилась продолжительность жизни. Созданы кадры национальной интеллигенции, возникли десятки университетов и научных центров. В развитии экономики достижения были более скромные, но все же среднегодовой процент пророста производства был выше, чем в развитых странах. Одним словом, **Африка** бежала, хотя не знала куда.

В первые годы независимого существования в **африканских** странах мало задумывались над этим. Капитализм, породливый колониализм, безусловно отвергался. А вот о том, куда идти, какую стратегию развития избрать, - четкого представления не было. Это не замедлило сказаться на общем характере развития.

Большинство молодых государств пытались «идти по пути к социализму», используя западные модели (Сенегал, Тунис, Кот д'Ивуар). Радикальные революционеры (сторонники Менгисту в Эфиопии, коммунисты в ЮАР и др.) считали, что к социализму можно прийти, копируя советскую модель, - через диктатуру пролетариата, индустриализацию, коллективизацию и т. д.

Национальные демократы (Насер, Секу Нуре, Вумедьен) избрали разработанную совместно с марксистами модель покапиталистического развития (социалистической ориентации), которая давала возможность использовать отдельные методы и капиталистического, и социалистически ориентированного развития (частную инициативу, планирование, прогрессивную социальную программу). Однако на практике, исходя из своих политических, в то и личных целей, они навязывали обществу приемы и методы хозяйствования, к которым оно совершенно не было готово. «Я не могу говорить своему народу: давайте строить полу-социализм. Я говорю: строим социализм!» - оправдывал свою политику недавно умерший в изгнании бывший президент Сомали Сиад Барре. В результате у него и его единомышленников не получилось ни социализма, ни капитализма.

В 80-е годы **Африка** вступила в жесточайший социально-экономический кризис, который после развала социалистического содружества и утраты Западом интереса к **Африканскому** континенту перерос в затяжную депрессию. Последовал резкий спад в промышленности и сельском хозяйстве. Рост производства продовольствия оказался почти вдвое ниже темпов роста рождаемости и численности населения. В **Африке** самый высокий в мире прирост населения (около 3 процентов). Для решения продовольственной проблемы недостаточно резкого увеличения производства. Нужно обеспечить регулирование рождаемости, рациональное использование площадей, возвращение биосферы в устойчивое состояние. Но смогут ли нынешние **африканские** государства решить такие задачи?

В связи с углубляющимися на планете экономическим кризисом проявился еще один, более сложный аспект проблемы. Выход развивающихся стран, число жителей которых уже сегодня составляет четыре взятых населения Земли, на уровень потребления современных индустриальных государств неизбежно повлечет за собой резкое увеличение потребления природных ресурсов и настолько усилит разрушающее воздействие современной цивилизации на внешнюю среду (ее загрязнение, деградация и сокращение плодородных земель, разрушение защищающего от радиации озонового слоя и т.д.), что поставит, под вопрос выживание человечества. Чтобы избежать или хотя бы ослабить разрушительные последствия усиливающегося экономического кризиса, потребуется более рационально использовать природные ресурсы.

Но как этого добиться в обществе, главная цель которого нажива, волучение прибыли? Удастся ли сделать так, чтобы диктуемые жизнью меры (перераспределение природных ресурсов, закрытие загрязняющих среду производств) не привели к вооруженным конфликтам, особенно в таких взрывоопасных регионах, как **Африка**?

Африканские государства, многонациональные в своем большинстве, оказались фактически безоружными перед лицом агрессивного национализма, породляющего сепаратизм, национальные и межэтнические конфликты. В результате миллионами исчисляется поток беженцев, сотнями тысяч, и теперь уже миллионами – число раненых и убитых. Каким образом можно прекратить чудовищные для нашего времени жертвоприношения человеческих жизней?

На эти и другие вопросы, порождаемые практикой развития в углубляющимся кризисом, дает ответы выдвинутая Конференцией ООН по окружающей среде (1992 г., Рио-де-Жанеро) концепция устойчивого развития. Ответы даются в общей форме, но на их основе государствам рекомендуется разработать свои национальные концепции. Общие положения указанной концепции выработаны учеными и одобрены президентами и главами

правительств 183 государств. Позже они были развиты на основе документов других конференций ООН, в частности Копенгагенской конференции в интересах социального развития (март 1995 г.). В них довольно четко показано, на каких путях и какими методами должны решаться практически все важнейшие проблемы мирового развития.

Поскольку экологическая ситуация в мире кардинально изменилась, должна кардинальным образом измениться и постановка проблемы развития практически во всех государствах мира. Социально-экономическая модель, реализованная развитыми странами для достижения своего нынешнего уровня благополучия, исчерпала себя и в новых условиях не может использоваться ими и тем более не может быть рекомендована другим странам. Это неминуемо усугубят угрозу.

Проблему экономического развития нельзя решать чисто ведомственно, оперируя только экономическими показателями. Недоучет, а то и игнорирование социальных факторов – одна из причин провала первых декад программ развития, составленных по рекомендации ООН для развивающихся стран. Последние декады разрабатывались МВРР уже с их учетом.

Подписанные главами государств и одобренные Генеральной Ассамблеей ООН программные документы призывают все государства разработать национальные стратегии не только в рамках модели устойчивого развития, но и на основе общепризнанных принципов международного права, принципа равноправия и само-определения прежде всего. Принцип самоопределения нельзя отекдоставить с принципов нации («одна нация – одно государство»), как это делали многие **африканские** страны, отказавшись от этого тезиса после обретения независимости. Европейское, а затем и мировое сообщество отошли от такого толкования, поощряющего сепаратизм еще в XIX веке. Когда самоопределение сводят к отделению, оно обретает разрушительную силу. В этом случае можно соглашаться с бывшим госсекретарем США Лансингом: «Какое несчастье, что оно было выдвинуто». Если же этот принцип толкуется правильно, он помогает решению не только национальных, но и социальных проблем. Цель самоопределения – защитить народ от приобретения другим народом «прав» за его счет, а государство – от сепаратизма и национального эгоизма. Поскольку он включает в себя и требование соблюдать равноправие, его реализация должна осуществляться обычно, в границах государства, как правило, при соблюдении других основных принципов права (сохранения территориальной целостности государства, в частности) за всем населением самоопределяющейся территории, а не за одной нацией.

В современных государствах право на самоопределение реализуется в форме автономии, территориальной, национально-культурной, федерации и т. д. Несмотря на обилие наций и народностей, в **Африке** за последнее десятилетие самоопределилось только одно государство – Эритрея.

Все люди, все народы – разные. Каждый имеет право на свои подходы и взгляды, но никто не имеет оснований объявлять их единственно верными. Именно в такой редакции этот принцип реализуется путем защиты международным сообществом его права самостоятельно, без вмешательств извне определять политический, экономический и культурный статус. Реализуя это право, в **Африке** существовали, а в мире и сегодня существуют государства, общественный строй которых существенно отличается от строя в большинстве государств.

В большинстве развивающихся государств сложилась или продолжает складываться многоукладная экономика с частнособственническими укладами в

качестве обязательного компонента. Многоукладность дает возможность в перспективе уйти от навязывания одним классом угодной ему социальной системы всему обществу, а личности – проявить себя в том укладе, который больше соответствует ее способностям и интересам. За государством сохраняются функции координатора и защитника интересов личности, нации, народа. Начавшаяся в **африканских** странах эволюция в этом направлении дает возможность ослабить остроту вопроса о направлении общественного развития. Но для этого необходимо обеспечить действительное равноправие различных форм собственности и последовательную демократизацию государства. В этом случае соперничество между социально-экономическими системами с международной арены будет перемещаться в границы государств, что значительно облегчает сохранение всеобщего мира.

Казалось бы: какое нам дело до проблем **Африки**? Государства региона – наши друзья и партнеры. Наша национальная концепция должна быть составной частью международной, а доработать ее без учета того, что происходит более чем в 50 государствах Черного континента, - невозможно. Парламентские слушания по национальной стратегии устойчивого развития убедительно показали, что учет опыта других государств совершенно необходим.

Глеб СТАРУШЕНКО

Вице-Президент Международного конгресса **африканских** исследований

While the rest of the world is walking...

Today is Africa Day,

The Black Continent is in search of the optimal model of development

African nations are now celebrating the 32nd anniversary of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the 35th anniversary of the Year of **Africa** - a year in which 17 countries were freed, and the continent made the leap from colonial slavery to independence. The achievements and challenges of **Africans** arouse our interest not only because we have retained a feeling of solidarity with most of them, but also because they are largely trying to solve the same problems that we are. **Africa** is a huge social laboratory, in which different models of social and economic development, from capitalist to socialist-oriented, have been tested.

Independence has opened up space for initiatives of the most ancient peoples, whose lives were practically unchanged for thousands of years. Their slogan, "We must run while the rest of the world can walk," reflected the atmosphere of the first years of freedom. Citizens of **African** countries have gained self-esteem, access to education and medical help. Almost everywhere life expectancy has increased. Cadres of national intelligentsia have been created, and dozens of universities and research centres have emerged. In development, economic achievements have been more modest, but still the average percentage of production growth has been higher than in developed countries. In short, **Africa** has been running, although it did not know where.

In the first years of independent existence in **African** countries they thought little about this. They definitely rejected capitalism and the hated colonialism. And so there was no clear view about where to go and what development strategy to choose. This quickly affected the overall character of development.

Most of the young states, such as Senegal, Tunisia and Cote d'Ivoire, tried to "take the road to socialism", using Western models. The radical revolutionaries (supporters of Mengistu in Ethiopia, the communists in **South Africa**, and others) believed that they could get to socialism through copying the Soviet model - through dictatorship of the proletariat, industrialization, collectivization, and so on. National

Democrats (Nasser, Sekou Nura, Vumeden) chose the jointly developed Marxist model of capitalist development (with a socialist orientation), which allowed them to use individual techniques of both capitalist and socialist-oriented development (private initiative, planning and a progressive social programme). In practice, however, because of their political as well as their personal goals, they imposed on society the techniques and methods of management for which it was absolutely not ready. "I cannot say to my people: let us build semi-socialism. I say, we're building socialism!" With such sayings the recently deceased former president of Somalia, Siad Barre, justified his policies. As a result, he and his fellow-thinkers achieved neither socialism nor capitalism.

In the 1980s, **Africa** entered the cruellest economic-social crisis, which after the collapse of socialist friendship and expenditure by the West on its interests in the **African** continent, grew to be a heavy depression. A sharp fall in industrial and agricultural production ensued. The growth in industrial production turned out to be half as much as the rates of births and population increase. **Africa** has the highest rate of population increase, at about 3 per cent. To solve the food problem a sharp increase in production is not enough. Birth control, rational use of space, and the return of the biosphere to a stable state must be provided. But will today's **African** states be able to solve such problems?

Due to the deepening economic crisis in the world, another, more complex aspect of the problem has arisen. Developing countries, whose number of people today already makes up four parts of the Earth's population, rising to the level of consumption of modern industrial states, will inevitably lead to a sharp increase in use of natural resources, and so will reinforce the damaging effects of modern initiatives on the environment (pollution, degradation and reduction of arable land, the destruction of the ozone layer which protects us from radiation, etc.), which will put into question the survival of humankind. To avoid or at least lessen the devastating effects of the growing economic crisis, we need to make better use of natural resources.

But how to achieve this in a society whose main objective is profit, and maximisation of profits? Will it be possible to ensure that the measures dictated by life (recycling of natural resources, and the closure of polluting enterprises) does not lead to armed conflicts, especially in volatile regions such as **Africa**?

African states, mostly multinational, were virtually unarmed in the face of aggressive nationalism, vile separatism, and national and ethnic conflicts. As a result, there came to be millions of refugees, and then hundreds of thousands, and now millions, of people wounded and killed for development. How can we stop these monstrous sacrifices of human lives in our times?

To these and other problems, born of the practice of development in a deepening crisis, the concept of sustainable development, moved at the UN's Conference on the Environment (1992, Rio de Janeiro), gives answers. The answers are general, but based on them, governments are recommended to work out their own national concepts. The common positions pointed out by the concept were worked out by scientists and approved by Presidents and heads of 183 states. Later they were developed on the basis of documents at other UN conferences, in particular the Copenhagen Conference on Social Development (March 1995). In these it is fairly starkly shown along which paths and by which methods all the most important questions of world development should be solved in practice.

As the ecological situation in the world has changed dramatically, it should radically change the formulation of the problem in almost all developed countries of the world too. The socio-economic model implemented by developed countries to achieve its present level of well-being has exhausted itself and cannot be used in a new

environment, and moreover cannot be recommended to other countries. This will inevitably exacerbate the threat.

Economic development problems cannot be solved purely departmentally, using only economic indicators. Ignoring, and even being ignorant of social factors, is one of the reasons for the failure of the first decades of development programmes drawn up on the recommendation of the United Nations for developing countries. In the last decade they have developed MVRs on their account.

Signed by the heads of State and approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations, these policy documents call upon all states to develop national strategies, not only in terms of their model of sustainable development, but also on the basis of universally recognized principles of international law, and the principle of equal rights and self-determination in the first place. The principle of self-determination cannot be separated from the principles of the nation ("one nation - one state"), as did many **African** countries, abandoning this thesis after independence. European and then the world community shy away from such an interpretation, which encouraged separatism in the XIX century. When self-determination is reduced to separation, it becomes a destructive force. In this case one can agree with former US Secretary of State, Lancing: "What a misfortune that it was set off." If this principle is interpreted correctly, it helps to solve not only national, but also social problems. The goal of self-determination is to protect a people from another people acquiring their "rights", and to protect the state from separatism and national egoism. Insofar as it also includes the requirement to observe equality, its implementation should be carried out normally, within the boundaries of the state, as a rule, subject to the other basic principles of law (preservation of the territorial integrity of the State, in particular) for the entire population of a self-defined territory, and not for one nation.

In modern states, the right to self-determination is realized in the form of autonomy, territorial, national and cultural, federal, etc.. In spite of its large number of nations and peoples, in **Africa** in the last decade, only one country has defined itself - Eritrea.

All people, all nations are different. Each has the right to its own approaches and views, but no one has a reason to declare them as the only true ones. Precisely in such an edition this principle is realised through the route of the international community protecting its own rights independently without interference from outside to determine its own political, economic and cultural status. Realizing this right, in **Africa** there were and in today's world there still are, states whose social system is significantly different from the system in most states.

In most developing countries, a mixed economy with private ownership as an essential component has developed or continues to develop. The many layers make it possible in future to leave the ties of a single class running the whole social system to suit them, and for individuals to express themselves in a way that is more consistent with their abilities and interests. The state retains the functions of coordination and defence of the interests of the individual, of the nation and of the people. The evolution in this direction which has begun in **African** countries makes it possible to alleviate the issue of the direction of social development. But for this you need to ensure genuine equality of different forms of ownership and subsequent democratization of the state. In this case, rivalry between socio-economic systems in the international arena will be mixed up in the borders of states, which will greatly facilitate the preservation of general peace.

One would think: what business are **Africa's** problems of ours? The states of the region are our friends and partners. Our national concept should be an integral part of our international concept, and modifying it without taking into account what is

happening in more than 50 countries of the **Black continent** is impossible. Parliamentary hearings on the national strategy for sustainable development have convincingly shown that the experience of other countries is absolutely necessary.

Gleb STARUSHENKO

Vice-President of the International Congress of **African** Research

C249, 1999

C249, 30th December, 1999, page 4

Телевидение

...

КУЛЬТУРА

10 05 Читая Библию. Новый Завет

10 15 Аистенок

10.40 “КОРОЛЬ - БЕЛЫЙ МЕДВЕДЬ”.

12.05 Консилиум.

12 30 Экспедиция “Чиж”.

13 00 “Рождественские сказки”.

14.10 Два Владимира в поисках света

14.30, 22.00 Новости культуры.

14 45 “ЧЕЛОВЕК-НЕВИДИМКА”.

15.40 Про фото

16 05 Ж Расин “БЕРЕНИКА”.

17.45 “**Африканская** охота”

18.30 Новости

18 55 “ТАНЕЦ ДЛЯ МИСТЕРА БИ ШЕСТИ
БАЛЕРИН БАЛАНЧИНА”.

20 20 Вечерняя сказка

20.30 “Приключения Болека и Лелека”.

20 40 С потолка.

21 05 Французский шансон.

22.20 Голоса старого дома

22 50 “СЕДИНА В БОРОДУ”.

Television

...

CULTURE

...

17.45 “**African** hunting”

...

Annex 3 – English translations of *Pravda* extracts

I present here English translations of the longer, numbered *Pravda* extracts quoted in Chapter 6. As in Annex 2, the translations are my own.

1. C9a, 1940

В Северной Африке наша авиация бомбардировала Фука, Маатен Багуш, лагерные барежи в Месса-Матрух и в Эл-Даба, авиационные базы Эль Хамман (к западу от Александрии), Хельвач (к югу от Каира) и морские базы Александрии... Авиация противника атаковала наши войска, ранив несколько человек. Неприятельские самолеты совершили также нападение на военные госпитали в районе Бакбак, где было ранено 8 человек.

В Восточной Африке одному из наших разведывательных отрядов удалось напасть врасплох и обратить в бегство механизированные части противника близ Либоп (Кения).

Наша авиация бомбардировала портовые сооружения Азена, группу грузовиков близ Локитанга (Кения) и в Гарасе... Авиация противника атаковала Акта, Гура, Деклассре и Массая без всяких результатов, Кассалу, где ранен один человек, а также Асмару, где ранено три человека и причинены незначительные повреждения.

In North Africa, our aircraft bombed Fuca Bagush Maat, camp Bareges Mass in Matruh and El-Daba, airbases El Hamman (west of Alexandria), Helvach (south of Cairo) and naval bases of Alexandria... Enemy aircraft carried out an attack on a military hospital near Bakbak where eight people were injured.

In East Africa, one of our intelligence units attacked by surprise and managed to rout the enemy mechanized units near Libop (Kenya).

Our aircraft bombed Azena port facilities, a group of trucks near Lokitanga (Kenya) and Garas... Enemy aircraft attacked Act, Gura, Deklassre and Massawa without results, Kassala, where one man was wounded, and Asmara, where three people were injured and caused minor damage.

2. C12c, 1943

Как передаёт английское министерство информации, в связи со взятием Триполи по радио выступил с заявлением военный министр Григг, который сказал: “Взятие Триполи практически является завершением уничтожения итальянской империи в Африке... В прошлые месяцы мы были преисполнены восхищением и благодарностью к Красной Армии за её великолепные дела...”

According to the British Ministry of Information, in connection with the taking of Tripoli, War Minister Grigg spoke on the radio and said: “The taking of Tripoli marks practically the end of the annihilation of the Italian empire in Africa... In the last months, we have been full of praise and gratitude towards the Red Army for its great deeds.

3. C16b, 1943

Выступление Смэтса по радио

ЛОНДОН, 31 мая. (ТАСС). Премьер-министр Южно-Африканского Союза Смэтс в речи по радио, обращенной к народам Европы, заявил: «... Армии, которые прогнали врага от Каира до Триполи и берегов Туниса и прошли от Алжира до огромных гаваней Бизерты и Туниса...»

Указав, что оборонительные линии противника растянуты вдоль обширного морского побережья Европы, в то время как основная масса его войск занята на русском фронте, Смэтс сказал, «Растерявшийся враг со страхом следит за нами. У наших врагов есть основания опасаться....»

Smuts's Speech on the Radio

LONDON, May 31. (TASS). The Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa Smuts, in a speech on the radio addressed to the peoples of Europe, said: "... The armies which drove the enemy from Cairo to Tripoli and the coast of Tunisia and Algeria have been to the large harbours of Bizerte, Tunisia..."

Pointing out that the enemy's defensive line stretched along the coast of the vast sea of Europe, while the bulk of its forces were engaged on the Russian front, Smuts said, "The confused enemy is watching us in fear. Our enemies have reason to fear..."

4. C16a, 1943

Де Голль заявил, что он тронут горячим приемом, оказанным ему населением Алжира. «Я рассматриваю,— сказал он,— этот приём, как выражение высших патриотических чувств.»

De Gaulle said that he was touched by the warm reception accorded to him by the population of Algeria. "I see, - he said - this welcome as a high expression of patriotic feelings."

5. C23, 1946

Деласей в своей речи отметил, что Рузвельт, Уилки и Хэлл, призывая народы мира к борьбе против фашизма, заявляли, что с империализмом должно быть покончено раз и навсегда. Однако всего лишь через год после окончания войны английское и американское правительства, возобновили свою старую империалистическую политику. После первой мировой войны Черчилль с помощью армий 14 стран организовал интервенцию в Советский Союз, а Гувер использовал американскую помощь для снабжения продовольствием армий Юденича. Сегодня Гувер снова стремится снабжать продовольствием реакционеров и морить голодом прогрессивные элементы...

Delacey noted in his speech that Roosevelt, Willkie and Hull, when calling peoples of the world to the fight against fascism, argued that imperialism must be stopped once and for all. However, only a year after the war, the British and American governments renewed their old imperialist policy. After the First World War, Churchill, using armies of 14 countries, organized intervention in the Soviet Union, and Hoover used U.S. aid for the supply of food for Yudenich's army. Today Hoover again aimed to supply reactionaries with rations and starve the progressive elements...

6. C23, 1946

Только на базе такого единства целей и действий, которое привело к победе над фашизмом, Соединенные Штаты и Англия могут работать совместно с Советским Союзом, а не против него, для того, чтобы в интересах обеспечения прочного мира одержать победу над существующим в настоящее время во всем мире голодом, нуждой и эксплуатацией не имеющих самостоятельности народов и слабых наций.

Only on the basis of such unity of purpose and action that were brought to the victory over fascism can the United States and Britain work together with the Soviet Union, rather than against it, in order to ensure a lasting peace, to triumph over the current existing worldwide hunger, poverty and exploitation of non-independent peoples and weak nations.

7. C23, 1946

Робсон заявил, что Советский Союз показал, как в течение одного поколения можно покончить с колониальной системой, и нет ничего удивительного, что империалисты кричат: «Остановите Россию!».

Robson said that the Soviet Union showed how in one generation the colonial system can be done away with, and it is not surprising that the imperialists shout: "Stop Russia."

8. C24, 1946

члены комитета доказали, что пресловутая «консультация» с населением Юго-Западной Африки, которой козыряет правительство Южно-Африканского Союза, является грубой фальсификацией, что на территории Юго-Западной Африки царит режим грубого произвола и дискриминации. За присоединение к Южно-Африканскому Союзу высказались лишь представители европейцев, которые составляют лишь 5,7 проц. населения Юго-Западной Африки, да вожди племён, которые, как подчеркивали члены комитета, являются лишь чиновниками, отстаивающими интересы администрирующей страны. Мнения самого коренного населения Юго-Западной Африки никто не спрашивал.

members of the committee showed that the notorious "consultation" with the population of South-West Africa, which the government of the South African Union vaunts, is a crude falsification, and that in the territory of South West Africa a regime of rough tyranny and discrimination reigns. Only representatives of Europeans spoke in favour of joining the South African Union, and they make up only 5.7 per cent of the population of South West Africa, plus the leaders of the tribes, which, as members of the committee stressed, are only civil servants, defending the interests of administering the country. Nobody asked the opinions of the indigenous population of South West Africa.

9. C24, 1946

Делегат Украины А. Войда указал, что на этой территории осуществляется политика так называемого «цветного барьера» и дискриминации с целью получения дешёвой рабочей силы. Туземцы лишены возможности получать образование. До 90 проц. туземного населения больны туберкулезом, цынгой, венерическими и другими

болезнями. Это население живет в так называемых резервациях, на наихудших землях. В этих поселениях, обнесённых колючей проволокой и охраняемых полицией, царят запустение, грязь, нищета. Они напоминают фашистские концентрационные лагеря. Такой же режим расовой дискриминации применяется к коренному населению самого Южно-Африканского Союза.

The delegate for the Ukraine, A. Voids, pointed out that on this territory exists a policy of the so-called "colour barrier" and discrimination with the aim of receiving cheap labour. People from there are deprived of the possibility of receiving an education. Up to 90% of the population here is ill with tuberculosis, scurvy, venereal and other diseases. This population lives in so-called reservations, on the worst land. In these settlements, surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by police hover desolation, dirt and poverty. They bring to mind fascist concentration camps. The same regime of racial discrimination applies also to the native population of the South-African Union itself.

10. C28, 1950

Для нас, колониальных народов, проблема войны и мира является всегда актуальной, так как мы жертвы завоевательных войн, войн несправедливых, которые обрекали и обрекают нас уже в течение долгих лет на гнет колониальной эксплуатации, уничтожая наша культурные ценности, наши нравы, нашу цивилизацию, мешая проявлению наших талантов и лишая нас основных свобод. Будучи жертвами этих разбойничьих империалистических войн, варварства и постоянного унижения, мы имеем все основания ненавидеть войну и бороться против нее изо всех сил и всеми способами, которыми мы располагаем.

For us, colonial peoples, the problem of war and peace is always a real one, since we are victims of wars of conquest, unjust wars, which have condemned us and are still condemning us for long years to the oppression of colonial exploitation, annihilating our cultural values, our morals, our civilisation, hindering our talents and depriving us of basic freedoms. Being victims of these thieving imperialistic wars, barbarity and constant humiliation, we have all reasons possible to hate war and to struggle against it with all our strength and all means available to us.

11. C29b, 1951

Третья сессия Всекитайского комитета народного политического консультативного совета направила председателю Бюро Всемирного Совета Мира Фредерику Жолио-Кюри и участникам второй сессии Всемирного Совета Мира в Вене следующее послание:...

В колониальных и зависимых странах – Вьетнаме, Малайе, Филиппинах, Марокко – при полной поддержке американского правительства в широком масштабе осуществляются массовые убийства и подавление народного движения. На Среднем Востоке правящие клики Америки, Англии и Франции посягают на суверенные права Ирана, Египта и Ирака, пытаясь опутать весь Средний Восток паутиной своих военных планов.

Эти факты показывают, что поджигатели войны – враги всеобщего мира – пытаются ввергнуть народы Азии и Северной Африки, Европы

и Америки в бездну войны.

The third session of the All-China Committee of the People's political consultative council has sent to the president of the Bureau of the World Peace Council Frederick Joliot-Curie and the second session of the World Peace Council in Vienna the following message: ...

In the colonial and dependent countries - Vietnam, Malaya, the Philippines, Morocco - with the full support of the U.S. government, massacres and suppression of popular movements are carried out. In the Middle East the ruling cliques of America, England and France infringe on the sovereign rights of Iran, Egypt and Iraq, trying to entangle the entire Middle East in a web of military plans.

These facts show that the warmongers – the enemies of world peace – are trying to plunge the peoples of Asia and North Africa, Europe and America into an abyss of war.

12. C24, 1946

Комитет требует от всех наций, чтобы «идеология народа господ была искоренена в Южной Африке, чтобы был положен конец системе, в силу которой права народа попираются незначительным меньшинством, чтобы не было больше отдельной системы законности и морали для неевропейцев и другой системы, предназначенной для народа господ»... «Эта комиссия с полным основанием могла бы поставить вопрос о передаче той или иной территории другому государству, способному честно и добросовестно выполнить взятые обязательства, соответствующие положениям и духу устава Объединенных наций»... украинская делегация не может согласиться с явно противоречивым и неправильным толкованием термина «непосредственно заинтересованные страны», данным делегатом США Даллесом. Даллес считает, что непосредственно заинтересованными странами являются только те, которые имели мандаты Лиги наций, и США. Это не соответствует уставу ЮНО.

The committee calls on all nations that “the ideology of the ruling people should be that of the indigenous people of South Africa, that there should be an end to the system in which the rights of the people are considered an insignificant detail, that there should no more be a separate system of law and morality for non-Europeans and another system for the ruling people”... “This Commission could rightly raise the question of the transfer of one territory to another state, capable of honestly and conscientiously fulfilling its obligations, complying with the provisions and the spirit of Charter of the United Nations”... the Ukrainian delegation could not agree with the clearly contradictory and incorrect interpretation of the term “directly interested countries”, according to US delegate Dulles. Dulles said that directly concerned countries are the only ones with the mandate of the League of Nations, and the United States. This does not comply with the charter of the UNO.

13. C28, 1950

И действительно, политическое освобождение, расцвет наших культурных возможностей и общественное и экономическое развитие, к которым мы так стремимся, могут быть осуществлены лишь в мирных условиях.

And in reality, political freedom, the flourishing of our cultural possibilities and social and economic development, for which we are striving so much, can only be realized under peaceful conditions.

14. C28, 1950

Господин президент, господа!

Делегация Червой Французской Африки, состоящая из двадцати человек, передает Второму Всемирному конгрессу сторонников мира восторженный привет от народов, которые она здесь представляет. **(Бурные аплодисменты)**...

В заключение наша делегация хочет сказать, что она одобряет и поддерживает предложения различных лиц:...

6. Об осуществлении плана экономической помощи Объединенных Наций экономически слабым странам на условиях, позволяющих колониальным странам свободно развиваться.

Dear President, ladies and gentlemen!

The Delegation of Black French Africa, consisting of 20 people, gives the Second Global congress of supporters of peace an enthusiastic hello from the peoples which it represents here. (Stormy applause.)...

In conclusion our delegation would like to say that it approves and supports the proposals of various people:...

6. The existence of a plan of economic help by the United Nations to the economically weak countries under conditions of allowing the colonial countries to develop freely.

15. C60a, 1960

В борьбе против варварского колониализма миролюбивые народы одержали крупную победу: Генеральная Ассамблея Организации Объединенных Наций приняла Декларацию о предоставлении независимости колониальным странам и народам, проект которой был внесен 43 странами Азии и Африки.

Советская общественность горячо приветствует этот важный итог «великой дискуссии», которая развернулась в стенах ООН по инициативе делегации Советского Союза.

В сентябре этого года глава Советского правительства Н. С. Хрущев внес на рассмотрение Генеральной Ассамблеи Декларацию о предоставлении независимости колониальным странам и народам.

In the fight against barbaric colonialism, peaceful nations have won a major victory: the General Assembly of the United Nations has adopted the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the draft of which was submitted by 43 countries of Asia and Africa.

The Soviet public warmly welcomes this important result of the “great debate”, which was developed in the walls of the UN on the initiative of the delegation of the Soviet Union.

In September this year, the head of the Soviet government, Khrushchev, introduced to the General Assembly the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

16. C60a, 1960

яркие выступления президента Ганы Кваме Нкрума, президента Гвинеи Секу Туре, президента ОАР Насера, президента Индонезии Сукарно, премьер-министра Индии Неру, премьер-министра Кубы Фиделя Кастро, представителей многих других стран Азии и Африки делегатов социалистических стран... организатора преступлений в Конго... французский империализм — ведущий безнадежную грязную войну в Алжире и убивший славного африканского трибуна Феликса Мумье, бельгийский империализм, до конца разоблачивший себя в Конго... письмо американских куклуксклановцев, разосланное представителям азиатских и африканских стран в ООН, содержащее прямые угрозы физической расправы над ними... А разве не ярким примером неистовства колонизаторов служат статьи «Нью-Йорк таймс» и других реакционных американских газет, подстрекающие банды Мобуту к новым преступлениям или клеветующие на миролюбивые страны?... С протестом против бесчинств банд Мобуту и их покровителей в Конго сегодня выступает ВЦСПС от имени 55 миллионов членов профсоюзов СССР.

bright performances by President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, the President of Guinea, Sekou Toure, the President of the UAR Nasser, the President of Indonesia Sukarno, the Indian Prime Minister, Nehru, the Prime Minister of Cuba, Fidel Castro, and representatives of many other Asian and African countries and delegates of the socialist countries... [USA] organiser of infamous crimes in Congo... French imperialism - leading the hopeless dirty war in Algeria and having killed the glorious African Tribune Felix Mume - and Belgian imperialism, exposed in the Congo ... the American Ku Klux Klan letter sent to representatives of Asian and African countries in the UN, containing direct threats of physical violence against them... is not a shining example of the fury of colonialists the article of the "New York Times" and other reactionary American newspapers inciting Mobutu's gang to new crimes or slandering a peaceful country?... Today, on behalf of all 55 million trade union members of the USSR, the ACSTU [All-Union Central Soviet of Trade Unions] is speaking in protest against the depredations of the gangs and patrons of Mobutu in Congo.

17. C35, 1955

14 марта президент США Эйзенхауэр направил конгрессу США очередной доклад «О выполнении программы взаимного обеспечения безопасности» (программа вооружения союзников и сателлитов США.— Прим. ред.) за второе полугодие 1954 года.

On the 14th of March, the President of the USA, Eisenhower, gave a progress report to the U.S. Congress "On the implementation of the mutual security program" (the programme of arming U.S. allies and satellites - Ed.) concerning the second half of 1954.

18. C35, 1955

США поставили другим странам военного снаряжения на 10,5 млрд. долларов, в том числе свыше 6 тысяч самолетов, более 36 тысяч танков, свыше 36 тысяч орудий и т. д.

... в текущем финансовом году, оканчивающемся 30 июня 1955 года, на Ближний Восток, в Африку и Южную Азию будет поставлено

военного снаряжения на 383 миллиона долларов.

the United States provided other countries with military equipment worth 10.5 billion dollars, including over 6,000 aircraft, over 36,000 tanks, over 36,000 guns, etc..

... in the current fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, the Middle East, Africa and South Asia will receive military equipment worth \$383 million.

19. C35, 1955

Из доклада явствует, что США увеличивают поставки военного снаряжения тем странам, которые, по их замыслам, должны войти в агрессивный блок, сколачиваемый в настоящее время на Ближнем Востоке.

It is clear from the report that the United States is increasing the supply of military equipment to those countries which, in their judgment, should make them part of an aggressive bloc, currently cobbled together in the Middle East.

20. C35, 1955

в области военной помощи упор был перенесен на «экономически слабо развитый район» капиталистического мира. Объясняя повышенный интерес к этим странам американских империалистов, составители доклада указывают: «Слаборазвитые страны, вместе взятые... представляют собой крупный источник важнейших минералов и сырья на земном шаре, и в них расположены наиболее ценные военные базы.»

in military aid, emphasis shifted to the “economically underdeveloped regions” of the capitalist world. Explaining the increased interest in these countries to U.S. imperialists, the authors of the report indicate: “Underdeveloped countries combined... represent a major source of essential minerals and raw materials in the globe, and in them are located the most valuable military bases.”

21. C35, 1955

огромные экономические достижения СССР и Китайской Народной Республики могут произвести впечатление на слаборазвитые страны. Эти страны, сетуют составители доклада, могут убедиться в том что «коммунистический путь является для них лучшим путем достижения быстрого экономического прогресса.»

the enormous economic achievements of the USSR and the People's Republic of China can impress underdeveloped countries. These countries, complain the report's authors, may become convinced that “the communist way is the best way for them to achieve rapid economic progress.”

22. C35, 1955

Авторы доклада явно озабочены тем, Советский Союз «увеличивает число конкретных предложений об оказании технической и финансовой помощи в промышленности и сельском хозяйстве» слаборазвитым странам на подлинно справедливых условиях.

The report's authors are clearly concerned that the Soviet Union “is increasing the number of specific proposals for the provision of technical and financial assistance to industry and agriculture” to underdeveloped

countries under truly fair conditions.

23. C40a, 1957

Советский комитет солидарности стран Азии способствует развитию экономических и культурных связей со странами Азии и Африки, знакомит народы этих стран с достижениями советских республик Средней Азии и Закавказья в развитии их народного хозяйства, национальной культуры.

The Soviet committee of solidarity with Asian countries facilitates the development of economic and cultural links with the countries of Asia and Africa, and familiarises the peoples of these countries with the achievements of the Soviet republics of Central Asia and the Caucasus in the development of their national economy and ethnic culture. (1957, C40)

24. C41, 1957

Уже с конца 1956 г., предвидя создание «еврафриканского сообщества» и открытие «общего рынка», западноевропейские монополисты развернули подготовительные мероприятия по усилению экономической экспансии в Африке. Был создан «Европейский консорциум для развития природных ресурсов Африки» («Консафрик») с центром в Люксембурге. Этот консорциум возглавляют французские и немецкие монополисты, в числе которых представитель крупнейшего французского колониального банка «Банк де Л'Эндошин» Флер и виднейший германский финансист, экономический советник канцлера Аденауэра Герман Абс. Эта мощная банковская группа составляет различные проекты разработки африканских полезных ископаемых. Вся ее деятельность проходит под лозунгом «Африка для европейских трестов».

As early as 1956, anticipating the creation of the "Euro-African Community" and the opening of the "common market", West European monopolists launched preparatory measures to strengthen their economic expansion in Africa. The "European Consortium for the Development of Africa's Natural Resources" ("Consafrique") was created with a centre in Luxembourg. This consortium is led by French and German monopolists, including the representative of the largest French colonial bank, "Banque de l'Indochine", Fleur, and a prominent German financier, economic adviser to Chancellor Adenauer, Hermann Abs. This powerful banking group is developing various projects to process African minerals. All its activities are conducted under the slogan "Africa for European trusts".

25. C55 (in an article not mentioning Africa), 1960

если западные державы примут предложения Н. С. Хрущева о разоружении и высвободят гигантские средства для оказания помощи странам со слаборазвитой экономикой.

if the Western powers accept Khrushchev's proposals on disarmament and free up huge resources for aid to countries with weakly developed economies.

26. C57c, 1960

Большое внимание участники встречи уделили вопросу о помощи журналистам слаборазвитых стран. В резолюции по этому вопросу

предусмотрены конкретные мероприятия, которые должны помочь слаборазвитым странам создать информацию, печать и радио. По инициативе делегатов ряда стран Африки был создан временный комитет сотрудничества африканских журналистов.

The delegates paid great attention to the question of help for journalists of developing countries. A resolution about this included concrete measures which should help developing countries to develop information, both print and radio. Delegates from a range of African countries took the initiative to form a temporary committee of cooperation of African journalists.

27. C61, 1961

Мы празднуем его не только для того, чтобы отметить славу наших предков, построивших пирамиды или самые древние в мире университеты, такие, как «Аль-Азхар», «Зитуна» или «Карауин», отметившего свою 1100-летнюю годовщину, или для того, чтобы пожаловаться на долгие года рабства или колонизации, временно остановивших наше развитие и явившихся причиной серьезной отсталости некоторых районов нашего континента.

We celebrate it not only to celebrate the glory of our ancestors who built the pyramids or the oldest university in the world, such as "Al-Azhar", "Zitouna" or "Karaouine", which celebrated its 1100th anniversary, or to complain about the long years of slavery and colonisation, which temporarily stopped our development and gave cause for serious underdevelopment of some areas of the continent.

28. C63b, 1961

«Вы, господин Аббуд, в своей речи на московском аэродроме сказали, что добиться экономического и социального развития можно лишь путем индустриализации, направленной против происков монополий, которые хотят сохранить за собой Африку в качестве сырьевой базы... Мы можем еще шире торговать друг с другом на взаимовыгодной основе, развивать технико-экономическое сотрудничество. Имеются большие возможности для обмена в области культуры и искусства, науки и образования.»

"You, Mr. Abboud, in your speech at Moscow airport said that to achieve economic and social development is possible only through industrialization, against the machinations of the monopolies that want to retain Africa as a source of raw materials... We can even broaden trade with each other on a reciprocal basis, to develop economic and technological cooperation. There are great opportunities to share in the field of culture and art, science and education."

29. C63b, 1961

Хочу воспользоваться возможностью, чтобы поблагодарить Вас, господин Аббуд,... за высокую оценку усилий Советского Союза в борьбе против колониализма и оказание помощи народам, которые встали на путь самостоятельного развития.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you, Mr. Abboud, ... for the appreciation of the efforts of the Soviet Union in the struggle against colonialism and in helping nations that are on the path of independent development.

30. C73a, 1962

Образование искусственных федераций и разрыв на части единого организма молодых государств, втягивание их в «Общий рынок», который является орудием групповой эксплуатации менее развитых «партнеров», разжигание племенной и национальной вражды, подкуп, заговоры, шантаж — все это взял себе на вооружение империализм, стремясь удержаться на африканском континенте.

The formation of artificial federations and the tearing up of a unified organisation of young states, their drafting into the "Common Market", which is an instrument of group exploitation of less developed "partners", the inciting of tribal and national strife, bribery, conspiracy, blackmail — imperialism took all these as its weapons, in an effort to stay on the African continent.

31. C77, 1963

В Бахр-Даре заканчиваются последние работы по сооружению технической школы на 1.000 мест. Эта школа — дар Советского Союза народу Эфиопии. В будущем учебном году она примет своих первых учащихся. Со всех концов страны в адрес школы и министерства просвещения Эфиопии поступают заявления от юношей и девушек с просьбой принять их на учебу.

«Эта замечательная школа будет центром по подготовке среднего технического персонала для промышленности и сельского хозяйства Эфиопии. В ней также будут готовиться техники и мастера для обслуживания нефтеперерабатывающего завода в Ассабе, строительство которого начнется в ближайшее время под руководством советских специалистов. Трудно найти слова благодарности советскому народу и правительству за такой великолепный подарок, — заявил директор школы А. Абдупахи.

In Bahir Dar work is finishing on the construction of a technical school with 1,000 places. This school is a gift of the Soviet Union to the people of Ethiopia. Next academic year, it will take its first students. From all corners of the country the schools and the Ministry of Education of Ethiopia are receiving applications from young people asking to be accepted to school.

"This is a wonderful school centre for training mid-level technical personnel for industry and agriculture in Ethiopia. It will also prepare technologists and masters to serve the refinery in Assab, the construction of which will begin in the near future under the leadership of Soviet specialists. It is difficult to find words of gratitude to the Soviet people and the government for such a wonderful gift," said the headmaster A. Abdupahi.

32. C136b, 1972

зависимости от иностранных рынков и капитала... многоотраслевого, жизнеспособного национального хозяйства, ликвидации нищеты, безработицы, технической отсталости... замкнутый круг сырьевой, монокультурной экономики... индустриализации и обновления полупервобытной деревни... рост производства в этих странах целиком определяют иностранные фирмы, которые выкачивают полезные ископаемые, создают плантации экспортных тропических культур... рост без развития... Внешние долги стран Африки, по данным ООН,

выросли с 3,3 миллиарда долларов в 1960 году до 8,7 миллиарда в 1968 году. Одни платежи по погашению займов и процентов по ним составили в том же году 625 миллионов долларов. Колоссальные потери несет Африка от валютного кризиса на мировом капиталистическом рынке, колебаний цен на сырье и постоянного роста цен на промышленные товары... Внутриафриканская торговля все еще незначительна.

dependence on foreign markets and capital... diversified, viable national economy, and the eradication of poverty, unemployment and technological backwardness... vicious circle of a raw, single-crop economy, to... upgrade and industrialise a semi-subsistence rural economy... production growth in these countries is determined entirely by foreign firms, which pump out minerals and create export plantations of tropical crops... growth without development... The external debts of African countries, according to the UN, have grown from 3.3 billion dollars in 1960 to 8.7 billion in 1968. Repayments of loans and interest on them alone in the same year came to 625 million dollars. Huge losses from the currency crisis in the world capitalist market, fluctuations in commodity prices and the constant rise in prices for manufactured goods... Intra-African trade is still negligible.

33. C136b, 1972

Недавно... правительство Нигерии. Создана государственная нефтяная компания, в руки государства передана значительная доля акций в нефтедобыче, в крупном новом автосборочном заводе. Правительство Замбии около двух лет назад взяло в свои руки контрольный пакет акций горнорудных компании Медного пояса... Политическое развитие Африки, демократизация ее жизни, связи и дружеские отношения с социалистическими странами и мировым революционным движением во многом будут определять ее успехи в национальном строительстве. Recently the government of Nigeria... created a state oil company, and a large proportion of shares in the oil industry and in a large new car assembly plant passed into the hands of the state. About two years ago the government of Zambia took into its hands a controlling stake in the Copperbelt mining companies... Africa's political development, democratisation of its life, communications and friendly relations with socialist countries and the world revolutionary movement will largely determine its successes in national construction.

34. C183a, 1980

о возрастающей роли и ответственности женщин в общественном развитии, их стремлении внести весомый вклад в обеспечение подлинного равенства и права на мирную жизнь, свободную от социального гнета и экономической эксплуатации. Женщины многих стран мира все шире к активнее включаются в общественную деятельность, вносят свой творческий вклад в материальный, социальный и духовный прогресс человечества.

about the growing role and responsibility of women in social development, their aspiration to make a significant contribution to ensuring genuine equality and the right to live in peace, free from social oppression and economic exploitation. Women in many countries are increasingly being incorporated into social activities and make a creative contribution to the

material, social and spiritual progress of humankind.

35. C197a, 1983

Разумеется, есть африканские страны, особенно ориентирующиеся на социализм, которые добились впечатляющих сдвигов в создании основ современной промышленности и новой системы просвещения, в модернизации сельского хозяйства. Символами прогресса стали построенные и строящиеся при участии Советского Союза такие крупные объекты, как металлургические комбинаты в Аджаокуте (Нигерия), Эль-Хаджаре (Алжир), Хелуане (Египет), нефтеперерабатывающий завод в Асэбе (Эфиопия), и ряд других.

Of course there are African countries, especially those oriented to socialism, which have made impressive progress in establishing the foundations of modern industry and a new system of education in the modernization of agriculture. Symbols of progress built or under construction, with the participation of the Soviet Union, include such large objects as steel mills at Ajaokuta (Nigeria), El-Hajar (Algeria) and Helwan (Egypt), a refinery in Assab (Ethiopia), and several others.

36. C39b, 1957

растущим сопротивлением, как выражаются газеты, «американскому руководству». Это сопротивление захватило не только страны Азии и Африки, недавно получившие национальную независимость

growing resistance, as newspapers call it, to "American leadership." This resistance has not only taken hold of the countries of Asia and Africa which have recently gained national independence.

37. C51, 1959

Африка поднялась против империалистов.... тех, кто борется за свое освобождение от ига колониализма... могучий поток национально-освободительной борьбы народов Африки.

Africa has risen against the imperialists. those who are struggling for their liberation from the yoke of colonialism ... the mighty flow of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Africa.

38. C87a, 1965

ДОЛГ ПЕРЕД АФРИКОЙ

АЛЖИР, 6. (Соб. корр. «Правды»). «Да, мы помогаем конголезским повстанцам. Делая это, мы считаем, что выполняем свой долг по отношению к Конго и к Африке в целом», — заявил Ахмед Бен Белла в интервью тунискому еженедельнику «Жен Африк». Процесс, который развивается в Конго — сердце Африки, — угрожает всему нашему континенту, африканским странам, которые борются за свою независимость, а также странам, уже завоевавшим и отстаивающим свою независимость.

DEBT TO AFRICA

ALGIERS, 6th. ("Pravda"'s own corr.). "Yes, we are helping the Congolese rebels. In doing this, we believe that we are doing our duty to Congo and to Africa as a whole," says Ahmed Ben Bella in an interview with the Tunisian weekly "Jeune Afrique". "The process which is developing in Congo - the

heart of Africa - threatens our entire continent, it threatens African countries that are fighting for their independence as well as countries which have already gained and are asserting their independence.

39. C87b, 1965

Капитан Эрик Бриджес... заявил, что он получил из Леопольдвилья указание отправить к концу этого месяца в Конго не менее 300 человек... Чомбе для привлечения наемников намеревается увеличить месячное жалование солдат в четыре раза — с 50 до 200 фунтов. Captain Eric Bridges... said that he has received from Leopoldville an order to kill at least 300 people this month in Congo... Tshombe intends to attract recruits to his army by increasing soldiers' salaries four times, from 50 to 200 pounds.

40. C151a, 1974

После свержения в Лиссабоне фашистской диктатуры на улицах Бисау, столицы Республики Гвинеи-Бисау, появились портреты Амилкара Кабрала, Генерального секретаря Африканской партии независимости Гвинеи и островов Зеленого Мыса, злодейски убитого агентами ПИДЕ (фашистской охраны) 20 января прошлого года (снимок слева).

After the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Lisbon, on the streets of Bissau, the capital of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, appeared portraits of Amilcar Cabral, Secretary General of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, murdered by agents of the PIDE (Nazi secret police) on January 20 last year.

41. C151b, 1974

Студенты университета Лоренсу-Маркиша, столицы Мозамбика, на митинге солидарности с патриотами Фронта освобождения Мозамбика (снимок справа). Подобные манифестации стали возможными только после изменения политики Лиссабона. Они свидетельствуют о той огромной популярности, которую завоевали в стране бойцы ФРЕЛИМО.

Students of the University of Lourenco Marques, in the capital of Mozambique, at a rally of solidarity with the patriots of the Mozambique Liberation Front (picture right). Such demonstrations have become possible only after the change of policy in Lisbon. They testify to the enormous popularity which Frelimo fighters have earned in the country.

42. C191a, 1981

Сталкиваясь с резким обострением собственных экономических проблем, вызываемым прежде всего политикой интенсивной милитаризации, нарастанием межимпериалистических противоречий, страны Запада ищут выхода из трудностей за счет усиления эксплуатации развивающихся стран.

Faced with a sharp aggravation of their own economic problems caused primarily by a policy of intensive militarization and build-up of imperialist contradictions, Western countries are seeking to overcome their difficulties by increasing the exploitation of developing countries.

43. C191a, 1981

Вот почему развивающиеся страны все решительнее добиваются установления нового международного экономического порядка, который учитывал бы их интересы, а не служил бы только источником обогащения западных монополий. Прежде всего выдвигается требование отказа Запада от протекционистских барьеров, от грабительской политики цен, перераспределения доходов транснациональных корпораций на справедливой основе.

That is why developing countries are vigorously pursuing a new international economic order which would take into account their interests and not only serve as a source of enrichment for Western monopolies. First of all there is a need to reject the West's protectionist barriers and their predatory pricing policy, and a redistribution of the profits of multinational corporations on an equitable basis.

44. C191a, 1981

стремительное увеличение дефицита их торгового баланса = искусственно заниженные уровень цены на импортируемые из молодых государств продовольственные и сырьевые товары = цены на кофе... даже снизились = увеличение торгового дефицита развивающихся стран по сельскохозяйственной продукции более чем на 50 процентов = совокупный дефицит платежного баланса развивающихся стран, не являющихся экспортерами нефти, возрос
rapid increase in the deficit of the trade balance = artificially low prices of food and commodities imported from the young states = prices of coffee ... even declined = increase of more than 50% in the agricultural products trade deficit of developing countries = cumulative deficit of the balance of payments of countries that are not oil exporters has increased.

45. C129a, 1971

Детали соглашения между Лондоном и Солсбери, оглашенные вчера в английском парламенте, подтвердили опасения тех, кто полагал, что на переговорах Дуглас-Хьюма со Смитом была выработана формулировка едва замаскированного предательства интересов африканского населения Родезии... Сегодня в Родезии, в частности, бывшей английской колонии, пять миллионов африканцев лишены элементарных человеческих прав. Политическая и экономическая власть, лучшие земли, сама жизнь принадлежат четверти миллиона белых, точнее говоря, верхушке белых колонизаторов.

The details of the agreement between London and Salisbury, read out yesterday in the British Parliament, confirmed the fears of those who said that in the negotiations between Douglas Hume and Smith was worked out a formulation which barely masked betrayal of the interests of the African population of Rhodesia. ... Today in Rhodesia, in particular, a former British colony, five million Africans are deprived of basic human rights. Political and economic power, the best land, and life itself is owned by a quarter of a million whites, more precisely, the top white colonisers.

46. C129a, 1971

«Сговор!», «Предательство!», «Мюнхен!» — неслось со скамей лейбористской оппозиции... Сотни разгневанных демонстрантов штурмовали подъезд резиденции премьера на Даунинг-стрит. «Смит и

Хит—партнеры по колониализму», «Долой второй Мюнхен!», «Освободите африканских борцов за независимость!» — требовали пикетирующие.

"Conspiracy!" "Betrayal!" "Munich!" swept from the benches of the Labour opposition... Hundreds of angry protesters stormed the entrance to the residence of the Prime Minister in Downing Street. "Smith and Heath are partners in colonialism," "Down with the second Munich!" "Free African fighters for independence!" demanded the picketers.

47. C83b, 1964

Вы, наверное, слышали о том, что колониальные войска, уходя из Алжира, оставили позади, на алжирской земле, минные поля. Сейчас алжирскому народу приходится тщательно выискивать и уничтожать это смертоносное «наследие» колонизаторов для того, чтобы крестьяне могли мирно пахать землю.

You have probably heard that the colonial troops, as they left Algiers, left behind them, on Algerian soil, minefields. Now the Algerian people have to thoroughly seek out and destroy this deadly "legacy" of the colonialists, so that their peasants can peacefully work the soil.

48. C141, 1973

Африка все более убеждается в грабительском характере отношений, которые установили члены «Общего рынка» (ЕЭС) с рядом африканских стран, заявил нигерийский министр У. Бриггс.

Africa is increasingly convinced of the predatory nature of the relationship that members of the "Common Market" (EEC) have established with a number of African countries, said Nigerian Minister W. Briggs.

49. C120b, 1970

Затем следует область социальная: израильяне стремятся — распространить — свое влияние на нарождающийся рабочий класс Африки... Что может подумать об этом африканский профсоюзный деятель, который знает, что излишки продукции — это сверхприбыль, и она увеличивает капитал в Париже, в Лондоне, в Тель-Авиве.

And then there is the social area: Israelis aim to expand their impact to the emerging working class in Africa... What can the African trade unionist think of this, who knows that surplus production is excess profit, and increases capital in Paris, London and Tel Aviv?

50. C40a, 1957

Принципы Бандунга вызвали к жизни мощное движение солидарности и единства народов Азии и Африки, вдохновили народы, все еще борющиеся за свою национальную независимость и свободу, вселили в них уверенность в Торжество их справедливой борьбы.

The Bandung principles gave rise to a powerful movement of solidarity and unity of the peoples of Asia and Africa, and inspired those still fighting for their national independence and freedom, giving them confidence in the triumph of their just struggle.

51. C60a, 1960

В памяти каждого из нас — яркие выступления президента Ганы

Кваме Нкрума, президента Гвинеи Секу Туре, президента ОАР Насера, президента Индонезии Сукарно, премьер-министра Индии Неру, премьер-министра Кубы Фиделя Кастро, представителей многих других стран Азии и Африки делегатов социалистических стран, которые не оставили камня на камне от жалких попыток делегатов США, Англии, Франции и их подголосков обелить и оправдать позорную колониальную систему.

In the memory of each of us are bright performances by President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, the President of Guinea, Sekou Toure, the President of the UAR, Nasser, the President of Indonesia, Sukarno, the Indian Prime Minister, Nehru, the Prime Minister of Cuba, Fidel Castro, and representatives of many other Asian and African countries and delegates of the socialist countries, which left no stone unturned in opposing the pathetic attempts of delegates of the United States, Britain, France and their henchmen to whitewash and justify the shameful colonial system.

52. C86a, 1964

При сравнении программ советской помощи и американской первая выглядит в более выгодном свете. Это проявляется прежде всего в том, что советские представители заключают с **развивающимися странами** соглашения о кредитах, о торговом и техническом сотрудничестве как с равными, суверенными партнерами, без каких-либо политических условий.

When comparing the programmes of Soviet and American aid, the Soviet aid looks better. This manifests itself primarily in the fact that Soviet representatives conclude agreements with developing countries on credit, trade and technical cooperation as with equals, sovereign partners, without any political conditions.

53. C86a, 1964

«Многие обозреватели указывают на характерную особенность советской программы помощи: она концентрируется на строительстве длительных сооружений (металлургические заводы, плотины). В то же время значительную часть американской помощи составляют поставки сельскохозяйственных продуктов в рамках программы «Продовольствие для дела мира» (нередко такие поставки критикуются как способ для США сбыть излишки продуктов сельского хозяйства). Более того, частные американские инвестиции в странах **третьего мира**, чаще всего в форме участия в смешанных компаниях, в глазах населения этих стран имеют колониалистическую окраску. Советский же Союз осуществляет проект и полностью передает построенное предприятие в распоряжение правительства страны».

«В 29 странах, получающих **помощь** социалистического блока, — продолжает журнал, — технических специалистов больше, чем в 94 странах, которым оказывают помощь США. Главная причина такого положения в том, что коммунистическая помощь направляется, в первую очередь, в области планирования, строительства, технической консультации.

Что касается американского Корпуса мира, его деятельность неубедительна и вызывает разноречивые толки».

"Many observers point to the characteristic feature of the Soviet aid programme: it concentrates on building long-term facilities (steel mills and dams). At the same time, a significant portion of U.S. aid includes supplies of agricultural products within the framework of "Food for Peace" (such supplies are often criticised as a way for the U.S. to sell its surplus agricultural products). Moreover, private U.S. investment in Third World countries, mostly in the form of participation in mixed companies, in the eyes of the population of these countries has colonialist overtones. When the Soviet Union implements a project, it hands over the completely built undertaking to the management of the government of the country."

"In the 29 beneficiary countries of the socialist bloc - continues the magazine - there are more specialist technicians than in the 94 countries which the United States assists. The main reason for this situation is that Communist assistance is directed, most of all, at planning, construction and technical advice.

"As for the American Peace Corps, its activities are unconvincing and give rise to contradictory rumours."

54. C60a, 1960

В борьбе против варварского колониализма миролюбивые народы одержали крупную победу: Генеральная Ассамблея Организации Объединенных Наций приняла Декларацию о предоставлении независимости колониальным странам и народам, проект которой был внесен 43 странами Азии и Африки.

Советская общественность горячо приветствует этот важный итог «великой дискуссии», которая развернулась в стенах ООН по инициативе делегации Советского Союза.

В сентябре этого года глава Советского правительства Н. С. Хрущев внес на рассмотрение Генеральной Ассамблеи Декларацию о предоставлении независимости колониальным странам и народам.

In the fight against barbaric colonialism, peaceful nations have won a major victory: the General Assembly of the United Nations has adopted the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the draft of which was submitted by 43 countries in Asia and Africa.

The Soviet public warmly welcomes this important result of the "great debate", which was developed in the walls of the UN on the initiative of the delegation of the Soviet Union.

In September this year, the head of the Soviet government, Khrushchev, introduced to the General Assembly the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

55. C124a, 1970

Африка требует: НИКАКОЙ ПОДДЕРЖКИ РАСИСТАМ!

Выступления в Политическом комитете совета министров ОАЕ

• Призыв Фронта освобождения Мозамбика • Разоблачение лицемерной политики западных держав • 4 года вооруженной борьбы народа Намибии

Africa demands: NO SUPPORT TO RACISTS!

Speech in the Political committee of the council of ministers of the OAU

• Call of the Mozambique Liberation Front • Exposing the Hypocritical

56. C136b, 1972

Голос Африки громко звучит и на международной арене; он обличает расизм и колониализм, опасные дела и замыслы колониалистов и неокolonизаторов.

The voice of Africa sounds loudly in the international arena; it denounces racism and colonialism, dangerous business and the ideas of colonialists and neo-colonialists.

57. C197a, 1983

День освобождения **Африки**, который ежегодно отмечается 25 мая, прочно вошел в календарь международных знаменательных дат. Именно в этот день двадцать лет назад в Аддис-Абебе была создана Организация **африканского** единства. Она объединила все независимые государства континента, стала выразителем чаяний его народов.

African Liberation Day, celebrated annually on May 25, has become firmly established in the international calendar of significant dates. On this day twenty years ago in Addis Ababa the Organization of African Unity was established. It brought together all the independent states of the continent, and became the expression of the aspirations of its peoples.

58. C211, 1985

борются с эксплуатацией и угнетением, расизмом, угрозой войны, голодом, болезнями и нищетой; они выступают за справедливость, социальный прогресс и мир. Их борьба является составной частью национально-освободительной и социальной революции, движения за разоружение, разрядку и всеобщий мир. Более того, они несут огромные жертвы, чтобы отстоять свое существование и революционные завоевания.

are battling with exploitation and oppression, racism, the threat of war, hunger, illnesses and extreme poverty; they are standing up for justice, social progress and peace. Their battle is an integral part of a national-liberation and social revolution, of a movement for disarmament, détente and universal peace. Moreover, they are bearing enormous sacrifices, to defend their existence and revolutionary gains.

59. C211, 1985

народ Эфиопии решительно вступил в борьбу за создание общества, основывающегося на принципах справедливости, равенства, мира, на путях построения социализма.

the people of Ethiopia decisively entered a struggle to create a society founded on the principles of justice, equality, peace and on the roads to build socialism.

60. C211, 1985

Все миролюбивые силы планеты высоко ценят и твердо поддерживают усилия Советского Союза, предпринимаемые для обуздания гонки вооружений и сокращения уже имеющихся запасов оружия.

All the peace-loving forces of the planet value highly and strongly support the efforts which the Soviet Union has made to curb the arms race and reduce weapons stockpiles.

61. C213e, 1986

Обстановка накаляется

На письменный стол ложатся сообщения из разных точек африканского Юга.

Улица, центр ангольской провинции Уила. Командующий пятым военным округом майор Луиш Фасейра сообщил журналистам, что новое вторжение расистов может начаться в любой момент.

The situation is heating up

On the desk lie messages from different parts of southern Africa.

A street in the centre of the Angolan province of Huila. The commander of the fifth military region, General Luis Faseyra, has told reporters that a new invasion of racists could begin at any time.

62. C220c, 1987

За последние два десятилетия, по данным мировой печати, расходы африканских стран на вооружение возросли в девять раз. Ассигнования на военную «помощь» Африке из США в 1986 году выросли по сравнению с 1980 годом в три раза.

For the past two decades, according to the world press, expenditure of African countries on arms increased nine times. Provision for military "aid" to Africa from the United States in 1986 increased three times compared with 1980.

63. C221a, 1987

Характерно, что, когда советская делегация отправлялась на свою первую международную конференцию в Геную, В. И. Ленин ратовал за то, чтобы превратить ее в «конференцию по экономическому развитию Европы и разоружению».

Characteristically, when the Soviet delegation sent to its first international conference in Genoa, Lenin fought for something to turn it into a "conference on the economic development of Europe and disarmament".

64. C219, 1987

Высвобождаемые в результате этих сокращений средства не должны направляться на создание новых видов оружия или на другие военные цели; они должны использоваться для нужд экономического и социального развития.

The resources freed up as a result of these cuts should not be put towards the creation of new types of arms or other military aims; they should be used for the needs of economic and social development.

65. C233b, 1990

- Вы давно возглавляете сборную Камеруна? — спросил я его.
- С января 1989 года. До этого с ней работал француз Клод ле Руа, тренирующий ныне сенегальцев. Два года назад он ушел из команды, и тогда пригласили двух советских тренеров — меня и Льва Броварского, который играл в свое время в «Карпатах». Меня назначили в первую сборную, а он возглавил молодежную и юношескую Камеруна.
- How long have you led the team in Cameroon? - I asked him.
- From January 1989. Before that, the Frenchman Claude Le Roy worked with them. He is now coaching the Senegalese. Two years ago he left the team, and then they invited two Soviet coaches - me and Leo Brovarsny, who played in his time in the "Carpathians". I was assigned to the first team, and he led the junior and youth teams of Cameroon.

66. C244, 1995

Достижения и трудности африканцев вызывают ваш интерес не только в силу еще сохранившегося у большинства чувства солидарности, но и потому, что они во многом решают те же проблемы, что и мы. Африка — огромная социальная лаборатория, в которой опробовались различные модели социально-экономического развития — от капиталистического до социалистически ориентированного.

The achievements and challenges of Africans arouse your interest not only because we have retained a feeling of solidarity with most of them, but also because they are largely trying to solve the same problems that we are. Africa is a huge social laboratory, in which different models of social and economic development, from capitalist to socialist-oriented, have been tested.

67. C244, 1995

Нужно обеспечить регулирование рождаемости, рациональное использование площадей, возвращение биосферы в устойчивое состояние. Но смогут ли нынешние африканские государства решить такие задачи?

Birth control, rational use of space, and the return of the biosphere to a stable state must be provided. But will today's African states be able to solve such problems?

68. C244, 1995

Выход развивающихся стран, число жителей которых уже сегодня составляет четыре взятых населения Земли, на уровень потребления современных индустриальных государств неизбежно повлечет за собой резкое увеличение потребления природных ресурсов и настолько усилит разрушающее воздействие современной цивилизации на внешнюю среду (ее загрязнение, деградация и сокращение плодородных земель, разрушение защищающего от

радиации озонового слоя и т.д.), что поставит, под вопрос выживание человечества.

Developing countries, whose number of people today already makes up four parts of the Earth's population, rising to the level of consumption of modern industrial states, will inevitably lead to a sharp increase in use of natural resources, and so will reinforce the damaging effects of modern initiatives on the environment (pollution, degradation and reduction of arable land, the destruction of the ozone layer which protects us from radiation, etc.), which will put into question the survival of humankind.

69. C244, 1995

Африканские государства, многонациональные в своем большинстве, оказались фактически безоружными перед лицом агрессивного национализма, породляющего сепаратизм, национальные и межэтнические конфликты.

African states, mostly multinational, were virtually unarmed in the face of aggressive nationalism, vile separatism, and national and ethnic conflicts.

70. C244, 1995

Казалось бы: какое нам дело до проблем Африки? Государства региона – наши друзья и партнеры. Наша национальная концепция должна быть составной частью международной, а доработать ее без учета того, что происходит более чем в 50 государствах Черного континента, - невозможно. Парламентские слушания по национальной стратегии устойчивого развития убедительно показали, что учет опыта других государств совершенно необходим.

One would think: what business are Africa's problems of ours? The states of the region are our friends and partners. Our national concept should be an integral part of our international concept, and modifying it without taking into account what is happening in more than 50 countries of the Black continent is impossible. Parliamentary hearings on the national strategy for sustainable development have convincingly shown that the experience of other countries is absolutely necessary.

71. C247, 1998

Ведь на практике Вашингтон пытается реколонизировать их земли, причем при полном игнорировании происходящих на континенте противоположных тенденций к укреплению там самостоятельного и независимого развития.

After all, in practice, Washington is trying to recolonise their lands, moreover in complete ignorance of the existence on the continent of opposite trends, to strengthen self-reliant and independent development there.

Annex 4 – 2007 and 2014 Concepts

2007 - Russian and English

Утверждена
Президентом
Российской
Федерации
14 июня 2007 г.

Концепция участия Российской Федерации в содействии международному развитию

Концепция участия России в содействии международному развитию (далее – СМР) представляет собой систему взглядов на содержание и основные направления политики Российской Федерации в области оказания зарубежным странам финансовой, технической, гуманитарной и иной помощи, призванной способствовать социально-экономическому развитию государств-реципиентов, урегулированию кризисных ситуаций, возникающих вследствие стихийных явлений и/или международных конфликтов, а также укреплению международных позиций и авторитета Российской Федерации.

Настоящая Концепция призвана обеспечить системность подхода федеральных органов исполнительной власти к участию России в содействии международному развитию.

Концепция определяет основные цели, задачи и принципы политики Российской Федерации в области содействия международному развитию.

Правовую базу Концепции участия России в содействии международному развитию составляют Конституция Российской Федерации, Концепция внешней политики Российской Федерации, Концепция национальной безопасности Российской Федерации, Бюджетный кодекс Российской Федерации. Кроме того, Концепция основывается на положениях Устава ООН и других международных документов, таких как Декларация тысячелетия, Монтеррейский консенсус, Йоханнесбургский план выполнения решений Всемирной встречи на высшем уровне по устойчивому развитию, Итоговый документ Всемирного саммита 2005 года, Парижская декларация и другие.

I. Общие положения

В эпоху глобализации мировой экономики, проявляющейся, в том числе, в усилении интеграции товарных и финансовых рынков, динамичное и устойчивое развитие любой страны не может не зависеть от положения в экономике как ее ближайших соседей, так и многих государств дальнего зарубежья. По этой причине политика развитых стран в сфере СМР, объединенных, в частности, в

Организацию экономического сотрудничества и развития, исходит из того, что неокказание помощи слаборазвитым государствам увеличивает риски развития всей мировой экономики, подрывает стабильность и безопасность в большинстве регионов мира, увеличивает угрозу распространения терроризма, инфекционных заболеваний, неконтролируемой миграции, экологических катастроф.

Российская Федерация рассматривает устойчивое социально-экономическое развитие стран и народов как необходимый элемент современной системы коллективной безопасности. Четко выраженная, адресноориентированная социально-экономическая составляющая международных инициатив способна существенно обогатить проекты и программы, направленные на поиск адекватных ответов на глобальные вызовы и угрозы современности.

Несмотря на очевидный прогресс, мировое сообщество по-прежнему сталкивается с многочисленными вызовами развития. Более 1 млрд. человек проживает менее чем на 1 доллар в день. Свыше 100 млн. детей в развивающихся странах не имеют доступа к начальному образованию. Средняя продолжительность жизни в этих государствах составляет 40 лет. Ежегодно там умирают 10 млн. детей в возрасте до 5 лет. Остро стоит вопрос борьбы с такими инфекционными заболеваниями, как ВИЧ/СПИД, малярия, туберкулез. По имеющимся оценкам, уже к 2010 году распространение этих заболеваний приведет к сокращению ВВП стран Африки южнее Сахары на 20 процентов.

Россия разделяет точку зрения о том, что основная ответственность за преодоление бедности и отсталости лежит, прежде всего, на правительствах самих развивающихся государств. Вместе с тем, очевидно, что кардинальное улучшение социально-экономического положения этих стран возможно только при условии принятия мировым сообществом решительных и согласованных мер по содействию их развитию. Успехи ряда государств по сокращению уровня бедности и обеспечению устойчивого экономического роста доказывают фундаментальное значение СМР в противодействии основным вызовам, стоящим перед человечеством в XXI веке.

Следствием такого видения роли и места СМР в мировой экономике и политике стало то, что, начиная с 2000 г., страны, объединенные в Комитет содействия развитию (КСР) ОЭСР, предоставили официальную помощь развитию (далее – ОПР) на сумму около 420 млрд. долл. США. При этом четко прослеживается тенденция ежегодного увеличения объемов помощи со стороны доноров, так с 2000 г. по 2005 г. объем предоставленной помощи вырос с 53 млрд. долл. США до 105 млрд. долл. США в год.

До последнего времени участие России в СМР, в основном по объективным причинам, было весьма ограниченным как по масштабам, так и по формам предоставляемой помощи. Однако даже в самые трудные для нее времена, Россия не прекращала участвовать в гуманитарных операциях, осуществляла регулярные взносы в международные организации, соглашалась на облегчение долгового бремени нуждающихся государств. Важнейшей предпосылкой к переходу на качественно новый уровень российских усилий в этих областях является кардинальное улучшение экономического положения страны, в т.ч. существенный рост финансовых возможностей.

С 2000 года Россия имеет профицитный федеральный бюджет, устойчивый платежный баланс. В 2005 году, впервые с 1994 года, чистый вывоз капитала частным сектором экономики был примерно равен его чистому ввозу. После периода стагнации устойчивую тенденцию к росту демонстрируют расходы

федерального бюджета по предоставлению государственных кредитов зарубежным странам. В разы увеличились взносы России в различные международные программы и фонды поддержки развивающихся стран.

Существующие макроэкономические предпосылки позволяют ставить в практическую плоскость вопрос об изменении объемов и структуры расходов на цели СМР. Если в последние годы участие России в СМР осуществлялось, главным образом, в форме списания задолженности по ранее предоставленным бывшим СССР кредитам, например, в рамках Инициативы по облегчению долгового бремени беднейших стран, то в настоящее время на первое место выходят механизмы оказания помощи в форме грантов в международные фонды и программы СМР, а в перспективе, с созданием и развитием инструментов национальной системы СМР, в форме двусторонней помощи.

Значимым фактором, оказывающим прямое влияние на деятельность федеральных органов исполнительной власти в рассматриваемой области, является заметное наращивание усилий партнеров России по «Группе восьми» в сфере СМР.

В то же время необходимо учитывать, что за весь период существования Российской Федерации каких-либо программных документов государственного уровня по вопросам участия нашей страны в СМР не принималось. Федеральные органы исполнительной власти – МИД России, Минфин России, МЧС России и другие – оказывают международную помощь в соответствии с отдельными решениями Правительства Российской Федерации, каждый раз исходя из конкретных задач – осуществление «планового» взноса в ту или иную международную организацию, участие в ликвидации последствий природных и техногенных катастроф, принятие совместно с партнерами по Парижскому клубу той или иной схемы урегулирования задолженности отдельных государств и т.п. Россия является единственной страной «Группы восьми», законодательство которой и нормативные документы Правительства которой вообще не содержат категории «официальная помощь развитию» (далее – ОПР).

Таким образом, современные реалии мировой политики и экономики, статус России как великой державы, предполагают активизацию политики нашей страны в сфере СМР, в том числе увеличение бюджетных расходов на СМР.

В свою очередь, рост этих расходов, расширение числа форм оказания помощи требует принятия программного документа (настоящей Концепции) с выделением в нем приоритетных направлений и механизмов реализации политики в данной области. В то же время несистемное использование средств федерального бюджета на оказание ОПР не даст должного экономического и социального результата в странах-получателях российской помощи, не принесет политико-экономического эффекта и самой России.

Более активная и целенаправленная политика России в сфере содействия международному развитию на основе настоящей Концепции отвечает национальным экономическим и политическим интересам, так как будет способствовать: укреплению международных позиций и авторитета России; стабилизации социально-экономической и политической ситуации в странах-партнерах России, формированию пояса добрососедства; противодействию возникновения потенциальных очагов напряженности и конфликтов, прежде всего, в прилегающих к Российской Федерации регионах; и, в конечном счете, созданию благоприятных внешних условий для развития самой Российской Федерации.

Настоящая Концепция определяет порядок и основные принципы создания национальной системы содействия международному развитию, которая будет

формироваться поэтапно. На первом этапе будет разработана и утверждена необходимая нормативно-правовая база, осуществлен отбор приоритетных направлений помощи, установлены и отлажены каналы взаимодействия со странами-партнерами и международными организациями, разработаны механизмы доведения помощи как на двусторонней, так и на многосторонней основе, сформирован круг заинтересованных национальных участников содействия международному развитию, определены области и формы взаимодействия с бизнесом в вопросах содействия развитию, реализованы первые программы помощи, осуществлена оценка их результатов. Будет проводиться активная информационная и разъяснительная работа.

Накопление достаточного опыта и объемов российского СМР на основе настоящей Концепции позволит перейти к учреждению специализированного государственного института СМР, внедрению специальных программ и инструментов помощи, отладке и модернизации уже действующих механизмов, а также расширению масштабов программ помощи развитию.

II. Цели и принципы участия России в содействии международному развитию. Критерии предоставления российской помощи государствам-получателям

Политика Российской Федерации в области содействия международному развитию будет основываться на «Целях развития тысячелетия», зафиксированных в Декларации ООН 2000 года, положениях Концепции внешней политики Российской Федерации и Концепции национальной безопасности Российской Федерации, а также на соблюдении разумного баланса между ее целями и возможностями для их достижения.

Российская политика в области развития призвана содействовать выполнению всеми странами согласованных на международном уровне целей, включая «Цели развития тысячелетия» ООН при обеспечении приоритетного внимания потребностям стран с низким уровнем доходов.

С учетом этого политика Российской Федерации в области содействия международному развитию будет преследовать следующие цели:

- воздействие на общемировые процессы в целях формирования стабильного, справедливого и демократического миропорядка, строящегося на общепризнанных нормах международного права и партнерских отношениях между государствами;
- ликвидация бедности и обеспечение устойчивого экономического развития в развивающихся и постконфликтных странах;
- преодоление последствий гуманитарных, природных, экологических, техногенных катастроф, а также других чрезвычайных ситуаций;
- содействие процессам демократизации в странах-получателях помощи, а также процессам построения рыночно-ориентированной экономики и соблюдения прав человека;
- развитие политических, экономических, образовательных, общественных, культурных и научных связей с зарубежными странами и межгосударственными объединениями;
- формирование пояса добрососедства по периметру российских границ, противодействие возникновению и содействие устранению очагов напряженности и конфликтов, источников незаконного оборота наркотиков, международного

терроризма и преступности, прежде всего в прилегающих к Российской Федерации регионах;

- развитие торгово-экономического сотрудничества России со странами-партнерами;
- стимулирование процессов интеграции национальных рынков стран-получателей с российскими рынками капитала, товаров, услуг и рабочей силы;
- укрепление авторитета и содействие объективному восприятию Российской Федерации в мировом сообществе.

Наращивая усилия в сфере СМР, Россия будет в то же время исходить из того, что сам процесс оказания помощи зарубежным странам является весьма сложным и комплексным, так как предполагает учет многочисленных интересов и факторов развития. Кроме того, этот процесс несет в себе определенные, а в некоторых случаях, значительные риски, связанные с опасностью «подпитки» коррупции, нецелевым использованием получаемых средств, сохранением и даже консервацией иждивенческого, неэффективного государственного управления.

В этой связи, а также в соответствии со сформулированными целями, участие Российской Федерации в содействии международному развитию, за исключением случаев предоставления продовольственной и гуманитарной помощи в чрезвычайных ситуациях и при стихийных бедствиях, будет осуществляться на основе следующих принципов:

- наличие в странах-получателях национальных программ и стратегий борьбы с бедностью и обеспечения устойчивого экономического развития и их реализация в соответствии с принципом взаимной ответственности стран-доноров и получателей в рамках глобального партнерства в целях достижения устойчивого развития и ликвидации нищеты;
- наличие в странах-получателях политических тенденций или проведение ими реформ, направленных на развитие в странах-получателях общественных институтов в сфере образования, здравоохранения, социальной поддержки малоимущих и т.п.;
- реализация странами-партнерами национальных программ в области борьбы с коррупцией;
- прозрачность процесса принятия решений о предоставлении и использовании помощи; стабильность и предсказуемость расходов федерального бюджета, ассигнуемых на цели СМР;
- координация принимаемых Россией мер в области содействия развитию с действиями других двусторонних и многосторонних доноров;
- учет экологических и социальных последствий соответствующих проектов и мер;
- демонстрация государством-получателем заинтересованности в поступательном развитии двусторонних отношений сотрудничества с Россией.

При оказании помощи будет применяться индивидуальный подход, предусматривающий всесторонний учет политических, экономических, социальных и национальных особенностей каждого государства-получателя помощи. Будет вестись активный диалог с государствами-получателями помощи. Российская Федерация поддерживает усилия и инициативы по повышению качества, результативности и эффективности использования международного содействия развитию, в частности, Парижскую декларацию по повышению эффективности помощи 2005 года, и будет участвовать в выработке общих подходов международного сообщества в этой области и реализации согласованных решений.

III. Региональные и иные приоритеты участия России в содействии международному развитию. Используемые Россией формы содействия международному развитию

С учетом положений Концепции внешней политики Российской Федерации содействие международному развитию будет выстраиваться в соответствии со следующими региональными приоритетами:

- обеспечение интересов Российской Федерации в многоплановом сотрудничестве с государствами-участниками СНГ при особом внимании к странам-членам Соглашения о формировании Единого экономического пространства (ЕЭП) и Евразийского экономического сообщества (ЕврАзЭС), укрепление интеграционных процессов на пространстве СНГ;

- активизация шагов по участию в интеграционных структурах Азиатско-Тихоокеанского региона и развитие партнерских отношений с ведущими азиатскими государствами во всех областях, в т.ч. в сфере совместных мер по оказанию помощи беднейшим странам;

- удовлетворение особых потребностей Африки, в т.ч. содействие государствам Африки южнее Сахары в борьбе с бедностью и достижении «Целей развития тысячелетия» ООН;

- укрепление связей со странами Ближнего Востока и Северной Африки;

- развитие сотрудничества со странами Латинской Америки.

С учетом региональной направленности политики в сфере СМР Российская Федерация намерена оказывать зарубежным странам помощь в следующих приоритетных областях:

- борьба с энергетической бедностью путем создания предпосылок для обеспечения доступа населения к важнейшим ресурсам жизнедеятельности, прежде всего, электроэнергии;
- укрепление национальных систем здравоохранения и социальной защиты, ориентированных, в том числе на противодействие распространению инфекционных заболеваний;
- содействие в повышении доступности и качества образования населения, прежде всего, начального и профессионального образования;
- содействие развитию институциональных систем стран-получателей как основы развития национальной инфраструктуры социальной сферы, а также трансграничной торговли;
- создание и укрепление национальных систем борьбы с международным терроризмом, в том числе, в сфере противодействия финансированию деятельности террористических групп и организаций;
- укрепление и повышение эффективности систем государственного управления;
- поддержка усилий по скорейшему урегулированию военных конфликтов во всех регионах мира, постконфликтному миростроительству, поступательному социально-экономическому развитию стран, переживших конфликты, и недопущению возобновления в них вооруженного противостояния, в том числе путем расширения участия России в международных операциях по поддержанию мира, а также в контексте участия России в Комиссии ООН по миростроительству;
- улучшение условий торговли в т.ч. путем упрощения процедур трансграничного перемещения товаров и услуг;

- укрепление потенциала и принятие конкретных мер в области охраны окружающей среды и решении трансграничных экологических проблем;
- поддержка усилий стран-получателей в области промышленного развития и инноваций;
- стимулирование экономической активности в странах-получателях и создание предпосылок для участия в ней беднейших слоев населения;
- содействие развитию институтов демократического общества, включая защиту прав человека.

Наращивая усилия в перечисленных выше областях СМР, Российская Федерация намерена учитывать накопленный международный опыт. Основной формой ОПР являются специальные программы борьбы с бедностью, совместно разработанные и реализуемые странами-получателями как с многосторонними так и двусторонними донорами за счет льготных финансовых ресурсов, передаваемых стране-получателю помощи. Для реализации программ борьбы с бедностью на двусторонней основе необходимо формирование таких предпосылок, как наличие каналов доведения помощи до бенефициара и нормативно-правовой базы для перечисления средств из федерального бюджета Российской Федерации в национальные бюджеты стран-получателей.

До создания указанных предпосылок содействие международному развитию будет осуществляться Российской Федерацией, главным образом, в форме помощи, предоставляемой на многосторонней основе, то есть путем внесения добровольных и целевых взносов в международные финансовые и экономические организации, прежде всего в программы, фонды, спецучреждения ООН, региональные экономические комиссии и другие организации, реализующие программы развития, участия в финансировании глобальных фондов, а также в реализации специальных международных инициатив, осуществляемых в рамках «Группы восьми», Всемирного банка, МВФ, организаций системы ООН.

СМР, осуществляемое через международные организации, дает возможность России использовать основные преимущества этой формы помощи: использование системы финансового контроля, наличие отлаженных институциональных механизмов доведения помощи до получателей и дополнительных возможностей по координации и гармонизации помощи, использование технического (экспертного) потенциала и знаний.

Одновременно Россия намерена использовать и развивать имеющийся потенциал, для предоставления помощи на двусторонней основе. Такая помощь будет оказываться в следующих формах:

- целевые финансовые гранты или безвозмездные поставки товаров и/или оказание услуг;
- предоставление кредитов, соответствующих по классификации ОЭСР «официальной помощи развитию», для финансирования поставок промышленной продукции в страны-получатели или реализация на их территории инвестиционных проектов на условиях срочности (кредит используется в сроки более длительные по сравнению с коммерческими кредитами), платности (по льготным процентным ставкам) и возвратности (выделенные средства не являются безвозмездной помощью);
- оказание технического содействия путем передачи странам-получателям знаний и опыта в целях развития национальных институтов в области здравоохранения, образования, защиты окружающей среды, борьбы со стихийными бедствиями, противодействия терроризму;

- облегчение долгового бремени, в т.ч. путем использования схемы «долг в обмен на программы развития» при условии принятия дебитором обязательств по направлению высвобождающихся ресурсов на цели социально-экономического развития страны;
- оказание продовольственной и гуманитарной помощи в чрезвычайных ситуациях и при стихийных бедствиях;
- содействие в упрощении и удешевлении, а также поддержке безопасности и эффективности национальных и международных систем денежных переводов;
- предоставление развивающимся странам тарифных преференций и иных льгот в целях облегчения доступа производимых ими товаров и услуг на российские рынки.

Кроме того, содействие международному развитию будет оказываться Россией и на трехсторонней основе, предполагающей использование финансовых и организационно-технических возможностей «традиционных» стран-доноров, а также международных организаций. Такая помощь будет предоставляться через уже существующие или вновь создаваемые трастовые фонды Всемирного банка, ООН, ее специализированных учреждений и других институтов. При этом за Россией останется выбор страны-получателя, направления оказания помощи и возможность использования российских специалистов при оказании технического содействия.

Основным источником финансирования проектов и программ, в которых будет принимать участие Российская Федерация, являются средства федерального бюджета. Россия намерена сохранить наметившуюся в последние три года тенденцию последовательного увеличения объемов принимаемых обязательств по финансированию программ в области СМР. Так, если в 2003 году размер принятых Российской Федерацией обязательств по оказанию содействия международному развитию составил около 50 млн. долл. США, то в 2006 году данный показатель с учетом принятых в ходе председательства России в «Группе восьми» обязательств достиг 215 млн. долл. США. Уже в ближайшие годы Россия намерена довести размер своего участия в СМР до 400-500 млн. долл. США в год.

По мере формирования соответствующих социально-экономических предпосылок Россия будет и далее наращивать объемы средств, выделяемых на СМР, таким образом, чтобы создавать устойчивую тенденцию к достижению в перспективе рекомендуемой ООН цели о выделении на СМР не менее 0,7% ВВП.

В то же время, Российская Федерация признает важность инновационных источников и механизмов финансирования международного развития, к числу которых относится, например, инициатива по авансированным обязательствам по закупкам вакцин (АМС). В этой связи Россия готова рассматривать вопрос о степени и модальностях своего участия в отдельных инициативах в этой области, направленных на выявление дополнительных источников финансирования международного развития по государственным, частным, внутренним и внешним каналам.

IV. Планирование и администрирование содействия международному развитию

Решение об оказании содействия принимается Правительством Российской Федерации по представлению МИДа России и Минфина России с участием заинтересованных федеральных органов исполнительной власти.

Планирование и финансирование расходов по участию России в содействии международному развитию является частью процесса подготовки и исполнения федерального бюджета, а также среднесрочного финансового плана. Выделение средств федерального бюджета для участия России в СМР будет происходить в рамках процедур и регламентов, предусмотренных Бюджетным кодексом Российской Федерации. При этом в сам Кодекс предполагается внести необходимые изменения и дополнения для обеспечения эффективного функционирования национального механизма содействия международному развитию, включая введение категории «официальная помощь развитию», кредиты ОПР, техническое содействие и ряд других.

Согласование расходов по участию России в СМР, включая определение страновых и региональных приоритетов, степени политической целесообразности оказания помощи, объемов, каналов доведения, форм и условий предоставляемой помощи осуществляется совместно Министерством иностранных дел Российской Федерации и Министерством финансов Российской Федерации в ходе консультаций с заинтересованными федеральными органами исполнительной власти.

Исходя из запланированного предельного уровня бюджетного финансирования СМР, в целях обеспечения своевременного принятия решений относительно участия России в СМР заинтересованные федеральные органы исполнительной власти в установленные сроки на ежегодной основе направляют в Министерство финансов Российской Федерации свои предложения по объемам требуемого финансирования с необходимыми обоснованиями, согласованные с Министерством иностранных дел Российской Федерации, для включения их заявок в проект перспективного финансового плана и федерального бюджета на очередной год.

Министерство финансов Российской Федерации обеспечивает включение согласованных расходов на СМР в проект федерального бюджета, осуществляет доведение до главных распорядителей, распорядителей и получателей средств федерального бюджета показателей сводной бюджетной росписи, лимитов бюджетных обязательств и объемов финансирования на эти цели, а также при участии Федерального казначейства организует своевременное фондирование соответствующих расходов федерального бюджета. Ответственность за их целевое использование лежит на тех органах федеральной исполнительной власти, которые обеспечивают непосредственное выполнение бюджета в части предполагаемых расходов.

Планирование участия России в СМР осуществляется на трехлетний период и сочетается с формированием среднесрочного финансового плана. Такое планирование включает следующие элементы:

- анализ и прогноз развития экономики Российской Федерации, включая доходы и расходы федерального бюджета;
- сбор и анализ информации о политическом и социально-экономическом состоянии государств-получателей российской помощи, а также о торгово-экономических и других связях этих государств с Российской Федерацией;
- анализ хода реализации действующих и предполагаемых к реализации многосторонних инициатив в области содействия международному развитию;
- анализ и прогнозирование потребностей развивающихся стран в различных формах содействия развитию;
- определение оптимальных объемов российского содействия международному развитию; прогнозирование объемов средств, выделяемых на

содействие международному развитию, со стороны российских частных компаний и некоммерческих организаций;

- определение соотношения между предоставлением помощи на многосторонней и двусторонней основе, а также видовой и отраслевой структур содействия.

Планирование служит основой для последующего формирования федерального закона о федеральном бюджете на соответствующий год в части расходов на цели содействия международному развитию, а также для разработки перспективного финансового плана. Годовые программы содержат описание мероприятий в сфере СМР.

Рассмотрение вопроса и принятие решения об оказании содействия международному развитию осуществляется в следующих ситуациях:

- по инициативе заинтересованных федеральных органов власти Российской Федерации, а также органов власти субъектов Российской Федерации, имеющих общие границы со странами-получателями российской помощи;

- при обращении государства-получателя с просьбой об оказании такого содействия;

- в случае возникновения чрезвычайных ситуаций и при стихийных бедствиях;

- при обращении международной организации с предложением оказать финансовое или техническое содействие в реализации той или иной инициативы.

При наличии внутренних вооруженных конфликтов или каких-либо иных сдерживающих политических и экономических факторов решение об оказании содействия стране будет приниматься на основе анализа каждого конкретного случая с учетом особенностей того или иного государства-получателя помощи. Во избежание ненадлежащего использования в такой ситуации государством-получателем выделяемых средств, помощь будет предоставляться в форме поставок гуманитарных грузов, продовольствия и оказания технического содействия.

При этом при прочих равных условиях предпочтение отдается проектам и программам, предусматривающим использование товаров или услуг российского происхождения. Соответствующие предложения и обоснования подлежат согласованию с Министерством промышленности и энергетики Российской Федерации.

Министерство иностранных дел Российской Федерации и Министерство экономического развития и торговли Российской Федерации совместно с Министерством финансов Российской Федерации обеспечивают подготовку информационно-аналитических данных относительно политического, социально-экономического и финансового состояния государств-получателей, а также сведений о торгово-экономических и иных связях этих государств с Российской Федерацией, о выполнении программы социально-экономического развития и/или стратегии по борьбе с бедностью (при ее наличии), об осуществлении мероприятий по борьбе с коррупцией и обеспечению прозрачности в вопросах использования международной помощи развитию.

Министерство иностранных дел Российской Федерации и Министерство финансов Российской Федерации обеспечивают информационное сопровождение операций по оказанию помощи и предоставляют соответствующие официальные сведения правительствам зарубежных стран и международным организациям.

V. Организация учета и оценка эффективности участия России в содействии международному развитию

Информация об объемах и формах участия Российской Федерации в содействии международному развитию подлежит оперативному учету федеральными органами исполнительной власти, которые непосредственно осуществляют оказание ОПР. Министерство финансов Российской Федерации организует аналитический учет средств, направляемых Россией на СМР, разрабатывает методические указания по организации оперативного учета федеральными органами исполнительной власти предоставляемой помощи и утверждает соответствующие формы отчетности. Министерство финансов Российской Федерации направляет обобщенные данные об участии России в СМР в Организацию экономического сотрудничества и развития (ОЭСР).

Оценка эффективности использования средств федерального бюджета на цели СМР осуществляется Министерством финансов Российской Федерации и Министерством иностранных дел Российской Федерации при содействии других заинтересованных министерств и ведомств на основе применения соответствующих правил и критериев, важнейшими из которых являются следующие:

- достижение запланированного результата оказания ОПР и степень влияния самой помощи на этот результат;
- соотношение фактических затрат на ОПР и полученного результата;
- устойчивость положительного эффекта, полученного в результате оказания помощи;
- обоснованность предоставленной конкретной помощи в контексте общей политики в сфере СМР;
- вклад в развитие двустороннего взаимодействия стран-получателей с Россией в политической и других областях;
- ожидавшиеся и неожиданно полученные эффекты предоставления ОПР.

Оценка эффективности участия России в конкретных проектах СМР осуществляется совместно с властями страны-получателя и/или руководством международных организаций. Основываясь на результатах оценки и анализа эффективности использования помощи, Министерство иностранных дел Российской Федерации и Министерство финансов Российской Федерации по взаимному согласованию имеют право обращаться в Правительство Российской Федерации с предложениями о приостановлении/прекращении оказания СМР по тем направлениям, по которым не достигнут или не может быть достигнут ожидаемый эффект от использования средств федерального бюджета.

Министерство финансов Российской Федерации и Министерство иностранных дел Российской Федерации совместно готовят ежегодный отчет об итогах участия России в содействии международному развитию.

VI. Роль научных кругов, общественности и бизнеса

К мероприятиям, проводимым Правительством Российской Федерацией в сфере содействия международному развитию, привлекаются представители научных кругов, общественности и частного сектора. При этом федеральные органы исполнительной власти обеспечивают этих представителей информацией о возможностях развития партнерства со странами-получателями российской помощи, оказывают поддержку инвесторам и экспортерам в установлении и поддержке связей с этими государствами, создают условия и предпосылки для

привлечения частного сектора к реализации проектов, осуществляемых в развивающихся странах по линии международных организаций.

На современном этапе основная задача представителей научных кругов состоит в том, чтобы организовать подготовку кадров для решения поставленных в настоящей Концепции задач, включая создание предпосылок по наращиванию технического содействия зарубежным странам в рамках двусторонних программ развития и борьбы с бедностью.

Общественные организации и объединения Российской Федерации развивают сотрудничество с общественными и благотворительными организациями за рубежом, содействуют развитию культурных и гуманитарных связей, обеспечивают информационное сопровождение процесса содействия международному развитию. В соответствии со сложившейся в мире практикой Правительство Российской Федерации намерено рассмотреть вопрос о порядке и условиях выделения указанным организациям средств за счет федерального бюджета в целях использования их возможностей в качестве одного из каналов доведения российской помощи до стран-получателей.

Трансграничные интересы российского предпринимательства диктуют необходимость активизации его участия в СМР, особенно в странах, имеющих общие с Россией границы, а также в государствах Африки южнее Сахары. Правительство Российской Федерации намерено координировать свои действия и планы в этих регионах с теми шагами, которые будут осуществлять российские предприниматели и их профессиональные объединения и ассоциации.

VII. Формирование и реализация политики Российской Федерации в сфере содействия международному развитию

Президент Российской Федерации в соответствии со своими конституционными полномочиями осуществляет общее руководство политикой Российской Федерации в сфере СМР, утверждает стратегические цели и задачи участия России в СМР.

Совет Федерации и Государственная Дума Федерального Собрания Российской Федерации в рамках своих конституционных полномочий ведут законодательную работу, направленную на обеспечение участия Российской Федерации в СМР и выполнение ее обязательств.

Правительство Российской Федерации утверждает План мероприятий по участию России в СМР, принимает по представлению федеральных органов решения об оказании помощи, осуществляет контроль за реализацией российского СМР.

Федеральные органы исполнительной власти – Минфин России, МИД России и другие заинтересованные организации – ведут работу по непосредственной реализации настоящей Концепции. МИД России совместно с Минфином России осуществляет формирование политики и координацию деятельности федеральных органов исполнительной власти в сфере СМР.

Финансовое обеспечение реализации Концепции осуществляется за счет средств федерального бюджета Российской Федерации в рамках Бюджетного кодекса Российской Федерации, а также за счет средств частного сектора и представителей деловых кругов, а также неправительственных организаций.

При подготовке решений в сфере СМР федеральные органы исполнительной власти по мере необходимости взаимодействуют с неправительственными организациями России, тем самым, расширяя вовлеченность гражданского общества России в СМР.

Реализация Концепции осуществляется в соответствии с Планом мероприятий по участию России в содействии международному развитию, утверждаемому Правительством Российской Федерации на 3-х летний период.

Концепция может дополняться, уточняться и совершенствоваться по мере развития социально-экономического и политического положения Российской Федерации в мире, а также с учетом возможного изменения тенденций в мировой практике содействия международному развитию.

Approved by the President of the Russian Federation

June 14th, 2007

Russia's Participation in International Development Assistance

Concept

The Concept of Russia's participation in international development assistance presents a strategic vision of the substance and priorities of Russia's policy concerning the provision of international financial, technical, humanitarian and other aid to facilitate socioeconomic development of recipient countries, help resolve crisis situations caused by natural disasters and/or international conflicts, and strengthen Russia's international position and credibility.

This Concept is designed to assure that the federal government uses a systemic approach to Russia's participation in international development assistance.

The Concept defines major goals, objectives, and principles of Russia's international development assistance policy.

A legal framework for this Concept is provided by the Constitution of the Russian Federation, the Russian Foreign Policy Concept, the Russian Security Concept, and the Budget Code of the Russian Federation. Also, the Concept is based on the UN Charter and other international instruments such as the Millennium Declaration, the Monterrey Consensus, the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation of the World Summit on Sustainable Development, the 2005 World Summit Outcome, the Paris Declaration, etc.

I. General

Dynamic and sustainable development of any country in the era of economic globalization reflected, inter alia, in closer integration of commodity and financial markets is bound to depend on economic conditions of both its immediate neighbors and many far away countries. Therefore, the developed nations, particularly members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, pursue their international development assistance policies proceeding from the assumption that failure to assist underdeveloped countries increases development risks for the entire global economy, undermines stability and security in most regions of the world, and worsens the threat of the spread of terrorism, infectious diseases, unregulated migration, and environmental disasters.

Russia considers sustainable socioeconomic development of countries and peoples as an indispensable element of the modern collective security system. A clearly formulated and targeted socioeconomic component of international initiatives can largely improve projects and programs designed to provide adequate responses to contemporary global challenges and threats.

Despite the evident progress, the international community still faces numerous development challenges. Over 1 billion people live on less than \$1 a day. Over 100 million children in the developing countries have no access to primary education. Life expectancy in such countries is 40 years. Every year these countries lose 10 million children under 5. They also have an urgent need to combat infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS, malaria, and TB. According to the available estimates, by 2010 the spread of these diseases would cause a 20-percent decrease in the Sub-Saharan Africa GDP.

Russia shares the view that the governments of developing countries must shoulder primary responsibility for overcoming poverty and underdevelopment of their nations. However, it is clear that a radical improvement of socioeconomic conditions in these countries will be possible only if the international community takes resolute and concerted action to facilitate their development. Progress in poverty reduction and achieving sustainable economic growth demonstrated by a number of countries shows that international development assistance is crucial for addressing major challenges of the 21st century.

Based on such a vision of the role and place of international development assistance in the global economy and policy, members of the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) have provided about US\$420 billion in official development assistance (ODA) since 2000. There is a clear tendency towards the annual growth of donor assistance: it increased from US\$53 billion a year in 2000 to US\$105 billion per year in 2005.

Until recently, Russia's participation in development assistance was quite limited both in scope and types of assistance, mainly for objective reasons. However, even in the most difficult periods, Russia continued to take part in humanitarian operations, made regular contributions to international organizations, and agreed to relieve the debt burden for poor countries. The dramatic improvement of Russia's economic status, including its much stronger financial position, is an important prerequisite for transition to a qualitatively new level of effort in that area.

Since 2000 Russia has run a federal budget surplus and a sustainable balance of payments. In 2005 – for the first time after 1994 – net private capital outflow was almost equal to net private capital inflow. After the period of stagnation, federal budget expenditure on government loans to other countries shows steady growth. Russia's contributions to various international development support programs and funds have increased several fold.

Existing macroeconomic prerequisites make it possible to consider practical steps aiming to change the level and structure of expenditures for international development assistance. Over the last few years, Russia mostly contributed by writing off debts under loans lent by the former Soviet Union, for example, within the framework of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative. Currently it is focusing on assistance in the

form of grants to international funds and programs of international development assistance, and in future would establish and develop a national system of instruments to provide such assistance on a bilateral basis.

The appreciable strengthening of development assistance efforts by Russia's G8 partners has become an important factor directly influencing federal government activities in this area.

It is of note, however, that the Russian Federation has yet to adopt a governmental programmatic document on international development assistance. Federal executive authorities – the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Ministry for Emergencies and others – provide such assistance pursuant to the Government's case-specific decisions addressing specific tasks: to make a "planned" contribution to an international organization; to take part in the liquidation of consequences of a natural or manmade disaster; to adopt debt restructuring arrangements for specific countries within the Paris Club, etc. Russia is the only country in the Group of Eight whose laws and government regulations do not even include the concept of official development assistance (ODA).

Therefore, present-day realities of global policy and economy and Russia's status of a superpower suggest that Russia could pursue a more active policy in international development assistance, including an increase in government spending for these purposes.

In turn, an increase in expenditures for development assistance and diversification of such assistance require the adoption of a program document (this Concept) identifying policy priorities and implementation mechanisms in this area. At the same time, the absence of a systemic approach in using federal budget funds for purposes of development assistance makes it difficult to bring about the desired economic and social outcomes in the recipient countries or create political and economic benefits for Russia.

A stronger and more consistent policy on international development assistance within the framework of this Concept meets Russia's economic and political interests as it would help: strengthen Russia's international position and credibility; stabilize socioeconomic and political situation in the partner countries; establish a belt of good neighborliness; prevent the occurrence of potential focal points of tension and conflict, primarily in regions neighboring the Russian Federation; and ultimately create a favorable external environment for Russia's own development.

This Concept outlines procedures and basic principles of establishing a national system of international development assistance to be created in several stages. The first stage will include: the development and approval of a regulatory and legal framework; selection of assistance priorities; creation and adjustment of channels to interact with partner countries and international organizations; development of bilateral and multilateral mechanisms for assistance delivery; establishment of a group of international development assistance stakeholders in Russia; identification of areas and types of interactions with the business community in the area of development assistance; and implementation and performance assessment of initial assistance programs. These activities will be supported with a broad public awareness campaign.

Once Russia has acquired enough experience and volume of international development assistance based on this Concept, it would be able to establish a specialized governmental agency for such assistance, introduce specialized assistance programs and instruments, adjust and update existing mechanisms, and extend the coverage of development assistance programs.

II. Objectives and Principles of Russia's Participation in International Development Assistance. Criteria of Providing Assistance to Recipient Countries

Russia's policy in international development assistance will be based on the Millennium Development Goals formulated in the UN Millennium Declaration (2000), the National Foreign Policy Concept, and the National Security Concept, and on a reasonable balance between the objectives of such policy and the capacity for their attainment.

Russia's development policy is designed to promote the attainment of internationally agreed objectives, including the Millennium Development Goals, by all countries while emphasizing the needs of low-income countries.

In this context, Russia's development assistance policy will pursue the following goals:

- To influence global processes with a view to establishing a stable, fair and democratic world order based on the universally acknowledged international law and partnership relations between countries;
- To eliminate poverty and ensure sustainable economic development in developing and post-conflict countries;
- To liquidate the consequences of humanitarian, natural, environmental, and industrial disasters and other emergencies;
- To foster democratic processes, development of market-oriented economies, and observance of human rights in recipient countries;
- To develop political, economic, educational, social, cultural, and academia relations with other countries and international associations;
- To create a belt of good neighborliness along the Russian national borders; to prevent the occurrence and facilitate the elimination of the focal points of tension and conflict, as well as sources of drug trafficking, international terrorism and crime, primarily in the regions neighboring the Russian Federation;
- To develop trade and economic cooperation between Russia and its partner countries;
- To encourage the integration of the recipient countries' national markets and the Russian capital, commodity, services and labor markets; and
- To strengthen the credibility of Russia and promote an unbiased attitude to the Russian Federation in the international community.

While expanding its international development assistance, Russia will proceed from the fact that provision of international assistance is quite complicated and complex as it should take into account numerous interests and development factors. Besides, the process carries certain inherent – sometimes substantial – risks of “nurturing” corruption, noneligible use of allocated funds, and even the conservation of “parasitical” and inefficient public administration.

In view of the above and in line with the defined objectives, Russia's participation in international development assistance, except for the provision of food and humanitarian aid in the case of emergencies and natural disasters, will be based on the following principles:

- The recipient countries must have national poverty reduction and sustainable economic development programs and strategies and implement them in compliance with the principle of donor/recipient shared responsibility within the framework of global partnership to ensure sustainable development and poverty reduction;
- The recipient countries must demonstrate political trends or conduct reforms towards the development of civil society institutions in education, health, social assistance to the poor, etc.;
- The recipient countries must pursue anticorruption programs;
- Decision-making on assistance provision and use must be transparent; and federal budget allocations for international development assistance must be stable and predictable;
- Russia will coordinate its development assistance activities with other bilateral and multilateral donors;
- Consideration should be made of environmental and social implications of relevant projects and activities; and
- The recipient countries must demonstrate their interest in a consistent development of bilateral cooperation with Russia.

The Government will use an individual approach to providing assistance, envisaging a comprehensive review of political, economic, social and ethnic aspects of each recipient country. Russia will maintain an active dialog with aid recipients.

Russia supports efforts and initiatives designed to improve the quality, effectiveness and efficiency of international development assistance, in particular, the 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, and will participate in developing common international approaches in this area and in the implementation of agreed-upon decisions.

III. Regional and Other Priorities of Russia's Participation in International Development Assistance. Modalities of Russian Assistance

Pursuant to the National Foreign Policy Concept, Russia will structure its international development assistance in line with the following regional priorities:

- To observe Russia's national interests in the process of multidimensional cooperation with the CIS countries, with the focus on the members of the Agreement on the Integrated Economic Space (IES) and the Eurasian Economic Community (EAEC); and strengthen integration processes within the CIS;
- To intensify efforts with a view to participation in Asia-Pacific integration structures and develop partnership relations with the leading Asian countries in all spheres, including joint assistance to the poorest nations;
- To meet Africa's special needs, including assistance to Sub-Saharan countries in poverty reduction and achievement of the Millennium Development Goals;
- To strengthen relations with Middle East and North Africa countries; and
- To develop cooperation with Latin America.

Taking into account the regional focus of its international development assistance policy, Russia intends to provide assistance in the following priority areas:

- Combating energy poverty by creating prerequisites for household access to vital resources (primarily power);
- Strengthening national health and social protection systems focusing, among other things, on preventing the spread of infectious diseases;
- Facilitating access to and quality improvement of education services, first of all, primary and vocational education;
- Promoting institutional development of recipient countries as a basis for the development of national social infrastructure and transboundary trade;
- Establishing and strengthening national anti-terrorism systems, including those that are designed to combat the financing of terrorist groups and organizations;
- Strengthening and improving the efficiency of public administration systems;
- Supporting activities aimed at the speedy resolution of military conflicts in all regions of the world, post-conflict peacebuilding, progressive socioeconomic development of post-conflict countries and prevention of the renewal of military standoff, inter alia, through Russia's increased participation in international peace support operations and in the context of Russia's activities in the UN Peacebuilding Commission;
- Facilitating trade, including simplification of procedures for transboundary movement of goods and services;
- Capacity building and implementation of specific actions in the field of environmental protection and resolution of transboundary environmental issues;
- Supporting recipient countries in the sphere of industrial development and innovations;
- Encouraging economic activity in recipient countries and creating prerequisites for involvement of the poorest groups in economic activities; and
- Facilitating the development of civil society institutions, including human rights protection.

Stepping up its efforts in the aforementioned areas of development assistance, Russia intends to rely on the available international experience. The main form of ODA is implementation of special poverty reduction programs jointly developed and carried out by recipient countries and donors (both multilateral and bilateral) using financial resources allocated to recipients on favorable terms and conditions. Prerequisites for implementing poverty reduction programs on a bilateral basis include the availability of channels for aid delivery to beneficiaries and a regulatory legal framework enabling the transfer of funds from Russia's federal budget to the recipient's national budget.

Before the above prerequisites are created, Russia will provide international development assistance mainly on a multilateral basis, that is by making voluntary and earmarked contributions to the international financial and economic institutions, first of all, to United Nations programs, funds, and specialized agencies, regional economic commissions and other organizations participating in development programs; by participating in global funds; and by implementing special international initiatives of the Group of Eight, World Bank, IMF, and UN agencies.

International development assistance provided via international organizations will enable Russia to use major advantages of such aid: financial controls, well-established

institutional mechanisms of aid delivery, additional opportunities for aid coordination and harmonization, and technical (expert) potential and knowledge.

At the same time, Russia intends to use and develop the existing capacity for aid delivery on a bilateral basis. Such assistance will be provided in the following forms:

- Earmarked financial grants, or goods and/services provided on a grant basis;
- Loans defined by the OECD as “official development assistance” to finance the supply of industrial products to the recipient countries, or investment projects implemented in the recipient countries on a maturity (which is longer than that of commercial credits), interest-bearing (at concessional interest rates) and repayment (these are not grants) basis;
- Technical assistance provided through knowledge and experience transfer to recipient countries with a view to developing national institutions in various sectors such as health, education, environmental protection, natural disaster prevention and control, and anti-terrorism activity;
- Debt relief, inter alia, by using debt-for-development swap operations, provided the debtor undertakes to use the freed resources for the purposes of national socioeconomic development;
- Food and humanitarian aid in the case of emergency or natural disaster;
- Facilitating the simplification and cost reduction and enhancing security and efficiency of national and international money remittance systems; and
- Tariff preferences and other privileges granted to developing countries to improve the access to Russian market for their goods and services.

In addition, Russia will provide international development assistance on a trilateral basis, involving the use of financial and logistic capacity of the “traditional” donor countries and international organizations. Such assistance will be provided through the already existing or newly created trust funds of the World Bank, United Nations, UN specialized agencies, and other institutions. However, Russia will have the right to select recipient countries and areas of assistance and will be able to use Russian technical assistance specialists.

Projects and programs in which Russia will participate will be predominantly financed from the federal budget. Russia intends to maintain the tendency (that has emerged over the last three years) to steadily increase its commitments relating to the financing of international development assistance programs. The amount of Russia’s commitments for such assistance increased from about \$50 million in 2004 to \$215 in 2006, including commitments made under Russia’s G8 chairmanship. In the next several years Russia plans to increase its participation in international development assistance up to \$400-500 million per year.

As the necessary socioeconomic conditions are created, Russia will further increase provisions for such aid, aiming to steadily move towards the achievement of the UN recommended target: allocation of at least 0.7% GDP for purposes of international development assistance.

At the same time, the Russian Federation recognizes the importance of innovative sources and mechanisms of financing international development, including, for instance, the Advanced Market Commitments for vaccines (AMC). In this context, Russia is prepared to consider the level and modalities of its participation in individual

initiatives in this area to identify additional sources of funding for international development assistance via governmental, private, internal and external channels.

IV. Planning and Administration of International Development Assistance

Decisions on providing assistance will be made by the Government of the Russian Federation as proposed by the MFA and MOF and with the participation of the federal executive authorities concerned.

Planning and financing of expenditure for Russia's participation in international development assistance will be part of the processes of formulation and execution of the federal budget and medium-term financial plan. Federal budget funds for Russia's development assistance activities will be allocated according to procedures and rules established by the Budget Code of the Russian Federation. It is envisaged that relevant amendments will be made to the Code to ensure the efficient functioning of the national mechanism for development aid, including introduction of the concept of official development assistance, ODA loans, technical assistance, etc.

Expenditures on Russia's international development assistance, including the determination of priority countries and regions, political advisability of aid provision, as well as the amount, delivery channels, types and terms of such assistance, will be jointly coordinated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Finance in consultation with the federal executive authorities concerned.

Based on the planned cap on spending for international development assistance and with a view to support timely decision-making on Russia's activities in this area, the federal executive authorities concerned will present, within the defined timelines, their annual proposals on the required funding level to the Ministry of Finance, with such proposals supplemented with requisite supporting documents and agreed with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs so that they could be included in the draft longer-term financial plan and next-year federal budget.

The Ministry of Finance will take action to include the agreed-upon expenditures on international development assistance in the draft federal budget, release relevant parameters of the consolidated budget appropriations, budget commitment limits and levels to Chief Budget Administrators and spending units, and, together with the Federal Treasury, organize timely funding of the respective federal budget expenditure. Responsibility for eligible uses of the funds will rest with the federal executive authorities directly involved in budget execution in that area.

Russia's development assistance activities will be planned for a 3-year period parallel to the preparation of a medium-term financial plan. Such planning will include the following elements:

- review and forecast of Russia's economic development, including federal budget revenues and expenditures;
- collection and analysis of data on the political and socioeconomic status of the recipient countries, as well as their commercial and other relations with Russia;
- progress review of ongoing and review of proposed multilateral initiatives on international development assistance;

- review and forecasting of developing countries' needs for various types of development assistance;
- determining the optimal amount of Russia's international development assistance and projecting the level of development assistance funding to be provided by Russian private companies and non-profit organizations; and
- determining the multilateral/bilateral assistance ratio, as well as types and sectoral profile of assistance.

Such planning will serve as a basis for subsequent drafting of federal budget laws for relevant years in relation to spending for international development assistance, and for the development of the medium-term financial plan. Particular activities in the area of development assistance will be described in annual programs.

Consideration of and decision-making on international development assistance will occur in the following cases:

- On the initiative of the federal executive authorities concerned, or regional authorities whose regions border on the recipient countries;
- When a request for such assistance comes from a recipient country;
- In the case of emergency or natural disaster; and
- Upon a request from any international organization to provide financial or technical assistance in implementing any relevant initiative.

If there is an internal military conflict or any other political or economic constraint, a decision to provide assistance to the country in question will be made on a case-by-case basis, taking into account specific characteristics of the recipient country. To prevent noneligible uses of funds allocated to the recipient country under such circumstances, aid will be provided in the form of humanitarian goods, food and technical assistance.

Other conditions being equal, preference will be given to projects and programs involving the use of goods and services originating in Russia. Respective proposals and rationale are to be agreed with the Ministry of Industry and Energy.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade, together with the Ministry of Finance, will prepare factual and analytical data on the political, social, economic and financial conditions in the recipient countries, as well as information on their trade and other relations with the Russian Federation, implementation of their socioeconomic development programs and/or poverty reduction strategies, if any, and implementation of anticorruption activities and efforts to ensure transparency in using international development assistance.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Finance will provide information support to assistance operations and furnish relevant official data to foreign governments and international organizations.

V. Review and Performance Assessment of Russia's Participation in International Development Assistance

Information on the level and types of Russia's international development assistance is to be reviewed by the federal executive authorities directly involved in such operations. The Ministry of Finance will provide for an analytical review of development assistance

funds allocated by the Russian Federation; develop guidelines for federal executive authorities to review assistance provision; and approve relevant reporting forms. The Ministry of Finance will furnish summarized data on Russia's development assistance activities to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

The cost effectiveness of federal spending for international development assistance will be assessed by the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in consultation with other ministries and agencies concerned, based on certain rules and criteria, with the crucial ones shown below:

- achievement of the planned outcome of ODA provision and contribution of ODA to the outcome;
- ODA cost/benefit ratio;
- sustainability of ODA positive impact;
- justifiability of the specific types of assistance provided in the context of general development assistance policy;
- contribution to the development of bilateral political and other interactions between recipient countries and Russia; and
- expected and unexpected benefits from ODA provision.

Performance assessment of Russia's participation in specific development assistance projects will be conducted together with the authorities of the recipient country and/or leadership of international organizations. Based on aid effectiveness assessment and review, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Finance, as mutually agreed, can approach the Government of the Russian Federation with proposals to suspend/discontinue assistance provision in areas where federal budget funds have not yielded or cannot yield the expected benefits.

The Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will jointly prepare annual reports on the outcomes of Russia's development assistance activities.

VI. Role of Academia, Civil Society and Business Community

International development assistance activities pursued by the Government of the Russian Federation will involve representatives of academia, civil society, and the private sector. Federal executive agencies will inform such representatives of partnership development opportunities available in the recipient countries, assist investors and exporters in establishing and maintaining relations with such countries, and create conditions and prerequisites for private sector involvement in projects pursued by international organizations in the developing countries.

At present, one key objective of the academic community is to organize staff training in order to address issues formulated in this Concept, including the creation of prerequisites for increasing international technical assistance under bilateral development and poverty reduction programs.

Russia's civil society and nongovernmental organizations are working to develop cooperation with foreign nongovernmental and charity organizations, promote the development of cultural and humanitarian relations, and provide information support to international development assistance. In line with the existing international practice, the Government of the Russian Federation intends to consider procedures and terms of

providing federal funding for such organizations so that they can be used as a channel to deliver Russia's assistance to the recipient countries.

Transboundary interests of Russian businesses determine the need for them to step up efforts in international development assistance, especially in countries bordering on the Russian Federation and Sub-Saharan Africa. The Government intends to coordinate its efforts and plans in these regions with the steps undertaken by Russian businesses and their professional associations.

VII. Formulation and Implementation of Russian Policy on International Development Assistance

The President of the Russian Federation, within his constitutional powers, will be responsible for overall leadership for the Russian policy in international development assistance and will approve Russia's strategic goals and objectives in this area.

The Federation Council and the State Duma, within their constitutional powers, will carry out legislative work to support Russia's participation in and delivery on its commitments for international development assistance.

The Government of the Russian Federation will approve an Action Plan for Russia's participation in development assistance, make decisions on aid provision as proposed by federal authorities, and monitor the delivery of Russia's assistance.

The federal executive authorities – the MOF, MFA and other entities concerned – will be directly involved in the implementation of this Concept. The MFA, together with the MOF, will formulate the policy and coordinate actions of federal executive authorities in the area of development assistance.

Financial support for implementation of this Concept will be provided from the federal budget in accordance with the Budget Code of the Russian Federation, and also by the private sector, members of the business community, and nongovernmental organizations.

When preparing decisions in the area of international development assistance, federal executive authorities will work together, as necessary, with Russian nongovernmental organizations, thus expanding involvement of Russian civil society in development assistance efforts.

The Concept will be implemented in accordance with Russia's Action Plan for participation in international development assistance, to be approved by the Government for a 3-year period.

This Concept can be amended, updated, and improved as Russia's socioeconomic and political position in the world evolves and with consideration for potential changes in global practice of international development assistance.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation²⁴

Unofficial translation

APPROVED

by Decree No.259 of the
President of the Russian Federation
of April 20, 2014

**CONCEPT
of the Russian Federation's State Policy in the Area of International Development
Assistance**

I. General provisions

1. This Concept represents a vision of goals, objectives, principles and main directions of the Russian Federation's State Policy in the Area of International Development Assistance, as well as of priorities for and modalities of providing technical, financial, humanitarian and other assistance to foreign States with a view to facilitating sustainable socio-economic development of recipient countries, settlement of crisis situations caused by natural and man-made disasters and other emergencies, internal and/or international conflicts.

2. The Russian Federation's State Policy in the Area of International Development Assistance is based on the Constitution of the Russian Federation, generally accepted principles and rules of international law, international agreements of the Russian Federation, the Budget Code of the Russian Federation, other laws and regulations of the Russian Federation, the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation until 2020, the Concept of the Russian Federation's Foreign Policy and decisions of the President of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Russian Federation on relations with international organizations and foreign States. The Russian Federation's State Policy in the Area of International Development Assistance is implemented with due regard to the main documents of the United Nations, including provisions of the UN Charter, the UN Millennium Declaration, the Monterrey Consensus of the International Conference on Financing for Development, the Plan of Implementation of the World Summit on Sustainable Development (The Johannesburg Plan of Implementation), the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document, "The Future We Want" Outcome Document of the UN Conference on Sustainable Development, as well as provisions of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, the Accra Agenda for Action, the Busan Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation, the Strategy of Economic Development of the Commonwealth of Independent States for the period up to 2020 and the 2013 St. Petersburg Development Outlook.

3. Aware of its historical responsibility for the formation of the modern system of international relations and its further improvement, the Russian Federation considers international development assistance as an effective mechanism to solve global and regional problems, and to respond to new challenges and threats. Consistent implementation of this Concept will help promote Russia's national interests in this area by maximizing the return on aid provided. Experience accumulated in the field of international cooperation and its own donor potential allow Russia, while enhancing the time-tested formats of participation in international cooperation and in multilateral

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projects, to place greater emphasis on targeted bilateral assistance programmes and to competently select recipient countries based on the provisions of the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation until 2020 and the Concept of the Russian Federation's Foreign Policy.

4. Russia supports the striving of the international community for sustainable socio-economic development of all States which is a foundation of the modern system of international stability and collective security, and seeks to facilitate such development through its State policy in that area.

5. Russia pursues an active and targeted policy in the field of international development assistance which serves the national interests of the country, contributes to the stabilization of the socio-economic and political situation in partner States, and formation of good-neighbourly relations with neighbouring States, facilitates the elimination of existing and potential hotbeds of tension and conflict, especially in the regions neighbouring the Russian Federation, as well as help strengthen the country's positions in the world community and, eventually, create favourable external conditions for the development of the Russian Federation.

II. Objectives and principles of the Russian Federation's State Policy in the Area of International Development Assistance

6. The objectives of the Russian Federation's State Policy in the Area of International Development Assistance at a global level are as follows:

- a) eliminating poverty and promoting sustainable socio-economic development of partner States, including post-conflict States;
- b) influencing global processes in order to form a stable and just world order based on universally recognized rules of international law and partnership relations among States;
- c) responding to natural and man-made disasters and other emergencies;
- d) providing support for international efforts and initiatives to improve the transparency, quality and effectiveness of international development assistance, and active participation in the development of common approaches to the implementation of agreed decisions in that area;
- e) strengthening a positive image of the Russian Federation and its cultural and humanitarian influence in the world.

7. The objectives of the Russian Federation's State Policy in the Area of International Development Assistance at a regional level are as follows:

- a) establishing good-neighbourly relations with neighbouring States, contributing to the elimination of existing and potential hotbeds of tension and conflict, sources of illegal drug trafficking, international terrorism and organized crime, especially in the regions neighbouring the Russian Federation, and preventing their occurrence;
- b) facilitating integration processes in the space of the Commonwealth of Independent States;
- c) promoting good governance based on the principles of the rule of law and respect for human rights in recipient States and encouraging self-reliance of the governments of those States in addressing emerging problems, provided they comply with the international legal principle of States' responsibility for the internal and external policy they pursue towards both their citizens and the international community;
- d) facilitating the development of trade and economic cooperation.

8. The principles of the Russian Federation's State Policy in the Area of International Development Assistance are as follows:

- a) Russia's commitment to the priorities of sustainable development of recipient States, concentration of efforts on achieving concrete results in combating poverty and

inequality, and cooperation with partner States in the area of international development assistance in order to enhance trust and mutual respect, and to ensure transparency and accountability;

b) focus on strengthening equality and democratization of the system of international relations, and on the acceleration of the socio-economic development of recipient States;

c) provision of targeted assistance and pursuing dialogue with recipient States, taking into account political, economic, social, environmental and other characteristics of each of those States;

d) interaction with third countries and coordination of joint activities in the area of international development assistance, especially in responding to natural and man-made disasters, and other emergencies.

III. Regional priorities of the Russian Federation and modalities of international development assistance

9. International development assistance may be provided to:

a) Member States of the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Republic of Abkhazia, the Republic of South Ossetia and other States pursuing a policy of good neighbourliness and alliance with Russia, as well as individual States participating, along with the Russian Federation, in international associations and organizations in Eurasia;

b) States with long-standing friendly relations with Russia;

c) States participating together with Russia in the implementation of joint economic and social projects of mutual interest;

d) developing States, cooperation with which serves the national interests of the Russian Federation.

10. The priority areas of international development assistance at regional and global levels corresponding to the national interests of Russia are as follows:

a) improving the functioning of public administration systems, including public finance management, in the recipient States;

b) improving the environment for trade and investment activities in the recipient States, including through the simplification of procedures for cross-border movement of goods and services;

c) building industrial and innovation potential in the recipient States;

d) fostering economic activity in the recipient States and creating enabling environment for the participation therein of the low-income population groups;

e) establishing and improving national systems to combat organized crime and international terrorism, and to suppress financing of criminal groups and organizations;

f) supporting post-conflict peace-building efforts, facilitating progressive socio-economic development of States emerging from armed conflicts and preventing recurrence of the latter, through the expansion of Russia's participation in international peacekeeping operations, as well as in the work of the Peacebuilding Commission;

g) facilitating regional economic integration, development of State institutions, creation of transport infrastructure, efficient natural resources, management and implementation of socio-economic projects in the recipient States with the involvement of low-income population groups in the production activities in those States;

h) providing access of the recipient States' population to essential sources of livelihood, primarily to water and electricity;

- i) creating conditions necessary to ensure the technological sovereignty of the recipient States in the field of information and communication technologies and to bridge the digital divide between developed and developing countries;
- j) facilitating efforts to ensure food security and agricultural development of the recipient States;
- k) strengthening national health and social protection systems, designed, *inter alia*, to combat the spread of infectious diseases;
- l) improving the quality of education, especially primary, and vocational training, as well as their availability for the population in the recipient States;
- m) adopting measures to protect the environment and to solve transborder environmental problems;
- n) developing democratic society institutions, including protection of human rights.

11. International development assistance shall be provided on a bilateral and multilateral basis in the following forms:

a) on a bilateral basis:

- allocation of targeted financial grants or provision of goods or services to the recipient States on a free-of-charge basis;
- provision of concessional loans to finance industrial and agricultural imports in the recipient States, or the implementation of investment projects therein on terms of maturity (with loans available for a longer period of time than commercial loans), interest payment (at concessional rates) and repayment of the principal (funds are not provided as grants);
- provision of technical assistance to the recipient States through the transfer of expertise with a view to strengthening institutional and human capacity in the areas of health, education, environmental protection, disaster management, counter-terrorism, etc.;
- provision of debt relief, including through debt-for-development swaps, subject to the debtor's undertaking to use freed resources for the socio-economic development of the recipient State;
- provision of tariff preferences and other privileges in order to facilitate access of their exports to the Russian market;
- facilitation of the active involvement of the partner States in international trade;
- making target contributions for the implementation of international programmes using the capacities of international organizations, and provision of other assistance bearing in mind that the Russian Federation reserves the right to exercise its own discretion in making decisions with regard to the choice of the recipient State, the nature of assistance, the dispatch of Russian experts to provide technical assistance (trilateral assistance), as well as the procurement of non-primary goods and services;

b) on a multilateral basis:

- payment of contributions to international organizations of the UN system, other international organizations and international financial institutions, as well as international and global funds;
- participation in initiatives undertaken in compliance with agreements reached in the framework of the Group of Eight, the Group of Twenty, the Commonwealth of Independent States, the BRICS and other organizations and associations.

IV. Development and implementation of the Russian Federation's State Policy in the Area of International Development Assistance

12. Development and implementation of the Russian Federation's State Policy in the area of International Development Assistance as one of the aspects of the foreign policy

shall be accomplished in accordance with the Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation.

13. Mechanisms for the implementation of the Russian Federation's State Policy in the Area of International Development Assistance shall include:

- a) State programmes of the Russian Federation managed by federal authorities responsible, within their terms of reference, for ensuring Russia's participation in international development assistance;
- b) Commission of the Russian Federation for International Development Assistance to be established in order to coordinate the activities of federal authorities in the area of international development assistance and to prepare proposals on main directions of the Russian Federation's State policy in that area for the President of the Russian Federation. The Statute of the Commission and its composition shall be approved by the President of the Russian Federation.

14. Information support for the Russian Federation's State Policy in the Area of International Development Assistance shall be provided by all relevant Russian entities involved in development assistance activities, both in the recipient and donor States.

15. Provision of international development assistance by Russia shall be considered and decided upon subject to the availability of the following grounds:

- a) a request for development assistance submitted by a foreign State;
- b) an initiative to provide assistance coming from relevant federal authorities or authorities of constituent entities of the Russian Federation bordering recipient States;
- c) a proposal by an international organization to provide financial or technical assistance in the implementation of some initiative;
- d) an initiative to provide assistance coming from the Russian business community or non-governmental organizations;
- e) the availability in the recipient States of national anti-poverty programmes and strategies for sustainable socio-economic development and improvement of social institutions in the fields of education, health and social assistance to the poor;
- f) the recipient State's interest in the progressive development of bilateral relations.

16. The decision to provide or discontinue assistance to a foreign State shall be made by the Government of the Russian Federation.

17. The Russian Federation shall support international development assistance programmes in priority areas, States and regions implemented by constituent entities of the Russian Federation, local governments, bodies of the Russian business community and non-governmental organizations at their own expense.

V. Role of the academic community, the public and the business community in providing international development assistance

18. Representatives of the academic community, the public and the business community may be involved in the implementation of the Russian Federation's State Policy in the Area of International Development Assistance. At their request, federal authorities shall provide information about opportunities for developing partnerships with the recipient States, support investors and exporters in establishing and maintaining relations with those States, create conditions for the private sector's participation in the implementation of international development assistance-related projects in developing countries.

19. Public associations, non-governmental organizations and non-profit organizations registered in the Russian Federation may develop cooperation with foreign public and charitable organizations promoting cultural and humanitarian relations. Allocation of federal budgetary resources to such associations and organizations registered in the

Russian Federation with a view to using their potential to deliver Russia's assistance to the recipient States shall be considered in accordance with the established procedure.

VI. Accountability for funds allocated by the Russian Federation to provide international development assistance and evaluation of their utilization effectiveness

20. Information on the volume and forms of international development assistance has to be recorded on a timely basis by federal authorities which arrange for the analysis of the projects and for the accounting for funds allocated by the Russian Federation for international development assistance.

21. Evaluation of the effectiveness of the utilization of funds allocated from the federal budget for international development assistance shall be carried out on the basis of the following principal criteria:

- a) achievement of the expected result of the assistance;
- b) cost-benefit ratio;
- c) achievement of a result comparable to or exceeding the results of similar projects implemented in the area of international development assistance;
- d) sustaining a positive effect achieved as a result of the assistance;
- e) relevance of the assistance provided as part of the general policy in the area of international development assistance;
- f) contribution to the development of bilateral cooperation between the recipient States and the Russian Federation in the political and other fields;
- g) promoting a positive perception of the Russian Federation as a donor country in the recipient State, as well as in other donor countries;
- h) expected and unexpected results achieved in providing international development assistance.

22. Evaluation of the effectiveness of projects implemented by the Russian Federation in the framework of international development assistance shall be carried out in cooperation with relevant authorities of the recipient States and/or heads of international organizations.